

EMPOWER IAS

GENERAL STUDIES - 2

TEST CODE -2018

1. "The Rights of Transgender Persons Bill, 2014" is a proposed act of the Parliament of India which seeks to end the discrimination faced by Transgender people in India. Despite several efforts towards Transgender rights in India yet it seems elusive. In light of the recent attempts by the Government, examine the issue of Transgender rights In India.

2. What improvements Mental Health Care Bill 2016 passed recently seeks to introduce over the Mental Health Act 1987 by ensuring persons with mental illness to live a life with dignity? Examine the issue of Mental health care in this context.

3. "The amendment that has been passed recently to the Child Labour (Prohibition & Regulation) Act 1986 will have an adverse effect on the goals that are to be achieved under the Right to Education Act 2009." In your opinion the above statement holds ground?

4. "Punishing a person for mere possession of beef amounts to state intrusion into a citizen's right to life and personal liberty." Critically examine the statement with respect to beef ban in India.

5. If relations between Government and NGOs are observed, there is an ever increasing trust deficit. Analyse the reasons behind such trust deficit. Do you think civil society activism can be curbed through strong regulations by the Government? Give reasons in favour of your arguments?

6. Discuss the application of the concept of social equity on gender, human development, human rights and poverty in the context of India. Substantiate with suitable and relevant examples.

7. Do you think SHGs and the benefit to each member creates sustainability of SHG movement. Analyse the difficulties faced by SHG movement in India. Mention the recent initiatives of the Government to sustain the SHGs in India.

8. India has made significant progress in preventing new infections and extending treatment to HIV patients, despite that HIV-related stigma and discrimination continues to affect the lives of people. The new HIV Bill adopts human rights approach but is not free from various shortcomings. Critically analyze.

9. Analyse the impact of globalisation on labour markets in India. Do you think the recent reforms initiated by the Government of India to be in the spirit of Make in India?

10. The government aims in shifting focus from “sick-care” to “wellness”, by promoting preventive health care in India as it is the foundation on which Universal health care is to be built. Do you think insurance based health care delivery can be a road to universal health care? Suggest measures to achieve the insurance based health care delivery in India.

11. The BRICS mandate is under siege at a time of slowing economies and growing intra-BRICS political divergences. Not surprisingly, the grouping has been struggling to retain its relevance.’ Do you agree?

12. “Signing of LEMOA can be regarded as a positive momentum in the burgeoning Indo-US strategic partnership.” Examine how this agreement will add symbolic value in enhancing Indo-US strategic partnership.

13. “Make in India’ initiative clearly intersects with Shinzo Abe’s Partnership for Quality Infrastructure in Asia (PQI).” How does India map in the new foreign policy level systemic architecture envisaged between India and Japan?

14. ‘The cancellation of the SAARC summit in Islamabad has galvanized New Delhi’s efforts to look at new ways to foster regional cooperation. India’s recent outreach to BIMSTEC is an important signal that New Delhi is serious about its role as a facilitator of economic cooperation in South Asia.’ Discuss.

15. ‘Sustained sponsorship of cross-border terrorism over many years by Pakistan has created fundamentally changed circumstances that undermine the essential basis of India’s original consent to the Indus Water Treaty (IWT), while significantly altering the balance of obligations.’ In this context, critically analyse the implications of India’s decisions to review the IWT. What measures could be undertaken by both the countries to promote amicable solution to water sharing disputes?

16. “The most significant dimension of India’s Indian Ocean diplomacy has been the outreach to Arab Gulf states where the Indian Navy has embarked on a programme of sustained capacity building and security collaboration.” Discuss.

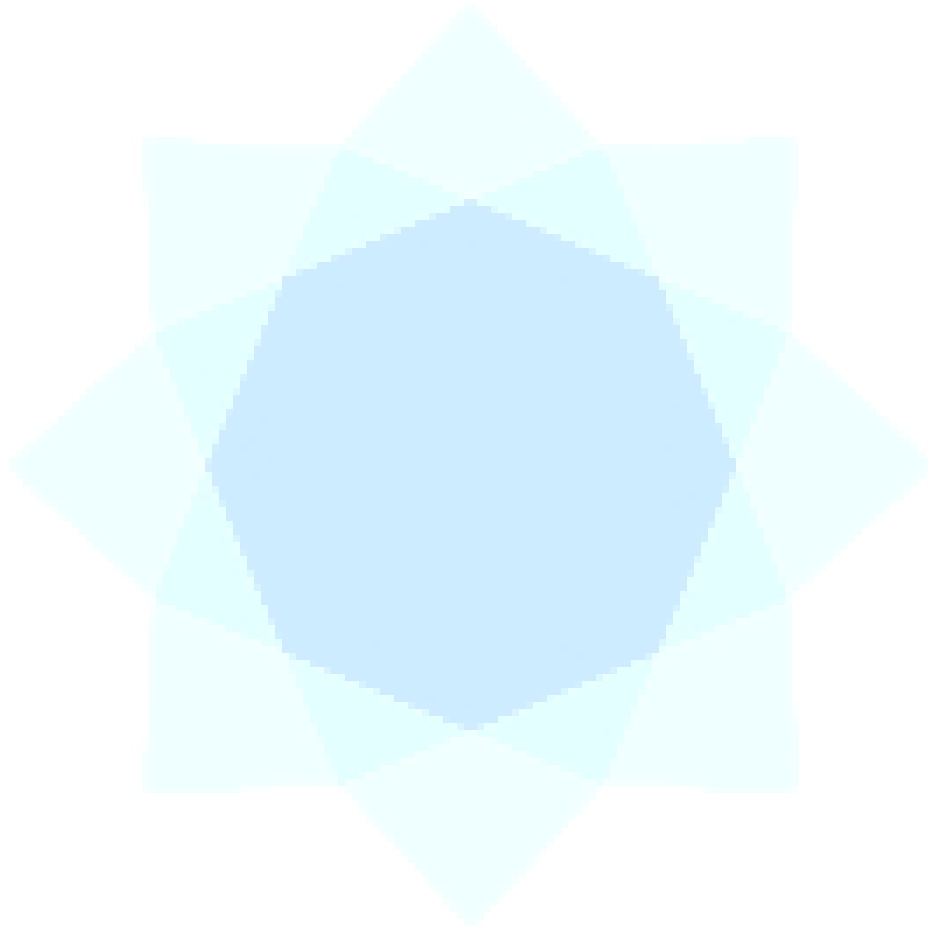
17. India, formally, recognized Israel in 1950. However, despite being Israel’s largest importer of arms the first visit by an Indian prime minister took place only in 2017. Critically examine the various international and domestic factors responsible for such cautioned approach from India.

18. Russia’s relations with India’s neighbors are undergoing a major shift. Is it a cause of concern for India? How should India respond to changing Russian engagements in India’s neighborhood?

19. India as an acknowledged Emerged Power can no longer afford the historically dubious policies of Non-Alignment. Discuss.

20. Domestic issues have much larger connotations on bilateral relations when it comes to South Asia. Critically analyze the statement with respect to India-Sri Lanka relations.

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Social Justice and International Relation

Test Code 2018
GS Mains Test Series 2018
Model Answers

1. "The Rights of Transgender Persons Bill, 2014" is a proposed act of the Parliament of India which seeks to end the discrimination faced by Transgender people in India. Despite several efforts towards Transgender rights in India yet it seems elusive. In light of the recent attempts by the Government, examine the issue of Transgender rights in India.

Ans: The rule of law is supreme and everyone is equal in the eyes of law in India. Yet, the transgender community is in a constant battle as they have to fight oppression, abuse and discrimination from every part of the society, whether it's their own family and friends or society at large. The life of transgender people is a daily battle as there is no acceptance anywhere and they are ostracized from the society and also ridiculed. They live on the fringes of society, often in poverty. Most make a living by singing and dancing or by begging and prostitution.

According to SC, recognition of transgenders as a third gender is not a social or medical issue but a human rights issue. The single most important issue is that of the socio-political identity of transgenders in India. That is also the crux of the recently moved Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Bill, 2016 in Parliament. For the first time, a proposed legislation acknowledges the fact that the gender assigned at birth may not necessarily match the person's own sense of the gender they belong to. The Bill allows a transgender person to identify himself/herself as 'man', 'woman' or 'transgender', while doing away with the nomenclature 'Other' that is currently in use.

