

**CIVIL SERVICES MAINS TEST SERIES 2017**  
**FULL TEST 02 - GENERAL STUDIES - II**  
**(SUGGESTED ANSWERS)**

**Q1. Democracy is more than periodic elections. It is also Rule of Law. Explain.**

**(12 1/2 marks / 200 words)**

Democracy is different from Monarch and Dictatorship not only because governments are elected, but also because the constitution, the basic law, made by the representatives of people in a constituent assembly, and the ordinary law made by the elected legislators are supreme. Nobody is above law. All branches of the government have to function as per the constitution. Any act of the executive or the legislature which is not as per the provisions of the constitution can be invalidated by the Judiciary. If any judge does not act as per the constitution, that judge can be impeached by Parliament.

Decisions have to be taken by the political executive, that is, by Cabinet headed Prime Minister at national level, Cabinet headed by Chief Minister and all elected Local Body executive functionaries, and by employees of administrative executive at all levels as per law.

Punishment only for violation of law, that too, as much provided by law at the time of committing the offence.

It also means Equality before law or equal protection of laws in equal circumstances.

**Q2. Anti-defection legislation weakened the legislature in India. Whenever ruling party does not enjoy comfortable majority in the legislature, executive becomes weak as in the case of UPA government. Hence, India should opt for Presidential Democracy so that both Legislature and Executive can be effective. Comment**

**(12 1/2 marks / 200 words)**

As legislators lose membership of Legislature if they vote against the whip of their party, they vote as per the directions of their party, irrespective of their views. Thus, the legislature in India has become further weak. Even before the anti-defection legislation, majority of legislators used to vote as per the direction of PM Or CM through their party because of the fear of not getting party ticket, a crucial factor in winning elections.

Whenever the ruling party does not enjoy majority in legislature, the executive becomes weak as in the case of UPA Government leading to ineffective governance and corruption caused by compulsions of coalition government. Earlier, many governments at the national level and state level fell leading to political instability which affected developmental and welfare activities badly. Mid-term elections caused by fall of Governments like that of Mr. Charan Singh, Mr. Chandrasekar, etc. lead to wastage of financial resources.

Moreover, dominant trend of Indian politics is politics of popular personalities, that is, people started voting for political parties based on Prime Ministerial candidates like Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Mr. Narendra Modi, etc. and at the state level to popular leaders like Mr. MGR, Miss Jayalalitha, Mr. NTR, Mr. YSR, Mr. Chandra Babu Naidu, Mr. Biju Patnaik, Mr. Naveen Patnaik, Miss. Mamatha Benerjee, Miss. Mayavathi, etc. This means people are electing the executive, though legally people are electing the legislators who in turn are electing the leader who becomes PM at the national level, and CM at the state level. Hence, we have to respect the wishes of people and allow them to elect the executive directly.

Some argue that President becomes more powerful in Presidential Democracy. How is Mr. Donald Trump more powerful? The Bill to repeal Obamacare could not be passed in Senate. Unfair restrictions imposed on entry of persons from six Islamic countries were set aside by courts in the U.S.A.

Moreover, legislature gains importance in Presidential Democracy because of greater separation of Powers leading to rule of law which is a cardinal principle of Democracy.

Hence, because of all the above stated reasons, it is better for India to opt for Presidential Democracy.

**Q3. There has been a trend of converting DPSPs into Fundamental Rights. Should socio-economic rights be included in Fundamental Rights? (12 1/2 marks / 200 words)**

DPSPs contain provisions enabling socio-economic rights of people, Gandhian principles like prohibition and obligation of state regarding cultural and educational matters. This is similar to the Instrument of Instructions, under 1935 Act. Ambedkar described them as a novel feature of Constitution. They are non-enforceable

However, over the time, some aspects of DPSPs were made part of Fundamental Rights. Right to Education is one of the prominent recent examples. Such step is commendable because:

1. Some provisions were put under DPSP at the time of drafting of Constitution because India did not have financial capacity to provide those rights. We are now in a better position and hence can afford them.
2. Our shared understanding of rights has also evolved. For instance, the Right to Life and Liberty of Article 21 were initially considered as right against excesses of state. But now, we have expanded its scope to mean providing basic facilities to develop one's personality. For instance, in *Mohini Jain vs. State of Karnataka* case, SC held that Education is one such factor that helps developing one's personality and hence is a part of Article 21.

