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POLITICO ANALYTICS

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Editor's Foreword

Dear Readers,

  I present the Fourth Edition of Politico Analytics Magazine with a great sense of satisfaction and joy. In our previous editions, we kept pushing our boundaries and every edition was an advance over its predecessor. In this edition, we have provided guidance for 1000 marks in UPSC CSE Mains Examination. In this Edition, we have not only covered the PSIR-IGP and PSIR-IR sections, but we have also started to provide relevant content for PSIR-Political Theory and Thought and PSIR-Comparative Politics. Along with Expanding our coverage to the entire syllabus of PSIR optional, we have also introduced a section on how to prepare well and score 150+ marks in Essay Paper. Crucial topics from Governance and Social Justice areas have also been included in the edition.

  Our endeavour here is to ensure that our readers are able to grasp the issues covered in the magazine well and are able to develop a comprehensive framework for answer writing. Having said that, it is also true that any skill including answer writing will only come with practice. In the Magazine, we have also provided the details of various courses being launched at the Unacademy Platform and at our own Institute at Karol Bagh, Delhi. This year we would be commencing classes in the offline mode and also would be providing Answer Writing Programs both in Online Mode at Unacademy and in Offline Mode at Karol Bagh, Delhi. Readers who are interested in joining the same will find details in the Magazine itself.

  In our upcoming offline courses at Karol Bagh, we would be focussing solely on one objective which is how to push the performance of our students in terms of Answer writing. Any knowledge which can't be expressed in a word limit of 150 or 250 words holds no value for an aspirant. The biggest challenge which aspirants face today is that they have immense knowledge of most topics but they freeze when it comes to expressing in withing 7 to 10 mins with a set word limit. This is the exact challenge we aim to overcome through our upcoming programs both in Online and Offline mode.

  We aim to transform the present market and profit driven scenario of the Civil Services Preparation. I cannot stress enough on the importance of personal guidance and doubt resolution. Any teacher worth his/her salt knows that more than delivering lectures and handing out notes, what matters to the aspirants is how their individual doubts pertaining to content, answer writing or planning of preparation are handled by the institution. Once our offline courses commence, we aim to be fully accessible for our enrolled students and to provide them "Puran Pariksha Guidance" in true sense.

  I hope this edition of the magazine would be also be a success in terms of imparting comprehensive knowledge of topics covered and would be cherished by all of its readers.

Dr.Piyush Chaubey

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INDIA NEEDS LAW FOR REFUGESS AND ASYLUM

Statelessness is a source of human insecurity, forced displacement and serious conflict, which may pose a threat to national and regional stability. Legislation on nationality and administrative practices that are in accordance with internationally recognized human rights standards are essential elements of the rule of law.

The Geneva Convention and its Protocol has been ratified by almost 150 states to date **(however a number of countries, such as the Gulf States and India, are not among the signatories)**. The Convention was drafted under the specific conditions of the post-war period, applying only to persons who became refugees as a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 in Europe. This temporal and geographical limitation was removed by the 1967 Protocol.

Meaning of term Refugee

Refugees are a special class of migrants who under international law deserve specific protection by their host state. According to **Article 1 of the 1951 UN Convention,** as modified by the 1967 Protocol, a refugee is defined as a person who *'owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country.'*

This definition implies several qualifying conditions to be considered a refugee:
1. Presence outside home country,
2. Well-founded fear of persecution (being at risk of harm is insufficient reason in the absence of discriminatory persecution)
3. Incapacity to enjoy the protection of one's own state from the persecution feared.

The definition of refugees was actually intended to exclude internally displaced persons, economic migrants and victims of natural disasters, and persons fleeing violent conflict but not subject to discrimination amounting to persecution.

Difference between Refugee and Asylum Seeker

A refugee is not the same as an asylum-seeker. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), *'an asylum-seeker is someone who says he or she is a refugee, but whose claim has not yet been definitively evaluated'.*

Rights of Refugees and Asylum-Seekers
- International refugee law or international human rights treaties neither articulate an explicit entitlement to asylum for the individuals concerned nor impose an obligation on states to grant asylum. *"Individuals have a right to seek asylum, not to be granted asylum, and the states have the right to grant asylum, but no obligation"*.