Some key aspects of the Bill are:

- Prohibition against discrimination in education, employment, movement, access to government/private establishment etc.
- Right to residence
- Certificate of identity (as transgender) to be provided by the District Magistrate
- Government to take steps to provide health facilities to transgender persons including separate HIV surveillance centres, sex reassignment surgeries, etc. and review of medical curriculum
- Imprisonment for certain offences violating rights of transgenders
- Establishing National Council for Transgender Persons to advise Government on formulation and monitoring of policies, legislation and projects.

However, there are several shortcomings in the Bill. These are mostly the omitted parts from the Private Member's Bill passed in Rajya Sabha on the same issue:

- No provision for special transgender rights courts
- No reservation for transgender persons in employment (as OBC), as was also called for by the SC earlier.

- No clarity on who to approach in case of harassment
- The maximum punishment, even in cases of sexual assault, is prescribed as 2 years.

Notwithstanding these and other shortcomings, a start has been finally made in this long-pending issue of fairly treating transgender community as citizens of India, ensuring all opportunities and due human rights for their growth.

Additional Information:

The term 'transgender' refers to all those who differ in behaviour and appearance from the usual gender stereotypes. It includes transsexuals, transvestites (cross-dressers), intersexed individuals and gender queers. In the Indian context, it also includes social identities such as hijras, kinnars, aravanis, jogtas, Shiv-shaktis and aradhis.

SC has clarified that the term 'transgenders' does not cover gay, lesbian and bisexual persons.

Tamil Nadu has achieved a milestone in ensuring transgender rights by constituting the Aravanis Welfare Board in 2008, providing pensions for the community and creating awareness in schools on gender-variant people by inviting community members and counsellors to talk to students.

2. What improvements Mental Health Care Bill 2016 passed recently seeks to introduce over the Mental Health Act 1987 by ensuring persons with mental illness to live a life with dignity? Examine the issue of Mental health care in this context.

Ans: India is signatory to the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, ratified in 2007. It required India to change her laws to give effect to the rights of persons with mental illness. There was also a need to provide better treatment and improve their access to health services. Therefore, The Mental Health Care Bill, 2013 has been recently passed by Rajya Sabha to replace the Mental Health Act, 1987.

The key reforms the new legislation aims to bring are:

- Right of persons with mental illness to
 - (1) Access mental health care (affordable, quality and easy access). These will include outpatient and inpatient services, hospitals, and community-based rehabilitation establishments.
 - (2) Free legal service
 - (3) Equality of treatment
 - (4) Make advance directive stating how (s)he wants to be treated during a mental health situation, and who the nominee representative would be
- Decriminalising suicide and prohibiting ECT (except with muscle relaxants and anaesthesia). Any person who attempts to commit suicide will be presumed to be mentally ill and will not be penalized under IPC.
- Insurance to be provided by every insurance company for mentally ill persons on the same basis as is available for physical illness
- Central/State Mental Health Authority to manage mental health facilities and issues
- Registration of mental health establishments which fulfil the prescribed criteria

While the Bill does seek to bring significant reforms, there are unresolved issues like management of property of mentally ill persons. Moreover, while decriminalizing suicide



maybe a welcome step, forcing every person attempting suicide to undergo mental treatment may not be the best solution.

Furthermore, health being a State subject and the states being financially constrained, there are bound to be issues in successful implementation of the legislation, once enacted. Central Government would have to step in to ensure funds to the States so as to establish a mental health system integrated into all levels of general health care in India.

3. “The amendment that has been passed recently to the Child Labour (Prohibition & Regulation) Act 1986 will have an adverse effect on the goals that are to be achieved under the Right to Education Act 2009.” In your opinion the above statement holds ground?

Ans: According to 2001 Census, more than 12 million children in the age group 5-14 are engaged in exploitative occupations that are detrimental to their rights and to the full development of their potentials. One in every 11 children in India is working. These child labourers are exploited, exposed to hazardous work conditions and forced to forego education, shouldering responsibilities far beyond their ages.

The Amendments To Child Labour Act 1986

- In India, children are provided with constitutional safeguards like *Article 21A*, *Article 24*, *Article 39(f)* etc as well as legal safeguards like *Child Labour (Prohibition & Regulation) Act 1986*. India is also signatory to *ILO Forced Labour Convention*, and *UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)*.
- Despite these provisions, India has not been able to stop the employment of children. In this regard the new amendment in Child Labor Act 1986 is a welcome move. The amendment makes it clear that children between 14 and 18 years will not be allowed to work in hazardous industries and bars the employment of children under the age of 14 in any occupation. Thus, *the age of prohibition of employment has been linked to age under Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009*.

Anti-Thetical to RTE: An Analysis

- However, there seems to some problems with the amendments. Instead of attempting an overhaul of legislation that has proved ineffective in curbing the phenomenon, Parliament has allowed children up to the age of 14 to be employed in ‘family enterprises’. Moreover, exemption has also been given where the child works as an artist in an *audio-visual entertainment industry*, including advertisement, films, television serials or *sports activities* except the circus.
- Hence, it is alleged that the amendment will have an adverse effect on the goals that are to be achieved under the Right to Education Act 2009 by tweaking the law in such a way that children are in some form or other available for employment in the name of acknowledging the socio-economic realities of India.
- But the above allegation is not completely true. Exceptions have been made in case of works in which the child helps the family or family enterprises. The condition is

that such enterprises should *not be involved in any hazardous occupation* and that the children should *work only after school hours or during vacations*.

Child Labour issue in India is a complex one. On the one hand, poverty and socio-economic conditions in India justify children helping their families in certain occupations; while on the other it creates practical hurdles in implementation of the law.

Although the government's intention to amend the Act is to be appreciated, regulation is going to be a key in the success of recent amendments, as it will be difficult to determine whether a particular family is running an enterprise, or whether some faceless owner has employed a single family to circumvent the law.

4. "Punishing a person for mere possession of beef amounts to state intrusion into a citizen's right to life and personal liberty." Critically examine the statement with respect to beef ban in India.

Ans. While upholding the slaughter ban imposed after enactment of the ***Maharashtra Animal Preservation (Amendment) Act***, the Bombay HC had recently struck down certain amendments in the Act which bans even the possession of beef imported from a State where cow slaughter was not illegal.

The HC justified its decision in favour of slaughter ban, saying that its purpose was to protect the cow and its progeny and not prevent people from eating beef. Even after these animals cease to be useful for the purpose of breeding or even if they become too old to do work, such bulls or bullocks continue to give dung for fuel, manure and bio-gas and therefore they cannot be said to be useless," the court said.

But, the HC had held that punishing a person for mere possession of beef amounted to State intrusion into a citizen's right to life and personal liberty — a freedom assured under **Article 21** of the Constitution."As far as the choice of eating food of the citizens is concerned, the citizens are required to be let alone especially when the food of their choice is not injurious to health," the court said.

Earlier Supreme Court Judgements On Cattle Slaughter

In ***Hanif Qureshi vs State Of Bihar 1958***, held that cattle, *except cows of all ages and calves of both cows and buffaloes*, not capable of milch or draught can be slaughtered. The court classified such cattle as "useless" and found that keeping "useless cattle" alive would be a "wasteful drain" on the nation's cattle feed. The Court also held that beef or buffalo meat is an *item of food for a large section* of the people in India.

But in ***Moti Kureshi Kassab vs State Of Gujarat 2005***, over-rode 1958 verdict and upheld *Gujarat's total ban on cattle slaughter, regardless of whether the bovine is useless or useful*. It said the 1958 verdict only reflected "*India's panic*" due to food scarcity of that era. The court ignored the reasoning that beef was the poor man's protein-rich diet as beef contributes *only 1.3% of the total meat consumption pattern* of the Indian society.

Analysis Of The Issue

- The debate is mainly focussed on the conflict between Right to Life and Personal Liberty under Article 21 and the Right to Religion under Article 25 & 26.