Recently, India's socio economic rights were part of Constitution making process of Srilanka, implying its significance

However, this also poses some problems

1. Though India's economic situation is better than 1947, it is still a developing country with limited financial resources. For instance, only 1.9 crore people out of about 125 crore population pay income tax and our tax to GDP ratio is only 16%. Hence it is difficult to implement all the socio-economic rights.
2. Design of the policy and implementation are crucial aspects of providing services like education and health care. Both of these belong to the realm of policy. These cannot be part of Constitution. Hence, merely including rights in FR do not guarantee necessary outcomes.
3. It is difficult to fix accountability in case if these rights are violated. For instance, if a Child doesn't get education - it is difficult to attribute it to either parents or teachers or bureaucracy or CM. It makes enforcement of these rights ineffective.

Overall, inclusion of welfare measure of DPSPs in FR is a step in the right direction as these help bridge inequalities. But, we should also take more policy and governance to ensure that these are implemented properly to deliver outcomes.

**Q4. The financial state of several urban bodies is not as desired, despite the enactment of 74th amendment. Analyse the causes behind this and suggest measures. Do you think innovative mechanisms like municipal bonds are a sustainable way to address the problem?**

**(12 1/2 marks / 200 words)**

74th amendment aims to enable decentralisation of power to Urban Local Bodies (ULBs). It played a crucial role in strengthening cities. But, the vision did not materialise as desired due to several reasons.

As per the *Economy Survey of India*, the reasons for poor urban finances are:

1. **Legal:** Cities do not have adequate powers to levy taxes.
2. **Administrative:** There are problems of low coverage, low rates and low collection efficiency. For instance, the Economic Survey estimates that Bengaluru has potential of collecting upto 4 to 7 times of its current property tax revenue.
3. **Political Economy:** Legislators are cautious about backlash due to tax increases.

**Municipal bonds as source of finance:** Municipal bonds are a good source of generating money. Recently, Pune issued municipal bonds to raise money. However, we should note that

1. Municipal bonds is only a debt. Cities should not see it as a substitute to revenue.
2. In 1990s, some cities could not pay the debt affecting the bond market. Care should be taken that such instances are not repeated.

Thus, though municipal bonds are an important additional source of revenue, they should not become the sole sustainable source of revenue.

**Measures to improve urban finances:** The 2nd ARC recommended the following measures to improve urban finances

1. **Legal:** Cities should be given adequate powers to raise revenue.
2. **Administrative:** ULBs should increase efficiency of tax collection. They can use GIS technology to collect data of properties.
3. **Using land as a resource:** Many cities have vacant land, which can be leased out. For instance, many cities in China generate more than half of their revenue through land leasing.
4. PPPs can be used as a source for building new projects.
5. An agency to pool the risk of municipalities can be set up on the lines of Denmark. This provides assurance to creditors. Municipal bodies should be encouraged to borrow without State or Union Government support.
6. Tax efficiency linked funding can be pursued.
7. Finally, as Economic Survey recommends, NITI Ayog can index States on tax efficiency and generate competition among them.

**Q5. “India is an indestructible union of destructible states”. Elucidate. Briefly discuss the difference between American and Indian federal structure. Account for the reasons that led to the formulation of our current federal structure.**

**(12 1/2 marks / 200 words)**

Article 1 of Indian Constitution describes India as a “Union of States”. Union is permanent while states are not because

- (i). As per Article 3, Union government can redraw boundaries of the states.
- (ii). During emergency, India collapse into a single union without states.

Due to these reasons India is called an indestructible union with destructible states. This also suggests that India has a strong union.

**Difference between Indian and American Federal structure:** America came into existence when 13 colonies came together and formed a union. It is not the case with India. Hence, states have relatively more powers in the USA as compared to India.

**Reasons for India’s strong union:** Jawaharlal Nehru Committee on Union Powers 1947 gave the following reasons for including provisions of strong state in Indian constitution.

1. There was a strong threat of communal rights in the aftermath of partition.
2. There was a food crisis due to after effects of 2nd world war and many rice growing regions went to Pakistan during partition.
3. There was a threat of communism in the context of their victory in China.
4. Law and order was in jeopardy in some parts like Hyderabad.
5. There was a threat of aggression from Pakistan.
6. The princely states had just accepted to accede to India but we were not sure if some parts can pose threat of secession.