- **The Geneva Convention does not guarantee asylum-seekers the right to be granted refugee status, even if they fulfil the conditions to be considered refugees; this remains at state discretion.**
- States have, however, to refrain from actions that would endanger asylum-seekers, especially from returning them to their country of origin. Each state is also free to establish the conditions for granting asylum.
- This situation is reinforced by the fact that nobody is entitled to interpret the Geneva Convention authoritatively, unlike most other international human rights treaties. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has the duty to supervise its application but has no authority to provide mandatory interpretations.
- The task of interpreting the Convention has thus fallen to domestic lawmakers and courts.

Status of Refugees

- Due to their vulnerable situation, asylum-seekers are sometimes forced to enter their country of refuge unlawfully.
- **Entering a state party to the Convention unlawfully does not forfeit protection (Article 31) and illegal entrants can still qualify as refugees if they fulfill the Convention**.
- Refugees unlawfully in the country of refuge should not be punished for their illegal entry if they come directly from the territory where their life and freedom was threatened and if they report themselves immediately to the authorities, showing good reason for their illegal entry **(Article 31)**. Restrictions on their movement can be imposed until their status is regularized.
- Article 26 of the Convention grants the right to choose their residence and to move freely. The UNHCR considers that detention of asylum-seekers should be a measure of last resort. It has drafted a set of guidelines for the use of detention of asylum-seekers. In certain countries, refugees are confined to refugee camps and their movement is restricted.
- The Convention establishes a duty on states to accord rights to refugees that in certain areas are on a par with those of their population, while in others are similar to those granted to the most favoured aliens or to aliens in general.
- Rights accrue to refugees incrementally depending on the legality of their situation in their host country and the duration of their stay there.

The Status of Refugees in India

India has been generous to any flow of refugee groups in Asia, who choose this country as a refuge mostly for its porous borders, better economic opportunities and its soft-secular state system, the State still lacks a proper legal framework for people seeking refuge in India. Consequently, push-backs and coercive measures to promote repatriation have been practiced in India over the years.

In the absence of a specific law, the statute that deals with the entry and exit of foreigners is the **Foreigners Act of 1946**. However it does not recognise refugees as a special category deserving of humanitarian protection and the process of deciding who qualifies as a refugee is also unclear. This

has given rise to an inconsistent approach towards different nationalities, and an asylum policy that, on the whole, lacks uniformity. The term "refugee" is nowhere mentioned in any domestic laws of India.

Step taken to introduce bill regarding refugees:

Asylum Bill, 2015

- Shashi Tharoor, a Member of Parliament, introduced **the Asylum Bill, 2015 as a private member's bill.** This Bill seeks to consolidate the various policies that apply to refugees in India, while also harmonizing them and giving India recognition for its long-standing commitment to refugee protection.
- As Dr. Tharoor wrote, this law **"will reflect the leading role India has played in sheltering those fleeing persecution".** Further, the Bill codifies the rights and duties of refugees in India and proposes the establishment by the government of an autonomous National Commission, which will assess and determine claims for asylum in India. It is vital to note here that the Bill has been framed in a manner that is contextual to India's history, capacity and security concerns.

Implications of the bill

- This Bill, if it passes into law, will not only have a far-reaching impact on refugee protection but will also give the government a firm structure for asylum management, which is crucial in the mixed migration context as it exists today. Putting in place a system where all refugees are given an opportunity for a fair hearing, will encourage them to present themselves at the earliest for the determination of their claims rather than forcing them to go underground where they are vulnerable to exploitation.
- It will also give clear guidance to law enforcement authorities, with the result that fewer refugees will be unlawfully detained for "illegal entry" even though the entry in question was to escape persecution in their home country.
- Bill puts systems in place such that State authorities and structures are prepared to respond to any future refugee crisis at India's doorstep.
- From a refugee rights standpoint, by legitimizing their stay the Bill will allow refugees to overcome their past trauma, put them on the path to recovery, enable them to move forward with their lives and become contributing members of society during their time in India. Most importantly, if the Bill were to become law, it would bring India's asylum practices in line with its own democratic, constitutional and cultural values.

However this bill was never passed, Shashi Tharoor has again introduced the Asylum Bill, 2021 in Lok Sabha to establish a legal framework to determine claims for asylum and to provide for rights and obligations flowing from such status.