- But the religious argument seemed to be of less importance which the Bombay HC has also held. It justified slaughter ban on the grounds of its usefulness, which is an economic reason.
- On the question of possessing beef, it should be noted that the State can't control what a citizen does in his house which is his own castle, provided he is not doing something contrary to law.
- A citizen has a right to lead a meaningful life within the four corners of his house as well as outside his house. ***This intrusion on the personal life of an individual is prohibited by the right to privacy which is part of the personal liberty guaranteed by Article 21.***
- Ban on beef possession will also hit upon the cosmopolitan nature of the city, which houses people from all religions and communities. Further, there don't seem to be any ***compelling public or state interest*** for criminalising possession of beef, as rightly noted by the Bombay HC also.
- It is well settled that what is protected under Articles 25 and 26 is only such religious practice which forms an essential and integral part of the religion. A practice followed may be a religious practice but if it is not an essential or integral part of the religion then the same is not protected by Article 25 of the Constitution of India.

A genuine secularism in India requires that the ***forces of individual liberty be given priority over social orthodoxy***, that our rights as citizens become progressively detached from our particular identities, that there is genuine distrust of the state's intrusive power over individual lives.

5. If relations between Government and NGOs are observed, there is an ever increasing trust deficit. Analyse the reasons behind such trust deficit. Do you think civil society activism can be curbed through strong regulations by the Government? Give reasons in favour of your arguments?

Ans: State and civil society are the two important pillars for functioning of a vibrant democracy. Unfortunately in India, there is a trust deficit between these two pillars. The reasons include:

- Different perspectives of development – Civil society accuses the government models of development as being too centralized and growth-focused; the neo-liberal mode of development excludes certain sections of the society, who are the main focus for civil society. For example Growing displacement of tribals from mining and hydro-electric projects involves collision between civil society and State. Whereas, government views civil society's work as obstructionist. For Example - A recent IB report has said that civil society actions are responsible for the loss of 2-3% economic growth.
- Policing attitude of the State – Civil society accuses the State of over regulating their functioning. For example- Policing attitude of the State through FCRA, freezing of accounts, screening of civil society actions by Ministry of Home Affairs, imposition of sedition laws and defamation.
- Civil society activism – The State accuses civil society of undermining the democratic institutions and their functioning, of colluding in corrupt practices, lacking in

accountability, opaque in functioning. The State asserts that civil society organizations are accountable to their donors but not the people they serve. On the other hand, in India, the amount of funds received by the civil society from the foreign sources is minimal with funds being used for rural development, education, health care delivery.

The very nature of the function of civil society is to control the authoritative tendencies of the state. So for the functioning of sound democracy, governmental regulation on civil society is unwarranted. Across the world, self regulation is practiced. For example, international civil society centre developed a code of conduct for the civil society and similar development is expected in India.

Finally, it can be concluded that any anti-State action is within the scope of the democratic rights but any anti-national actions of civil society need to be condemned. But, concluding an anti-State action as anti-national and punishing civil society is not in the democratic spirit. At the same time, civil society shall see the State as a partner in development and not other way round.

6. Discuss the application of the concept of social equity on gender, human development, human rights and poverty in the context of India. Substantiate with suitable and relevant examples.

Ans: Social equity is based on foundational principles such as fair access to livelihood, education and resources, full participation in the political and cultural life of the community and involves providing equal access to opportunities based on merit.

In this context, gender and caste inequalities go against the principles of social equity. Government of India has taken up various initiatives for upliftment of poor and marginalized and to remove the inequalities. These include:

1. Stand-up Scheme – Aims to provide loans to Dalit and women entrepreneurs.
2. Beti bachao, Beti padhao – Aim is to create a literate girl child.
3. Mudra Bank – Aim to improve financial access to women for self employment.

Added to above, major approaches of the government towards the goal of social equity can be broadly classified as follows:

- A. Universal services – Government of India and many State governments have enacted various laws under rights-based approach to provide universal access to amenities to health and education.
- B. Targeted approach – Identification of deprived and programs targeted to remove their specific deprivation. For example Housing scheme for poor.
- C. Social safety nets – For the elderly, homeless, industrial workers and agricultural labourers who have been provided with pensions and social safety nets.

But still there are many major challenges which exist in India. These include:

1. Many of the inequalities overlap in India. For eg. Caste-based social inequalities overlap with economic inequalities. Redistribution of power in the society through democratic means happens slowly.
2. Many of the social deliverables suffer from huge leakages. Eg. PDS.
3. Social Justice in India is equated with reservations and is seen from a very narrow prism.



7. Do you think SHGs and the benefit to each member creates sustainability of SHG movement. Analyse the difficulties faced by SHG movement in India. Mention the recent initiatives of the Government to sustain the SHGs in India.

Ans: Self Help Groups refer to self organized groups based on social affinities in the societies working towards a collective economic purpose or goal. Important factors that determine the success of self help groups are:

1. The capacities of its members to manage the affairs of an SHG.
2. Access to finances – In India, the Bank-SHG model is very successful. It depends on the trust between the SHGs and Banking sector.

But, the major problem in India is the target-based approach in the creation of SHGs. It has led to the creation of poor quality SHGs without any proper training to its members. For example, Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY) has allocated only 5% of the funds for the training of members. The other problems include:

1. Creation of poor quality SHGs – No importance has been given to the affinity, or homogeneity among the members. Caste has become the common affinity factor in rural areas.
2. High interest rates – Micro Finance Institutions (MFI) collected interest rates to the tune of 36-50% from SHGs. In this context, Malegaon committee recommended for regulation of MFI and fixing the upper ceiling at 24% can be heeded to.
3. Loan waivers – Political promises of loan waivers for the Women SHG led to their default on loan payment. It created mistrust between the Banks and SHGs. In this scenario, lack of financial access has become a major hindrance for the growth of the SHG movement.

The following initiatives of the government have taken the movement in the right direction:

1. MUDRA – Micro Units Development and Refinance Agency – It provides loans at low interest rate to the MFIs.
2. SHG-2 of NABARD – It aims to provide for flexible loans to SHGs. Added to this, credit ratings are given to the SHGs for analyzing their performance. These are aimed at improving the quality of SHGs.

Finally, MYRADA and SEWA the NGOs who pioneered the SHGs say that, capacity building of participants is one single factor that determines the success of SHGs. So, it needs to be realized that nurturing SHGs needs patience and time.

8. India has made significant progress in preventing new infections and extending treatment to HIV patients, despite that HIV-related stigma and discrimination continues to affect the lives of people. The new HIV Bill adopts human rights approach but is not free from various shortcomings. Critically analyze.

Ans: According to National AIDS Control Organization, about 21 lakh people are estimated to be living with HIV in India. Though India has a low HIV prevalence rate, it still has the third

largest HIV epidemic in the world in terms of absolute numbers. Stigma and discrimination are among the foremost barriers to HIV prevention, treatment, care and support.

AIDS control programmes:

Since 1992, the Indian Government has been running the National AIDS Control Programme (NACP) for prevention and control of HIV/AIDS in India. India's HIV epidemic is slowing down, with a 32% decline in new HIV infections, and a 54% decline in AIDS-related deaths between 2007 and 2015.

Stigma and Discrimination:

Barriers to health care: Discrimination and other human rights violations may occur in health care settings, barring people from accessing health services or enjoying quality health care.

Shunned by everyone: Some people living with HIV and other key affected populations are shunned by family, peers and the wider community

Discrimination: Many people with HIVs face poor treatment in educational and work settings, erosion of their rights, and psychological damage.

HIV and AIDS (Prevention and Control) Bill:

Parliament has recently passed the HIV and AIDS (Prevention and Control) Bill, 2017 to ensure equal rights to the people infected with HIV and AIDS in getting treatment and prevent discrimination of any kind. The Bill would support National AIDS Control Programme in arresting new infections. The key provisions:

- Punishment for discrimination: It makes discrimination against a person living with HIV/AIDS a punishable offence. These include the denial, termination, discontinuation or unfair treatment with regard to: (i) employment, (ii) educational establishments, (iii) health care services, (iv) residing or renting property, (v) standing for public or private office.
- No pre-requisite testing: The requirement for HIV testing as a pre-requisite for obtaining employment or accessing health care or education is also prohibited.