**Q6. Article 142 gives vast powers to Supreme Court. Discuss the important cases where this was used it in the past. Do you think it is time to institute checks and balances?**

**(12 1/2 marks / 200 words)**

Article 142 empowers the Supreme Court with discretionary powers to ensure “complete justice” on any matter before it. Supreme Court used this provision to protect rights of people and provide them compensation in a number of landmark cases mentioned below -

However, this exceeds the mandate sometimes

1. Bhopal Tragedy Case: SC went beyond the provisions of law to ensure compensation to the victims.
2. SC invoked Article 142 in its judgment on prohibition sale of liquor along highways.
3. In the coal block allocation case, SC cancelled allocations from 1993 till 2014 and imposed a penalty.
4. SC invoked Art 142 in providing directions to cleanse and restore Tajmahal
5. SC also used it in its judgment releasing thousands of undertrials in Coal block allocation case.
6. More recently, it ordered Ayodhya case to shift from Rae Bareli to Lucknow, invoking Article 142.

We thus notice that SC used 142 to deliver justice in many cases, which were not part of the usual law. However, this also leads to some problems.

1. If SC constantly uses Article 142, it goes against the spirit of separation of powers. It will be encroaching on the territory of Legislature.
2. In some cases, decisions are taken without appropriate cost benefit analysis. For example, the coal allocation case.

In order to prevent these, we can have some checks and balances. SC can set up a committee to analyse the cost benefit analysis of its judgment, before pronouncing it.

Overall, Article 142 is an important provision to ensure justice. We can make a judicious use of it by instituting some checks and balances.

**Q7. “Re-promulgation of ordinances is a fraud on the Constitution and a subversion of democratic legislative processes”. Examine this statement in the light of “Krishna Kumar Singh vs. State of Bihar” judgement. (12 1/2 marks / 200 words)**

Constitution of India empowered Parliament and State Legislative Assembly to make laws. Also, Article 123 and 213 states that an ordinance may be promulgated if the President/Governor is “satisfied that circumstances exist that render it necessary... to take immediate action”. These are in the nature of interim or temporary legislation (valid for no more than six weeks) and their continuance is subject to parliamentary approval. Over time, governments misused this provision.

In the case of ordinances, consultation and deliberation involved in parliamentary legislation is confined to the executive and ultimately rest on the subjective satisfaction of the President or the Governor. However, governments repeatedly reenacted the ordinances without laying them before legislature for approval. These acts take advantage of loopholes to sideline the legislature. Supreme court in the DC Wadhwa case, declared this practice as unconstitutional calling this as a subversion of democratic legislative processes.

The unconstitutional nature of the re-promulgation of ordinances is reaffirmed in the recent Krishna Kumar Singh vs. State of Bihar judgment of the Supreme Court. Despite DC Wadhwa judgment, governments are still re-promulgating the ordinances taking advantage of exceptions provided in DC Wadhwa case, like lack of time for enactment of legislation. In this context, in the Krishna Kumar Singh judgment, SC called it a fraud on constitution.

In the process of re-promulgation, a key question of the role of Governor and President arises. The KK Singh judgment said that the decisions of President and Governor are open to judicial review. With this judgment, the SC further narrowed down the scope for re-promulgation of ordinances.

**Q8. India is in dire need of an All India Judicial Service. Critically comment. (12 1/2 marks / 200 words)**

The need for All India Judicial Service (AIJS) was advocated several times in the past. As per this provision, young judges will be recruited at the district level all over the country.

1. First Law Commission had recommended the creation of AIJS to improve the efficiency of the judiciary.
2. Several Chief Justice Conferences of 1960s have favoured the creation of AIJS.
3. Article 312 was amended by 42nd Amendment providing for AIJS.

Creation of AIJS can enhance the quality of judiciary in several ways

1. It will create a regular stream of recruits at the district levels, thereby addressing the issue of vacancies.
2. It will recruit the best talent in the country into the Judiciary through competitive exam.
3. It can check favouritism in appointment of HC, SC judges.
4. It will create a cadre accountable professionals. This is especially important in the context of SC's judgment to strike down NJAC.
5. It will also address social justice concerns by giving adequate representation to SCs, STs and BCs.
6. It will help in addressing the issue of pending cases in Judiciary.

However, there are also some concerns regarding the effectiveness of AIJS.

1. Lack of familiarity with the local language can be a significant impediment in the adjudication of cases.
2. Currently only one third of the high court judges are recruited from district cadre. So, lawyers may prefer to be directly elevated to the High Court level, without going through the district route.
3. It can be like that IAS AIJS judges can be promoted to HC based on capability and character from HC to the SC also.