Criticism of the bill:

- **No legal right to treatment:** The law only enjoins the States to provide access to anti-retroviral drugs and treatment "as far as possible". It stops short of making it a legal right.
- **No safeguards for vulnerable population:** The bill cannot ensure non-discrimination against those most vulnerable to HIV/AIDS (like sex workers and homosexuals) as long as they continue to suffer criminalization under various national laws (like section 377 of IPC).
- **As long as bill does not address the conflict between safeguards for people vulnerable to HIV/AIDS and laws against that criminalize and stigmatize them, its effectiveness will be limited.** Remedying this conflict and ensuring treatment as a legal right will enable the government in arresting new infections and thereby achieving the Sustainable Development Goal of "Ending the HIV/AIDS epidemic by 2030."



9. Analyse the impact of globalisation on labour markets in India. Do you think the recent reforms initiated by the Government of India to be in the spirit of Make in India?

Ans: In India, there are rigid labour laws in the formal sector and lack of basic regulation in informal sector. Globalisation has impacted the labour markets both in positive and negative ways.

On the positive side:

1. Labour markets got widened and new sunrise sectors became the generators of the employment.
2. Free trade, interconnected markets have raised the levels of employment and choices available which is critical for the countries that are going through the democratic dividend phase such as India.
3. Labour migration has increased.

On the negative side:

1. There is an increased casualisation and informalisation of labour. Many industries are running on contractual work force to avoid the regulatory burden.
2. Social safety nets are decreasing. As per the annual report of ILO – 2015 India has the lowest social safety nets for the employees in unorganized sector.
3. Decrease in employee bargaining power - It is a direct outcome of knowledge-based sectors.

In such a scenario, following are the recent initiatives of the Government to reform the crucial labour sector:

1. Shram Suvidha (Unified Portal for Labour and Employment) portal – It is a uniform portal to submit different reports to the Government. It is envisaged as a single point of contact between employer, employee and enforcement agencies.
2. Labour Code on Industrial Relations – The objective is to create a single law unifying the Industrial Disputes Act 1947, Trade Unions Act 1926 and Industrial Employment Act 1946.
3. Labour welfare – Govt has revised the Minimum Wages Act, Payment of Bonus Act to benefit the wider group.
4. Amendment to the Apprenticeship Act – It allows wide range of sectors including small scale industries to offer for apprenticeships. To protect the interests of the apprentice, their minimal salary levels also are to be determined by the Government.
5. Factory Act – It has been amended to allow flexibility in working hours. Now, women are also allowed to work in the night shift. This flexibility can benefit the textile and garment sector.

So, the relaxation of norms will definitely benefit the Make in India initiative, but welfare of the workers and growth of economy shall go hand in hand.

10. The government aims in shifting focus from “sick-care” to “wellness”, by promoting preventive health care in India as it is the foundation on which Universal health care is to

be built. Do you think insurance based health care delivery can be a road to universal health care? Suggest measures to achieve the insurance based health care delivery in India.

Ans: Universal health care refers to the providing of certain basic health care services to all citizens irrespective of their affordability to pay for such services. The objective of health care reform is to provide for access, affordability and equity in health care services.

Universal health coverage (UHC) has now been widely adopted by Canada and many other developing countries both as a developmental imperative and the moral obligation of a civilised society. India embraced this vision at its independence. However, insufficient funding of public facilities, combined with faulty planning and inefficient management over the years, has resulted in a dysfunctional health system that has been yielding poor health outcomes. India's public spending on health — just around 1.2 per cent of GDP — is among the lowest in the world. Private health services have grown by default, without checks on cost and quality, escalating private out-of-pocket health expenditures and exacerbating health inequity. While the National Rural Health Mission and the several government funded health insurance schemes have provided a partial response, out-of-pocket expenditure still remains at 71 per cent of all spending, without coverage for outpatient care, medicines and basic diagnostic tests.

In this scenario following are the major challenges in India:

1. Out of pocket expenditure – According to the National Health Account statistics 66% of the total health expenditure in India is out of pocket health expenditure. The major components of the expenditure are the health care personnel charges and cost of the medicines. If 0.5% of GDP is spent on the centralized procurement of medicines it can decrease the out of pocket expenditure by 2/3rd. Thailand, which has been able to achieve health care access to 98% of its population with only 27% out of pocket health expenditure is a good example for India to emulate.
2. Excessive reliance on insurance based health care – No country across the world has achieved universal health care on insurance based health care. The very nature of its functioning excludes the elderly and people with pre-existing diseases to increase their profitability. In this scenario, Cuba can stand as a successful example for improving health care delivery through state apparatus.
3. Low public health care expenditure – India spends less than 1% of its GDP on health care delivery.
4. Emphasis of curative care rather than preventive care – Emphasis on preventive care will decrease the burden on the curative care in the long run.
5. Skewed distribution of manpower – This exists between urban and rural, developed and undeveloped regions of the country. Lack of sufficient manpower is another reason. The recent reforms to MCI can restructure medical education in India.

It is time to recognise that everyone, not just the poor, needs to be protected against rising health costs that can impoverish any family. We are on the threshold of a historic transition to guarantee health security for all Indians. UHC will greatly reduce out-of-pocket expenditures and provide much needed relief to people. Apart from improving people's health, adopting UHC is likely to generate millions of new jobs, enhance productivity, and promote equity. Statesmanship must assert itself to create a national



framework of UHC that is capable of State-specific adaptations. It is time to give the people of India the efficient, affordable and equitable health system they desire, deserve and demand. So, if India needs to achieve universal health coverage, it needs to be guided by the model of Cuba rather than the USA. The Cuba model can be said to be effective with least costs.

Additional Points: The best form of providing health protection would be to change the economic system which produces ill health, and to liquidate ignorance, poverty and unemployment. The practice of each individual purchasing his own medical care does not work. It is unjust, inefficient, wasteful and completely outmoded ... In our highly geared, modern industrial society, there is no such thing as private health — all health is public. The illness and maladjustments of one unit of the mass affects all other members. The protection of people's health should be recognised by the Government as its primary obligation and duty to its citizens.

11. The BRICS mandate is under siege at a time of slowing economies and growing intra-BRICS political divergences. Not surprisingly, the grouping has been struggling to retain its relevance.' Do you agree?

Ans: The outcome of the recent BRICS Goa Summit has ignited a debate over relevance of BRICS especially when seen in the context of growing intra-BRICS political divergences due to:

- (1) All member states having their own agenda and often working at cross purposes. For eg. China dominating the group by creating financial institutions; Russia increasingly using the forum for shadowboxing with US; India, using the platform to affirm that its foreign policy remains independent, not subservient to America; Brazil and South Africa remaining disinterested in the group at best.
- (2) Division on issue of terrorism on which India has had differences with China on the issue of Pakistan-sponsored terrorism against India; also the reluctance of India's traditional partner Russia to support India on the issue of Pakistan-sponsored terror, even though Moscow's own concerns on Syria got reflected in the declaration.
- (3) BRICS has always been an artificial construct, but as the geopolitical fault-lines among major powers become more vivid, its future looks even bleaker.

However another section of experts assert that despite divergences, BRICS has immense potential:

- (1) The optimism rests on the continued rise of India and China and the recovery of economic growth in the other three members. BRICS's unfinished agenda of reform of global financial and trade institutions reminds member countries of the necessity of continued cooperation in this regard for mutual benefit.
- (2) The New Development Bank (NDB), which hopes to disburse over \$1 billion next year in loans, can play a useful role in supporting projects of infrastructure and connectivity in BIMSTEC and sustainable development in Africa.
- (3) The idea of setting up a BRICS Credit Rating Agency should be lauded and efforts should be made to strengthen it further.

Importance of BRICS for India:

- (1) Holding the BRICS-BIMSTEC Outreach Summit has the potential to broaden India's economic and political clout, blunt China's domination, further isolate Pakistan, strengthen India's Look East policy, speed up connectivity and growth in India's Northeast, and give the 11-member group a greater say in establishing an equitable, rule-based multi-polar global order.
- (2) Counter-terrorism is an important area for cooperation among BRICS members for political security. The member countries should narrow down their differences and make concerted efforts to combat terrorism which has become a threat to global peace and security.

So we can say that BRICS has to take these steps which would further strengthen the collective voice of BRICS, enhance BRICS communication and coordination and will contribute to world peace and security

12. "Signing of LEMOA can be regarded as a positive momentum in the burgeoning Indo-US strategic partnership." Examine how this agreement will add symbolic value in enhancing Indo-US strategic partnership.

Ans: After years of deliberations, India and the United States formally signed this agreement known as Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (LEMOA). The United States has already signed this agreement with around 100 countries which includes its strategic allies as well as partners. LEMOA is a facilitating agreement which is likely to enhance efficiency of joint military activities and operations launched by India and the United States whenever they decide to undertake. With this agreement, India and United States will also be able to avail access to each other's military facilities for various logistical supports during ports calls, joint military exercises, military training, disaster relief operations, humanitarian operations etc. The agreement will enable India and the United States to access military supplies, fuel, spare parts as well as services from each other's facilities as and when it is required and for which reimbursement would be made. It should be clarified that this agreement does not give any basing rights to any of the two parties. Also, the logistical support will be decided on a case to case basis as and when required.

In light of Prime Minister Modi's Make in India campaign, New Delhi has been emphasising upon co-development and co-production of defence equipments in India. To achieve this goal, Defence Trade and Technology Initiative (DTTI) was launched. LEMOA would help in expediting high end technology transfer processes from United States to India. Besides LEMOA is an amended version of traditional Logistics Support Agreement (LSA). The other two agreements are Communications Interoperability and Security Memorandum of Agreement (CISMOA) and Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement for Geo-spatial Cooperation (BECA) which is likely to be negotiated by both sides after the successful implementation of LEMOA. It indicates there is greater trust and synergy which is being developed by both the nations. India-US strategic partnership has been transformed in last one and half decades and the LEMOA is a movement forward in building greater trust and understanding and in taking the relationship to a higher trajectory. It would be essential to emphasize that India and the United States are strategic partners. India exercises strategic autonomy in making its foreign and security policy choices and the signing of LEMOA does



not make any change in this position of India's foreign policy approach and its implementation.

13. "Make in India" initiative clearly intersects with Shinzo Abe's Partnership for Quality Infrastructure in Asia (PQI). How does India map in the new foreign policy level systemic architecture envisaged between India and Japan?

Ans: Partnership for Quality Infrastructure in Asia (PQI) aims to consolidate Japan's regional clout among the emerging Asian economies. PQI, which is often viewed as a competing formulation vis-à-vis the Chinese mega infrastructure designs, is critical to achieving the goals of Japan's national growth strategy. Japan aims to promote high quality infrastructure partnerships and facilitate expansion to emerging markets in Asia, and enable a revolution in productivity by investment in the future. The Japan Business Federation identified Asia, and especially countries like Indonesia, Vietnam, India and Myanmar, as the priority regions. Sectors including railway, airports, harbours, telecommunication and power plants are of interest. Drawing from its promising economic prospects, rapid urbanisation, expanding market and growing strategic significance as a regional power, Japan is aggressively pursuing PQI in India. Japan will increasingly play an instrumental role in redefining Indian infrastructure. PQI will further expand the shadow of Japan in India's development story. While Japan's footprint in high-speed rail, industrial corridors and urban mass rapid transport systems have expanded in India over the years through Official Development Assistance loans, PQI is a more comprehensive approach. It appears to be relatively more amenable to high risk projects and reinforces the Japan Bank for International Cooperation's role to give support for private-public partnerships for infrastructure projects; calls for robust collaboration with the Asian Development Bank (ADB) for expansion of lending capacity and lending portfolio to the private sector; encourages mobilisation of private funding for infrastructure projects; and aims to accelerate loan procedures. As India mobilises resources to attain its developmental goals, Abe's PQI will play a key role in enhancing connectivity within India and beyond the borders. PQI will certainly add qualitative depth to the India-Japan Special Strategic and Global Partnership. But both sides will have to invest more energy and demonstrate patience as infrastructure financing will have to navigate a few hurdles while India makes effort to undo decades-old bureaucratic bottlenecks to ease procedures and attract investments. One of the important pillars of PQI is to deepen collaboration with the ADB. Meanwhile, Asia is closely observing how the ADB is debating the scope of joint infrastructure financing with the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank while responding to Asia's enormous infrastructure requirements. Japan has stressed that in cooperation with the ADB, it will deliver high-quality and innovative infrastructure to Asia and committed US\$110 billion over five years, demonstrating a 30 per cent increase in funding. India will certainly gain from such commitments, which in turn will redefine the contours of India-Japan relations at a time when political energy on both sides is working to add further depth to bilateral ties.

14. The cancellation of the SAARC summit in Islamabad has galvanized New Delhi's efforts to look at new ways to foster regional cooperation. India's recent outreach to BIMSTEC is

an important signal that New Delhi is serious about its role as a facilitator of economic cooperation in South Asia.’ Discuss.

Ans: The cancellation of the SAARC summit in Islamabad has galvanised New Delhi’s efforts to look at new ways to foster regional cooperation. Experts have interpreted the Indian decision to boycott SAARC meet as part of India’s mission to create a regional alternative in South Asia minus Pakistan.

In a sense we already have **sub-regional cooperation** which has been far more successful like BBIN which has Bangladesh, Bhutan, India and Nepal as its members. There is already an **energy grid** which is being put in place. India is selling power to Bangladesh and Nepal and buying power from Bhutan. India has also agreed that Bhutan’s energy can flow to Bangladesh through India.

Sub-regional cooperation among countries that are willing to engage is taking place. One such sub-regional pact, the Bangladesh-Bhutan-Nepal-India (BBIN) Motor Vehicles Agreement, was signed in 2015 and the first mock run of Dhaka-New Delhi cargo truck happened recently.

Even **bilaterally** a lot is happening. There is an actual process of **economic integration** that is taking place like the one between southern states of India and Sri Lanka. While the Pakistan dimension is disappointing, other sub-regional dimensions within SAARC have been successful.

India and Afghanistan are also putting in place a **joint air corridor** following Pakistan’s intransigence to provide transit rights. India is also working with Bangladesh to put in place several other bilateral connectivity projects across road, rail, rivers, air and sea to enhance people-to-people contacts and business partnership. Similarly Nepal and India have been linked with Delhi-Kathmandu -bus service since 2014.

India had also invited six leaders of BIMSTEC grouping for the BRICS BIMSTEC outreach meet in October 2016 which excluded Pakistan.

With Pakistan out of the picture, India’s informal SAARC minus one approach will therefore likely emerge as Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s default neighbourhood policy. This policy is expected to gradually shift east, seeking to tie regional cooperation on the subcontinent to ASEAN’s successful regional integration story in Southeast Asia.

The shift in India’s regional strategy will, however, crucially depend on the government’s capacity to override its security establishment’s traditional anxieties about cross-border connectivity.

15. ‘Sustained sponsorship of cross-border terrorism over many years by Pakistan has created fundamentally changed circumstances that undermine the essential basis of India’s original consent to the Indus Water Treaty (IWT), while significantly altering the balance of obligations.’ In this context, critically analyse the implications of India’s decisions to review the IWT. What measures could be undertaken by both the countries to promote amicable solution to water sharing disputes?

Ans: In the aftermath of Uri attack, India decided to review IWT. The treaty has been a success **mainly because of India**, which has continued to uphold the pact even when Pakistan has repeatedly waged aggression and fundamentally altered the circumstances of cooperation. **International law recognises that a party may withdraw from a treaty in the event of fundamentally changed circumstances.** So India can **dissolve the lopsided but indefinite treaty.** The positive implications of such a decision is as follows:



- (a) The Indus is Pakistan's jugular vein. If India wishes to improve Pakistan's behaviour and dissuade it from exporting more terrorists, it should hold out a credible threat of dissolving the IWT, drawing a clear linkage between Pakistan's right to unimpeded water inflows and its responsibility not to cause harm to its upper riparian.
- (b) It will also signal a strong message of India's zero tolerance approach towards Pakistan's fomenting cross-border terrorism, which was more clearly reflected in PM's statement 'blood and water can't flow together'.
- (c) It will redress persistent grievance of **Jammu and Kashmir State which believes that it is at a loss** and the concessions given to Pakistan are more than it should have been given.
- (d) India will also be free to address the problem of electricity shortages and underdevelopment in J&K by building modestly sized, run-of-river hydropower plants which have been stalled by Pakistan's objections, although the IWT permits such projects.