From the above discussion, overall, we can infer that AIJS has the potential to address some of the long standing problems in judiciary like pending cases, vacancy of judges etc. Thus, we can say that India is in dire need of AIJS. At the same time, measures can be taken to enhance its efficiency by thoroughly training candidates on local laws and outlining a clear career progression.

**Q9. Recently, government allowed NRIs to vote in elections through proxy voting. Should NRIs, who stay outside India have a right to vote? (12 1/2 marks / 200 words)**

Indian diaspora is an important asset of our country. Due to globalisation, their number has been increasing over the years. In this context, NRI voting rights have become significant. Our former PM, Dr. Manmohan Singh announced NRI voting rights in 2013.

The rationale for giving voting rights to NRIs is:

1. NRIs are also influenced by government's policies. So, they should have a say in elections. Considering that the population of NRIs has now reached significant levels, one can no longer ignore this.
2. Participating in elections will give a platform to Indian diaspora to express their views. In order to seek their votes, political parties will have to pay attention to their demands. This is especially important in cases like Middle East where many Indians are working as casual labourers.
3. Involving NRIs in Indian elections is a form of keeping the bond with mother country alive.

However, there are also concerns with providing voting rights to NRIs.

1. The principle of Right to Equality is violated because an Indian citizen living in Delhi cannot vote in his/her native place but a person residing outside country can vote.
2. There should be territorial connection to the constituency from which the person is voting. Else, it is against the spirit of elections.
3. It is difficult for Election Commission to keep track of campaigning abroad, instances of bribery, etc.
4. Further, proxy voting can violate the secrecy of elections.

From the above discussion, we note that there is a case for giving voting rights. The specific concerns can be addressed by allowing online voting or voting at Indian embassies. The concerns of violating of principle of equality can be addressed by extending the facility of online or proxy voting to Indian residents living in cities. In a globalized world, with increasing private sector share in employment, it is imperative that people keep moving across the cities. So, it is time to extend the facility to them also.

**Q10. Recently, there have been concerns over EVM manipulation. What has been done to by ECI to allay these fears? Suggest further measures in this regard**

**(12 1/2 marks / 200 words)**

Free and fair elections is one of the important prerequisites for a democracy. In earlier days, the ballot paper approach posed significant challenges to Election Commission in conduction of elections ranging from protecting the ballot boxes to counting the votes.

Electronic Voting Machines is a significant leap forward that addresses many concerns of ballot papers. It makes voting secure and also makes the counting easier.

However, some questions arose in recent days regarding EVM manipulation due to some incidents where EVMs behaved erratically. This is a genuine concern and ECI can allay these fears so as to enhance people's trust. ECI can take the following steps in this regard.

**Pre-election**

1. ECI may convene all party meeting and provide a platform to hear their concerns and to seek suggestions.
2. ECI can organize a public hackathon where people are given access to EVMs, ask them to find all possible flaws, correct them and tell people that ECI has corrected all flaws. Such actions enhance people's trust. For example, US organises a hackathon called DefCon every year, where people find flaws in their EVMs.
3. ECI can hold public meetings or establish stalls in public places like airports, railway stations etc. asking people to come and check the EVMs themselves.

**During election**

1. Representatives of all parties in an election booth can be given a chance to verify the EVMs themselves.
2. VVPAT system can be used in all EVMS that document paper trial of votes.

**After election**

1. Paper trials of a sample of booths (around 25%) can be counted and tallied with EVM results.
2. If there is still suspicion in some cases, ECI can analyse the data of "time of voting" to see if there was any discrepancy that led all votes to go to same party.

Voters trust in elections is extremely important in a democracy. ECI enjoys enormous trust of people. By taking above steps, ECI can allay fears and further enhance the trust.

**Q11. Explain the role of NITI Ayog in policy making since its inception.**

**(12 1/2 marks / 200 words)**

NITI Ayog is a premier think-tank of Government of India, that replaced the Planning Commission of India. It aims to provide policy inputs and design long term policies for India. In the past three years, it has contributed significantly to the policy making process.