However it will have **some negative implications** too-

- (a) India's decision to review IWT will **open the floodgates to a new and potent source of conflict** between India and nuclear armed Pakistan and in so doing, it will set a bad example for the rest of the world.
- (b) Unilateral abrogation of the treaty will **severely undermine Delhi's hard-won reputation as a responsible rising power**. It would come back to bite India as it seeks membership in the Nuclear Suppliers Group and a greater voice on the international stage.
- (c) Its actions as an upper riparian country run the risk of **seriously undermining its position as a lower riparian state vis-à-vis China** and India's chances of getting China to invest in process-oriented, institutionalised norms in a trans-boundary basin will become less realistic.
- (d) It will **send negative signals to Dhaka, Kathmandu and Thimphu**. It is likely to lessen confidence in India's credentials as a leader with an inclination to design regional norms of benefit-sharing. **It would further reinforce the perception that India has a strong unilateralist streak.**
- (e) Any Indian attempt to put a squeeze over water flowing to Pakistan suffers from **two infirmities**. First, there is no way to control the fast flowing waters of the Indus, at least in India unless India builds dams and forces its citizens J&K to undergo the trauma of massive displacement.
- (f) Second, Pakistan is bound to approach an international tribunal to contest India's construction parameters. The possibility of litigation slowing down the pace of work coupled with the extremely difficult terrain will mean it will take an enormous amount of the nation's resources to build a single dam.

So following **measures could be undertaken by both the countries to promote amicable solution to water sharing disputes-**

- (i) Pakistan and India must consult each other on all major projects on the Indus river system that might have caused a hostile environmental impact across borders.
- (ii) They could **jointly build dams and share benefits**. This could lower their tensions over water sharing.
- (iii) They should **agree for periodic review of IWT**. The populations of both Pakistan and India are no longer the same, and it will only increase more by the middle of the 21st century, making **review of the treaty vital**. **The IWT also didn't take into account the impact of climate change**. Its amendment also becomes **important as people in disputed Kashmir are seeking a greater say** in the affairs involving their natural resources.
- (iv) Both nations must improve domestic water management and encourage less water intensive crops. Improved infrastructure could help plug power distribution losses while both countries need to increase rainwater harvesting projects wherever possible as well. They can also reduce their reliance on hydro-electricity by adopting solar energy instead.

These steps will go a long way in resolving tension over water sharing and may serve as a template for other countries in South Asia and over the globe as well.

16. "The most significant dimension of India's Indian Ocean diplomacy has been the outreach to Arab Gulf states where the Indian Navy has embarked on a programme of sustained capacity building and security collaboration." Discuss.

Ans: It is a little known fact that the Indian Navy's Western outreach predates its diplomatic turn to the East. Since 2008, the Indian Navy has been partnering regional maritime forces in anti-piracy duties, providing critical support and training to Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) navies. Through defence cooperation memorandums and joint committees on defence cooperation, it has substantially enhanced its operational synergy with Arab Gulf navies – many of them members of the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS). The naval engagement with Oman has been most notable. While India and Oman entered into a "strategic partnership" in 2008, naval cooperation has been on since 1993 in the form of a biennial exercise, Naseem Al-Bahr.

India has provided naval training and hydrographic support to Oman, while Omani ships have been regular visitors at Indian ports. More significantly, Oman has played a key role in sustaining India's security efforts in the Gulf of Aden by offering berthing and replenishment facilities to Indian naval ships, and hosting a crucial Indian listening post in the Western Indian Ocean. With a new super-port project at Duqm nearing completion, Oman is poised to transform the maritime geopolitics of the Arabian Sea.

An appreciation of its strategic potential has led New Delhi to cultivate stronger maritime ties with Muscat. Importantly for India, the ongoing engagement with Arab navies hasn't been to the exclusion of a maritime relationship with Iran. The Iranian Navy, which has long suffered from a "siege" mindset in the Arabian Gulf, is in the throes of a radical psychological transformation. Having acquired critical war-fighting capabilities, it has been gaining the confidence of a regional maritime power. India offers the most potential for such a partnership.

For maritime watchers, India's Arabian Gulf maritime strategy seems driven by two essential considerations. The waterways of the Northern Indian Ocean are among the most important



in the world, facilitating the export of large volumes of goods, oil and natural gas. India is a principal beneficiary of the trade and energy flows through the West Asian littorals. The Middle East is also home to nearly 7 million Indians, whose remittances contribute significantly to India's economy. The sheer weight of market interaction and commercial exchanges with the Arab Gulf region amplifies its political significance, creating an urgent need for a greater Indian naval presence in the region.

17. India, formally, recognized Israel in 1950. However, despite being Israel's largest importer of arms the first visit by an Indian prime minister took place only in 2017. Critically examine the various international and domestic factors responsible for such cautioned approach from India.

Ans: India formally recognised Israel on September 17, 1950. India and Israel are two democracies that share a history that is marked by British colonial rule. The two countries were carved independent only a few months apart, and have hostile neighbours. However, despite the number of commonalities shared between these countries, since 1948 India has adopted a cautioned approach towards Israel. The first visit to Israel by an Indian prime minister took place only in 2017.

Reasons behind such a cautioned approach:-

Domestic factors:

- Mahatma Gandhi was opposed to the core objective of Zionism – the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine on religious grounds, although he sympathized with the sufferings of millions of Jews perpetrated during the Holocaust.
- After Indian independence, Indian leaders were more sympathetic towards the Arabs. They believed that it was essential to have a unified, secular nation which would be inhabited, harmoniously by Palestinian Arabs and the Jewish.
- Newborn India did not want to alienate its considerably large Muslim minority. At the same time, domestic requirements of arms, agricultural knowhow etc. required continued ties with Israel.
- India, in the past, had condemned Israeli occupation of Palestine, and construction in occupied territories leading to displacement of Palestinians. India views the situation through the lens of its own experience vis-à-vis China which still occupies large parts of Indian Territory.

International factors:

- In the post-Cold War era, which saw the dramatic downfall of the Soviet Union, India could no longer depend on only one country as its defense patron.
- Russia continued to be an important defence partner even in post-cold war era. India tried to balance its ties with Russia and Israel-USA.
- The Indians had to now look for an alternative alliance, and Israel's sophisticated arms and military caliber impressed them. When the Madrid Peace Process was launched in 1991, India announced its full recognition of the country.

- The Kargil War proved to be a turning point. Israel proved to be an important ally and defense instrument of support, providing India with ammunition
- Alleged human rights violation by Israel in Palestine. New Delhi avoided an open declaration of its engagements with Israel.
- Pakistan – USA – Israel triangle presented a complicated situation before India. It warranted a cautioned approach.
- India was dependant on Arab country for its energy needs - it has now diversified its sources and has better control over procurement mechanisms.

Prime Minister's visit to Israel is expected to change things around. It marks a transition in India's history, where India has finally gone all out in announcing its critically important relationship with the Israel– which have for decades otherwise been covert, behind-closed-doors bilateral interactions, anchored in military and intelligence discussions. India-Israel cooperation on agriculture, water, cyber security and defence is expected to serve India's long term national interests

18. Russia's relations with India's neighbors are undergoing a major shift. Is it a cause of concern for India? How should India respond to changing Russian engagements in India's neighborhood?

Ans: Russia is the first country with which India established a strategic partnership in 2000, which speaks volumes about how strong the India-Russia relations have historically been. India has a special & privileged partnership with only three countries, and Russia is one of them. Over the past several decades, and particularly at the time of the Soviet Union, Indo-Russian relations had been marked by a high degree of political and strategic trust. Today most analysts agree that the relationship has developed to a degree that it can be characterized as "time tested".

But the trends in recent times seem to suggest a definitive decline in India-Russia relations. Not only have the Indo-Russian relations been adversely impacted to a certain degree, to make things worse, Russian engagement with the countries in India's neighbourhood is also undergoing a major shift.

1. Russia & China have had a long history of border disputes. Russia had imposed a moratorium on selling offensive weapons to China. But with the recent sale of Sukhoi Su-35 & Amur class submarines, this self-imposed moratorium has been removed. Russia has also removed all the restrictions on the export of armaments from China. Russia & China are also entering into co-production of defence equipments.
2. Historically, Russia & Pakistan have been on the opposite fronts with Pakistan being a designated Non-NATO US ally during & after the Cold war era. But with US-Pakistan relations deteriorating in recent times, Russia now seems to be cozying up with Pakistan. Russia & Pakistan held their first ever joint military exercise Friendship-2016, last year. Russia also started selling weapons to Pakistan, the most recent instance being that of Russia providing Mil Mi-35M attack helicopters to Pakistan to help it fight against terrorism.

The possible underlying causes adversely impacting India-Russia relations & causing major shifts in Russia's engagement with countries in the Indian neighbourhood are as follows:



- Some major issues of dissonance have appeared between India-Russia over the last few years. The first concerns the rapidly expanding ties between India and USA, which started with the India-US nuclear deal in 2008.
- India's decision to sign recent defence Agreements with USA, has surfaced as a cause of serious concern for Russia.
- US have also replaced Russia as India's largest defence supplier, which has pushed Russia to further diversify its arms market.
- Increasing the military exercises frequency and intensity like conducting Military 'Exercise Yudh Abhyas' and Navy 'Exercise Malabar' in the context of global geopolitical changes may have possibly angered Russia.

Thus the growing Indo-American synergy seems to be one of the major reasons that may have prompted Moscow to re-evaluate its strategic partnership with New Delhi. Moscow is hence seen developing ties with Pakistan and China to balance the certain changes in the power pattern in the South Asian region.

This major shift in Russia's relations with countries in the Indian neighbourhood may prove to be a cause of concern for India as:

- Rapprochement between Pakistan and Russia could lead to realignment in South Asia. The region could potentially witness clashes which may destabilize the whole region.
- An alliance with Pakistan will also alienate India, which has been Russia's long term partner and the two countries have deep links in military, energy and other important sectors.
- Russia has historically helped India on the Kashmir issue at UN, however close ties with Pakistan & China may well push Russia to change its stand in the future.
- With Russia moving closer towards China, a country historically sympathetic to Pakistan's cause, a new triangle of Russia-China-Pakistan would possibly emerge. With two of these countries being permanent members in UNSC & the remaining one being an aspiring candidate, this triangle may prove to be disastrous for India in numerous spheres.

Despite the above concerns, there are still numerous bright spots in India-Russia relations that are here to stay & these included:

- Defence partnership remains one of the strongest pillars of the strategic partnership. Russian share in India's defence expenditure is still huge. India-Russia share not only a buyer-seller relationship, but also co-produce some high end defence equipment like different versions of Brahmos, supersonic cruise missiles, 5th generation aircrafts, T-90 tanks, Kamov helicopters & so on.
- India & Russia have adopted a strategic vision in nuclear energy. Russia is expected to build 12 new reactors with agreement on Kudankulam phase V & VI already concluded. India-Russia have entered into agreement for joint Uranium mining. Russia will be providing technology to handle nuclear waste & manage nuclear safety. They will also be working together to produce nuclear reactors that would be sold to other countries.

Major steps needed:

1. Diplomatic efforts should be made to communicate the concerns of India to Russian policymakers. Russia is free to engage with Indian neighbours and expand its export market; however it should not be at the cost of India's interests.

2. It should be communicated to Russia that Pakistan can be an unreliable ally, as it was Pakistan who was responsible for the collapse of the USSR. On the other hand, China has its own geo-strategic ambitions, which can be detrimental to Russian interests. There is an Old Russian saying that, "One old friend is better than two new friends".

3. On the other hand India should make efforts of strengthening its ties with Russia.

- Political leadership of both countries must find ways to rejuvenate the confluence of political and strategic interests so that relationship breaks out of its current shackles.
- The most disappointing aspect of Indo-Russian relations is not having a strong economic interdependence. Bilateral trade between India-Russia is only around \$11 billion, which is way below potential. It is nearly 1/10th when compared to Russia-China trade & India-US trade of above \$100 billion each. The structural problems hindering India & Russia realize its trade potential need to be addressed at the earliest.
- Another weak aspect of Indo-Russian relations is its limited military to military exchanges which need to be beefed-up.
- Increasing people to people contact is another area which has a huge scope of improvement. A lack of understanding between Russia and India was one of the key problems raised by representatives of leading Indian think tanks that visited Russia Direct in Moscow in September 2016.

India should very well remember that International relations are not zero-sum games and should resist the temptation of alliance formation & rather adopt the policy of "Strategic autonomy with Multiple Alignments".

19. India as an acknowledged Emerged Power can no longer afford the historically dubious policies of Non-Alignment. Discuss.

Ans: The idea of a multi-polar world has dominated international relations since the end of the Cold War. New developments have the potential to reshape the field of geopolitics. Emergence of India, China as major emerging economies and emergence of regional grouping like ASEAN, BRICS, SCO and so on also questioned the India's policies of Non-Alignment.

India as Emerging Power

India in particular, but also most other NAM countries, have integrated themselves to varying degrees within the liberal economic order and have benefited from it. India today is a member of the G20 and its rising economic profile has contributed to the greater resonance of Indian popular culture around the world.

India has declared itself as a nuclear weapons power and has for all practical purposes abandoned the call for global nuclear disarmament. Even India's dissatisfaction with the nuclear order has waned in the wake of its accommodation into global nuclear commerce and the very real prospects of it becoming a member in various nuclear and dual-use technology cartels.

Further, since the end of the Cold War, India has become a key member of various multilateral groupings: BASIC (Brazil, South Africa, India and China) for protecting and promoting its interests on climate change; G4 for pushing through reforms of the UN Security Council; G20 for managing the world economy; BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) and IBSA (India, Brazil and South Africa) to enhance economic



coordination with countries that are similarly placed; and ASEAN-centered institutions, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, and Russia-India-China grouping for pursuing political and security interests. These engagements in multiple forums for varying economic, political and security purposes have made the Non-Aligned Movement “largely incidental” to India’s pursuit of its national interest since the end of the Cold War.

Non-Alignment

Non-alignment has its origins in India's colonial experience and the non-violent Indian independence struggle, which left India determined to be the master of its fate in an international system dominated politically by Cold War alliances and economically by Western capitalism and Soviet communism. The principles of non-alignment as articulated by Nehru and his successors were; preservation of India's freedom of action internationally, non-violence and international cooperation as a means of settling international disputes.

Analysis of Non-Alignment and Relevance

1. It is a widely held belief that the policy of Non Alignment through Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was highly relevant for India and its foreign policy interests during the bipolar era of the Cold War and that it has, since the 1990s, lost its relevance in a unipolar international order. It is true that NAM played an important role during the Cold War years in furthering many of the causes that India advocated: de-colonization, end to apartheid, global nuclear disarmament, ushering in of new international economic and information orders, etc.
2. NAM was more or less irrelevant for India in terms of helping to protect and promote its security and interests – the principal criterion by which the utility of a multilateral group should be measured. NAM’s lack of utility for protecting and promoting India’s security and interests is clearly demonstrated by the diplomatic positions adopted by member countries during the various wars in which India has been involved. On each of these occasions, NAM members invariably adopted diplomatic positions that were not favorable towards or supportive of India.
3. NAM served as a forum to channel India’s deep dissatisfaction with the international order, characterized as it was by economic, political, and nuclear hierarchies. It was through NAM that India articulated the call for a new international economic order that would cater for the special needs of the developing countries.
4. Similarly, it was through NAM that India articulated the call for a new world information and communication order to provide a greater voice for developing countries in global communications.
5. NAM also served as a forum for India to articulate its views on global nuclear disarmament and the discriminatory nature of the global nuclear order at the centre of which stood the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

India needs to reorient her policy keeping in mind of vision of Multipolarity of world, multiple engagements with major players and link between global south-north and so on.