**Policy Inputs**

1. It played a crucial role in restructuring Centrally Sponsored schemes.
2. It has taken initiatives to shift the focus of our schemes from inputs to outcomes. As part of this initiative, it has developed several indices like School Quality Index etc.
3. It has taken up initiatives to spur innovation like Atal Innovation Mission.
4. It has taken several initiatives like Digi Dhan Yojana during Demonetisation to promote digital economy.
5. It has helped states design laws. For example, model land leasing law of Madhya Pradesh
6. It brought out a book on best practices to enable knowledge sharing among states.
7. It worked towards building capacity of states by organising seminars of prominent academicians for state level policy makers.

**Designing long-term policies**

1. It played an important role in promoting cooperative federalism by involving states in policy making through various initiatives like sub-groups of Chief Ministers etc.
2. It has prepared a detailed 3 year action plan agenda.

From the above discussion, we can see that NITI Ayog has overall made a significant contribution to the policy making at both central and state levels.

**Q12. Last mile problems in implementation has been a major challenge in India. In this context, account for the necessity of recent initiative to set up a behavioural economics unit (Nudge unit) to address this issue. Also, discuss the limitations and concerns regarding this approach.**

**(12 1/2 marks / 200 words)**

Nudge means a small push. The nudge approach uses insights from behavioural economics and psychology to nudge people towards a desired behaviour.

For instance, humans are wired to react to prospective losses more as compared to prospective gains. One can use this approach in messaging about effects of toilet uses - one can use more negative messages highlighting the harm of not using toilets, in place of advertising its positives.

This approach is highly necessary in ensuring successful implementation of government policies because, many a time, the implementation suffers due to bottlenecks at the last mile, due to challenges in changing people's behaviour. For instance

1. Patients do not complete prescribed course of antibiotics. This causes new variants of TB to spread. Nudge approach can be used to make patients to adhere to the course timeline.
2. Some parents don't immunize children because they underestimate the need for vaccines. Studies show that immunization increases if parents are provided small incentives like providing rice or utensils.
3. People misjudge the speed of trains while crossing unmanned crossings leading to accidents.
4. There is a resistance to construct and use toilets. In Maharashtra, an innovative campaign by government, portraying those without toilets at home as irresponsible fathers, has led to an increase in construction of toilets.

Traditionally, we have focused only on market failures or bureaucracy inefficiencies but as the above examples suggest, behavioural issues also impact programme implementation. Thus, we can infer that there is a need for Nudge unit and this initiative is timely, especially in case of programmes like Swachh Bharat Abhiyan. Countries like Australia already have one. So, it's time for India to pursue this approach also. However, there are some concerns and limitations of this approach.

### **Limitations**

1. Nudge only works at margins. It doesn't deal with big problems like solving poverty etc.
2. It can lead to influencing people in a bad way if not used responsibly.
3. It is highly local approach. One size does not fit all.

### **Way forward**

1. Nudge units can be decentralised to take local context into account.
2. Approval boards can be setup so that the behavioural change interventions are in line with the ethical and moral concerns.

**Q13. "The Maternity Benefit Act, 2017 is a right step towards empowerment of women." Critically comment.**

**(12 1/2 marks / 200 words)**

India recently passed Maternity Benefit Act, 2017. As per the new act

1. Maternity benefit is extended from 12 weeks to 26 weeks for any woman working in shops or establishments with more than 10 workers.
2. Women who adopt children will be entitled for 12 week leave
3. Mandates establishment of creche facilities in establishment with more than 50 employees.
4. Employee should allow women at least four times a day, to attend to baby's needs.

This is a right step towards women empowerment because

1. The female labour force participation rate in India has been decreasing over past decades. Babycare is one of the reasons for this.
2. According to surveys around 30-40% of women opt out of jobs mid-career due to maternity issues.
3. Women who take leave find it difficult to re enter the workforce.
4. Even after re-entering the workforce, they face challenges in juggling between baby care and work.
5. Most offices do not have child friendly spaces, adding to women's burden.

In this context, Maternity Benefit Act 2017 is a right step towards women empowerment because it addresses all the above issues.

However, there are some concerns too regarding its effects on labour market and economy in general.

1. It covers only the organised sector.
2. Employers may now discriminate against women during recruitments.
3. Small scale establishments with thin margins may find it difficult to implement these provisions. Thus, it may force establishments to remain informal, thereby hurting the growth of formal sector economy.
4. The bill doesn't include paternity leave, thus putting all the load only on women.

Overall, we can infer that Maternity Benefits Act, 2017 is a right step towards women empowerment. The concerns can be addressed by including provisions for paternity leave and tax incentives for establishments with best women friendly practices.

**Q14. Learning outcomes in India have not seen a significant improvement even after the enactment of Right to Education Act. In this context, discuss the provisions of the act and challenges in its implementation.**

**(12 1/2 marks / 200 words)**

The Annual Survey of Education Report (ASER) by an NGO, Pratham finds that around 50% of students in class 5 ca not read a class 2 level text.

The RTE act enacted in 2010 was an important initiative to address the challenges in education. However, it is facing several challenges in the implementation of its provisions.

**1. No Detention Policy (NDP):** The NDP mandates compulsory promotion of students every year, without holding them back. Several educators argue that this has created laxity in the system thereby leading to decrease in efforts by the students and parents. At the same time, some argue that holding back children can lead to psychological issues like low self esteem and lack of confidence.

**2. Continuous and Comprehensive Evaluation (CCE):** CCE envisions to do a continuous low-stake testing of children, instead of testing them at the end of the year. This also provides feedback to the teacher about the learning difficulties of the child.

CCE has been facing several implementation challenges like - lack of proper teacher training, increased paperwork for teachers, in appropriate material, and lack of timely availability of materials.

**3. Infrastructure and PTR norms:** RTE prescribes infrastructure and Pupil Teacher Ratio (PTR) norms. However, many schools have not been able to adhere to this, due to financial issues.

Critics argue that excessive focus on inputs has led to neglect of learning outcomes.

**4. Compulsory training of teachers:** RTE has mandated compulsory training of teachers and had given time to schools to ensure this. However, even by 2017, a majority of teachers remain untrained.

**5. 25% reservation in private schools for students of Economically Weaker Sections (EWS):** This provision is facing several implementation challenges due to lack of awareness among parents about the provision, lack of streamlined application process, delay in fee reimbursements to schools and sociological problems due to mixing of students of varied economic strata in the school.

Overall, we can note that RTE is facing challenges on several dimensions but it can be significantly improved with appropriate efforts. TSR Subramanian committee recommendations like focus on outcomes, compulsory entrance test for teachers, expansion of mid-day meal scheme, use of ICT, enhancing teacher training programmes can be followed in this regard.

**Q15. Discuss the challenges in using “Social Audit” as a mechanism to enhance accountability.**

**(12 1/2 marks / 200 words)**

The erstwhile Planning Commission (PC) has defined social audit as a process in which both financial and non-financial details of resources used by public agencies are shared with the public. It aims at promoting people’s participation and enhancing accountability.

Though it is a step in the right direction, several challenges surfaced in the implementation of this initiative. As per the PC report on the status of social audit in India, the challenges are the following

1. **Mindsets:** There is still a mindset of ruler as opposed to service provider in the government personnel. This is making it difficult to yield to accountability.
2. **Awareness:** People are not completely aware of their legal rights and related processes.
3. There is no central regulation making social audits mandatory.
4. There is a fear of loss of Panchayats’ power if Gram Sabhas are strengthened.
5. Lack of trained and certified manpower at the grass root level. Grass root level to conduct PRI Accounting Audit and Social Audits.
6. Sometimes, socio-economic differences also act as hurdles in seeking accountability.

These can be addressed if we take the following steps:

1. Educational campaigns to make people aware of their rights.
2. Strengthen the village level institutions by giving them adequate resources and power.
3. Recognise and reward innovative and successful panchayats.
4. NGOs can play a catalytic role by taking leadership of this exercise.

Overall, social audit is an important step in enhancing accountability. If the above steps are taken, there is a potential to see a significant change in the quality of implementation of government programmes.

**Q16. In the changing word, bureaucracy needs more specialists. In this context, critically comment on the proposal to allow lateral entry into civil services.**

**(12 1/2 marks / 200 words)**

Civil service is said to be the steel frame that provides foundational structure to India’s governance. Depending on the nature of the job and skill sets required,

they were divided into different services, like Indian Administrative Service, Indian Police Service, etc.

However, with time, the change in the job responsibilities and increasing complexity of jobs, this categorisation is proving to be insufficient. For instance:

1. In administrative service, providing services like education and health care have become paramount. Similarly, administration of cities has become a complex task requiring specialised knowledge in areas like solid waste management, traffic maintenance etc.
2. In police service, new forms of crime like cyber-crime have emerged that require specialist software skills to strategise prevention and detection of such crimes.
3. In revenue service, big data skills have become important in the wake of digitisation of economy.