Prospects of Non- Alignment

Non-Alignment's role in the present century would be strengthened by more South-South cooperation, which would mean, by and large, collaboration between and among the NAM countries and defending their interests from fast expanding economic and technological power of the North. It should develop a progressive agenda on the fundamental values of democracy, human rights and multiculturalism. Non-Alignment has not lost any of its relevance rather it has stood the test of time. It has served the useful purpose of protecting and preserving the interest of the Third World countries well in the past, so it is also expected to serve their interest well in the future to come. NAM can play the most important role in protecting the economic interest of the Third World countries as well as promoting south-south cooperation. Thus the philosophy of Non-Alignment is as relevant as ever for the Third World.

20. Domestic issues have much larger connotations on bilateral relations when it comes to South Asia. Critically analyze the statement with respect to India-Sri Lanka relations.

Ans: The South Asian region is full of contradictions, disparities and paradoxes. In the post-colonial period, the South Asia has been a theatre of bloody inter-state as well as civil wars; it has witnessed liberation movements, nuclear rivalry, military dictatorships and continues to suffer from insurgencies, religious fundamentalism and terrorism, besides serious problems associated with drugs and human trafficking. The region also has the dubious distinction of having over 540mn people who earn less than \$ 1.25 a day and account for 44% of developing world's poor. On the barometer of religious tolerance, the constituent countries range anywhere between flexible secular minded to rigidly fundamentalist. In addition to this India's position is unique in more than one sense. As a matter of an interesting geographic factor, India shares borders with all other South Asian nations whereas no other South Asian nation (except Afghanistan and Pakistan) shares borders with any other South Asian nation. This factor gave rise to river water sharing disputes in addition to political disputes for example Teesta river dispute between India and Bangladesh.

The relationship between India and Sri Lanka is more than 2,500 years old. Both Countries have a legacy of intellectual, cultural, religious and linguistic interaction. Trade and investment have grown and there is cooperation in the fields of development, education, culture and defense.

Both India's and Sri Lanka's foreign policy assertiveness, fuelled by domestic dynamism and external influence. In addition to India's interest in South Asia as a regional power, the 'heavy weight' influence of Tamil Nadu over Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict is generally considered a critical factor in India's bilateral relations with Sri Lanka. From Sri Lanka's



perspective, the Tamil Nadu domestic politics have unduly influenced India's actions on Sri Lanka and on the Lankan Tamil issue in a critical manner.

In contrary, from the Indian viewpoint of Sri Lanka's external relations - particularly with China and Pakistan are an important concern for India as the regional power in aligning its bilateral relations with Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka's geo-strategic location caused anxiety to Indian security because of the possibility of the involvement of external powers with Sri Lanka against India's strategic and security interests. New Delhi perceives that presence of any external powers in the Island nation can possibly pose a serious threat to the security of India as well as to regional stability.

DOMESTIC FACTORS INFLUENCING STATE BEHAVIOUR

- The complexities of domestic politics have played a significant role in deciding the direction of bilateral relations between India and Sri Lanka. The nature of Tamil minority in Sri Lanka affects India's domestic politics as much as that of Sri Lanka's politics, because there are nearly seventy million Tamils in the state of Tamil Nadu in India who belong not only to the same ethnic stock as Tamils in Sri Lanka but also speak the same language and follow the same cultural patterns.
- The Black July of 1983 Provoked hatred and anger among majority of Tamils in Tamil Nadu and there was substantial pressure from the Tamil Nadu politicians to the Central government of India to intervene in Sri Lanka's ethnic problem as a regional power. It was clear that the pressure from Tamil Nadu politics was an important factor that led to the Indian intervention of Sri Lanka in 1987 and signing of the Indo-Sri Lanka accord.
- Some political parties offered the fullest cooperation to LTTE publically, placing Indian Central government at unease. The moderate stance by the Indian government helped Sri Lanka immensely to eradicate terrorism from Sri Lanka in 2009.
- Since the end of the civil war in May 2009, an important factor that continues to shape the Sri Lankan government's relations with India is the Tamil Nadu's clout to influence the Indian Central government to adopt anti-Sri Lanka policies.
- Among the many factors that contributed to the India's vote in favor of United States resolution on Sri Lanka at the UN Human Rights Council (UNHRC) in Geneva, pressure from Tamil Nadu was clearly evident. The vote created an enormous angst and political bickering in India. The India's votes in 2013 and 2014 strained the good will among two countries and it compelled to divert the Sri Lankan government towards a closer relationship with India's rival - China. Both resolutions were opposed by the Sri Lankan government, which has refused to implement its recommendations highlighting its negative impact on sovereignty of the island. With

the government change in 2015 in Sri Lanka there is a positive development in Indo-Sri Lanka Relations. The new Sri Lankan government has assured the International community on a satisfactory future reconciliation and power sharing mechanism targeting Tamil minority.

- Maritime Boundary issue and Kacchatheevu Island; these issues regularly creep into the bilateral relations due to domestic factors and pressures by different political parties and social groups.
- Fisherman Issue; Given the proximity of the territorial waters of both countries, especially in the Palk Straits and the Gulf of Mannar, incidents of straying of fishermen are common. Both countries have agreed on certain practical arrangements to deal with this issue.

Recent developments in the domestic foreign policy

Cultural diplomacy

Cultural diplomacy is the constituent element of Indian foreign policy. And it becomes more significant with a country which shared long historical relationship with India. PM of India recently visited Anuradhapur, which is cultural capital of Sri-Lanka. The place is quite significant in Sri-Lanka. It is ancient capital of India and also the place where son of the king Ashoka, Mahinda landed and permeated Buddhism in 3rd BCE. Visit further strengthened the bilateral relations. **Buddhist Circuit diplomacy** and participation in **Nalanda University** also emerged new tools to foster the relations.

Political significance

There are many political challenges between Indian and Sri-Lanka. Both the countries have agreed to address these pending issues. India has acknowledges the contentious issue of fishing rights that has led to tensions between two countries and stated that it is a livelihood issue and have humanitarian dimension and advocated both side to find mutually agreeable arrangement and forward it to the government.

Due to domestic political compulsion, India continues to support Tamil cause in Sri-Lanka. India stressed to go beyond 13th Amendment in terms of political empowerment of Tamil minority and work positively for reconciliation. Since the amendment provides for the enhancement of the power of the provincial councils in the North and East including powers over police force and land use.

Development diplomacy

India's constructive engagement in developing infrastructure in Sri-Lanka is major part of its foreign policy. India is involved in many development projects which range from development of railway infrastructure, Kankesanthurai Harbour, Palay airport, Duraippah stadium in Jaffna to building Sampur coal project in East province.

China factor

Chinese aspiration to setup foothold in Sri-Lanka is great concern from Indian foreign policy in Sri-Lanka. In this context, Chinese huge investment in infrastructure development can be



rightly observed. India has adopted counter measures to check the Chinese growth in Sri-Lanka and in this context, Modi's visit, an act of reciprocation of president Srisena visit to India, after 28 years long gap displays his intention and determination to give new direction to the bilateral ties. Look South Policy Civil Nuclear Deal and other multilateral projects India tries to foster the good relations with neighbor and counter China.

Conclusion

Both the nations have expressed their strong desire to reshape the relationship. But the road is not devoid of complexities and problems. Reconciliation of Tamils and implementation of 1987 constitutional provisions fully are key the areas where Srisena has to perform faster. Modi, on the lines of his predecessor has reemphasized the pending issues and bring to the fore that a politically stable and united Sri-Lanka is good for the peace of the region. Modi gave assurances that India would fully cooperate in the political cohesion and development of Sri-Lanka and thus, emphasized more economic engagement that should based on partnership. India can't afford to disengagement with Sri-Lanka, key Indian Ocean player, in the dynamic regional setting. Thus, in this context Modi visit and new chapters of economic engagement is an investment in the bilateral relationship, which would give the result in the years to come.

Empower