A traditional bureaucratic service is not able to fully cater to these needs. Hence, there is a demand for recruiting specialists laterally into the service, so as to bridge these gaps. Though it is a novel idea, the form of entry and the corresponding rules are crucial. Some of the concerns regarding the approach are:

1. Majority of India's problems are at the implementation level. An outsider entering into the system, with limited knowledge of administration may face challenges.
2. It is argued that whenever specialised knowledge is required, one can hire consultants and advisers.
3. Lateral recruits with short-term appointments may not have full stake in the system.
4. Lateral entry can demotivate traditional bureaucrats, by reducing their incentives for career progression.
5. Policy implementation often requires balancing between political class and interests of various stakeholders. Lateral entrants may not have that experience.

Overall, from the above discussion, we can infer that modern day's administration requires some form of specialised knowledge. This can be achieved by a mixture of approaches like-

1. Encouraging traditional bureaucrats to specialise, after a certain point in their career.
2. Strict procedure for recruitment of lateral entrants with mandatory service at district level for some time, before taking up policy making responsibilities.
3. Hiring advisers wherever necessary.

If these are done, we can hope to see a significant impact on the quality of governance.

**Q17. "The Rohingya crisis is not just Myanmar's internal problem; rather it is a regional issue and it needs to be tackled at the regional level in a more comprehensive way." In this context, comment on India's stand on this issue.**

Massive violence and denial of basic human rights have forced Rohingyas to flee their native land and seek refuge in neighbouring states including Bangladesh, Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia and India. The economic burden emanating from the huge refugee influx and the growing fear of linkages between the Rohingyas and the Islamic State are the major reasons for apathetic stance taken by countries of the region.

India too took a tough stand of deporting Rohingyas back to Rakhine State as there were enough intelligence inputs to consider the illegal immigrants as "a serious security threat to the country". This has evoked criticism from national and international human rights activists.

India already is in a diplomatic tight spot over this issue because if it publicly chides Myanmar over violence in Rakhine state, it may push the key ASEAN state further into Chinese influence. Meanwhile, Beijing has already backed Myanmar's military offensive against the Rohingyas.

However, as a responsible state, a major player in Asia and an ascendant power, India must shoulder its quota of responsibility.

India has launched **Operation Insaniyat** — a food aid programme— under which it is shipping food, medicines and other relief materials daily to Dhaka which is battling to cope with massive influx of Rohingya refugee.

The statelessness of the Rohingyas and the lack of empathy towards the plight of the Rohingyas have contributed to the adoption of extremist methods by them. If not addressed pragmatically, the Rohingya crisis will only cause more violence, leading to more refugees and chronic instability in the region.

**Way Forward:**

ASEAN, India and Bangladesh need to discuss the Rohingya crisis together to work for an optimum solution to the problem.

The first step would be to convince the present government in Myanmar about the benefits of well-coordinated cooperation between ASEAN members, India and Bangladesh to tackle the issue. The platforms of the regional and sub-regional institutions including ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral, Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) need to be more effectively used to convince the Myanmar to discuss the issue

openly and take advantages of the experience of countries like India and Thailand who have long experience in dealing with insurgency and terrorism.

**Q18. Recently, the tensions between India and China have been increasing. In this context, identify the areas of conflict between India and China and suggest measures to deal with China (12 1/2 marks / 200 words)**

India and China are both some of the oldest civilizations in the world, with links going back to ancient days. Even now, China is one of the largest trading partner of India. However, there are still some areas of conflict between the two countries.

### **1. Economic**

- **International trade:** China and India are competing for international markets for their goods, especially in garments, textiles sectors.
- **Africa and Latin America:** China and India are competing for economic gains in Africa and Latin America
- **Energy:** Both countries are competing for energy access in the middle east.

### **2. Geopolitical**

- India and China are competing for influence in Southeast Asia.
- China is trying to strategically encircle India by trying to increase its influence in India's neighbouring countries.
- With its recent aggression in South China sea, China is posing a threat to freedom of navigation, that has potential to impact India's trade routes.

### **3. Border disputes**

- Tensions exist along Aksai Chin, Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh borders.

**4. Water disputes:** Sharing of Brahmaputra river continues to be a pressing issue.

**5. OBOR:** China is pursuing its connectivity projects in areas like Gilgit Baltistan, which India claims to be its sovereign land.

**6. Terrorism:** China has been indirectly supporting Pakistan in international fora like blocking of branding of Azhar Masood as a terrorist.

**7. Global institutions:** China is blocking India's attempts to gain entry into fora like NSG.

The increasing aggression of China can be handled in the following way:

#### **1. Hard Power**

1. India should build up tough defense along Himalayan border. It can raise new regiments of mountain troops, specialised in fighting wars in mountain regions.

2. India should increase its naval power in Indian Ocean region to prevent Chinese aggression. We can develop our strategic tri-command in Andaman & Nicobar Islands for this purpose.
2. **Partnering with US-Japan-Australia:** China's activities abroad and increasing influence in India's neighbourhood can be handled by increasing partnerships with countries like Japan, Australia and China. For instance, we can invest more in Asia-Africa growth corridor and develop infrastructure in North East along with Japan. We should enhance military exercises with US, Japan and Australia, sending a strong message to China.
3. **Pressurise with international diplomacy:** India can communicate China's aggressive activities to other countries and increase diplomatic pressure. A recent good example is a resolution of European Union condemning China's aggression along India and Bhutan's borders.
4. **Trade - WTO:** India can actively pursue cases against China for its anti-market friendly practices.
5. **Soft Power - People to people contact:** India and China share common aspects like Buddhism etc. These can be promoted by popularising India's Buddhist Circuit.

Overall, a rapidly growing China continues to be a concern and we should be ready to deal with it deftly.

**Q19. IMF is increasingly facing the challenges of legitimacy, especially with the rise of new global institutions. Do you agree?  
(12 1/2 marks / 200 words)**

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) aims to “foster global monetary cooperation, secure financial stability, facilitate international trade, promote high employment and sustainable economic growth, and reduce poverty around the world.”

It has played a crucial role in addressing macro financial countries in several countries, in the past decades. For example, it helped India during its 1991 balance of payments crisis. However, it is facing criticism from several countries these days due to following factors.

1. The functioning of IMF is biased towards developed countries.
2. Heads are mainly appointed from developed countries.
3. The increasing economic power of countries like India, Brazil and China are not adequately reflected in its quota.
4. IMF's very nature of promoting market-oriented approaches has attracted unavoidable criticism from left leaning governments.
5. IMF aid is always tagged with conditions. The economic advice the IMF gives might not always take into consideration the local economic conditions and culture.

Due to above reasons, emerging countries have established alternative mechanisms like AIIB and NDB which seriously challenges IMF's legitimacy. However, we should also note that IMF still continues to play a crucial role particularly in the context of increasing protectionism. It has recently modified its quotas and it still has a strong membership of around 150 countries, along with huge corpus. Recently, it introduced Chinese Renminbi in Special Drawing Right (SDR) Currency Basket.

Overall, we can say that alternate institutions are emerging but IMF still continues to play a significant role.

**Q20. Analyse the impact of increasing protectionist tendencies in developed countries on India.**

**(12 1/2 marks / 200 words)**

Protection policy aims to restrict a country's exposure to foreign markets with regulations like tariffs, strict immigration policies etc., with the intent of protecting local businesses and jobs. In recent times, we are seeing an increasing trend of protectionism in developed countries. Like

- i. US's caps on H1-B visas.
- ii. US's anti-immigrant policies.
- iii. Australia's steps on "457" visa, and
- iv. British's policies to restrict immigrant students and workers

These can have significant impact on India's impact along several dimensions.

- (i). **Jobs:** More US companies are being forced to recruit local people. This reduces job opportunities for Indians abroad. It also increases job pressures in India.
- (ii). **Visa:** Indians has largest share in H1-B visas. Any restrictions on this can severely hurt Indians and Indian companies.
- (iii). **Higher education opportunities** abroad are reduced for Indians
- (iv). **Trade** particularly exports can be hampered due to increasing tariffs.
- (v). **Outsourcing:** With an intent of creating jobs back home, developed countries might cut back their outsourcing operations which would affect our services sector.
- (vi). **The** in FDI/FII may come down. Indian rupee may weaken substantially, the Indian current account deficit could increase strongly, and combined can have destabilising effect on economy.
- (vii). In the long-term, the technology permeation through reverse immigration reduces.
- (viii). On the positive side, brain drain would be contracting.

India can handle this situation by lobbying abroad through Indian diaspora and also leverage India's geopolitical importance in Afghanistan to get better bargains from US. Parallely, we should strengthen our Indian economy to protect it from such instances in future. With a relatively young population, India has a tremendous potential to generate jobs within India and become a leader of the world.