Legal framework in India:

- The Union legislature, i.e., the Parliament alone is given the right to deal with the subject of citizenship, naturalization and aliens. It has handled the refugees under political and

administrative levels. The result is that refugees are treated under the law applicable to aliens in India, unless a special provision is made as in the case of Ugandan refugees (of Indian origin) when it passed the Foreigners from Uganda Order, 1972.

- In India refugees are considered under the ambit of the term 'alien'. The word alien appears in the Constitution of India **(Article 22, Para 3 and Entry 17, List I, Schedule 7), in Section 83 of the Indian Civil Procedure Code, and in Section 3(2)(b) of the Indian Citizenship Act, 1955,** as well as some other statutes.
- Enactments governing aliens in India are the **Foreigners Act, 1946** under which the Central Government is empowered to regulate the entry of aliens into India, their presence and departure there from; it defines a **'foreigner'** to mean **'a person who is not a citizen of India'**.
- **The Registration Act, 1939** deals with the registration of foreigners entering, being present in, and departing from India.
- The **Passport Act, 1920** and the **Passport Act, 1967** deals with the powers of the government to impose conditions of passport for entry into India and to issue passport and travel documents to regulate departure from India of citizens of India.
- **Since these enactments do not make any distinction between genuine refugees and other categories of aliens, refugees run a risk of arrest by the immigration authorities and of prosecution if they enter India without a valid passport/travel documents.**
- When a refugee is detained by customs, immigration or police authorities for commission of any of the offenses under the earlier mentioned enactments, he is generally handed over to the police and a First Information Report is lodged against him.
- According to the provisions of these statutes the refugee may face forced deportation at the established sea ports, airports or the entry points at the international border, if he is detected without valid travel documents.
- A refugee also faces the prospects of prosecution for violation of the Registration of Foreigners Act, 1939 and Rules made there under and if he is found guilty of any offense under this Act he may be punished with imprisonment which may extend to one year or with a fine up to one thousand rupees or with both.

However, in many cases the courts have taken a lenient view in the matter of punishment for their illegal entry or illegal activities in India but refugees continue to run the risk of apprehension, detention and prosecution for the violation of the **Foreigner's Act, 1946** and the **Foreigners Order,1948**.

Constitutional framework for Protection of Refugees

The Constitution of India guarantees certain Fundamental Rights to refugees such as-

- Right to equality (Article 14)
- Right to life and personal liberty (Article 21)
- Right to protection under arbitrary arrest (Article 22)
- Right to protect in respect of conviction of offenses (Article 20)
- Freedom of religion (Article 25),
- Right to approach the Supreme Court for enforcement of Fundamental Rights (Article 32)**,**

These all rights are available to non-citizens, including refugees.

Incorporating International Law in Domestic Law

- India is a member of the Executive Committee of the office of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees which puts a moral, if not legal obligation, on it to build a constructive partnership with UNHCR by following the provisions of the 1951 Refugee Convention.
- With regard to adopting international conventions in domestic laws, **in Vishaka v. State of Rajasthan,** the Court observed that reliance can be placed in international laws.
- Therefore, the question that arises is whether India can refer to the 1951 Convention in interpreting the domestic legislation and whether it is really necessary to ratify these conventions.
- **It is to be noted that merely ratifying the 1951 Convention does not ensure that the asylum seekers will not be kept out and also Article 42 of the same Convention permits reservations with respect to the rights of refugees which will defeat the purpose of ratifying the Convention.**

India's Rationale- India's reasoning for not signing the Refugee Convention is the fear of indefinite legal responsibility for the vast numbers of persons seeking shelter. The Indian government does not believe it can successfully handle the requirements of the Refugee Convention, and such new pressures would damage the country's economic and social balance. Signing the Refugee Convention, however, would not only bind India to the obligations in the Refugee Convention, but it also would allow for substantial international assistance from other UN Member States for thousands of refugees in India.

India's Refoulement Policy

(Refoulement means the forcible return of refugees or asylum seekers to a country where they are liable to be subjected to persecution.)

- India's ability to refoule persons seeking asylum in India violates international customary law on the treatment of refugees, as well as the standards codified in the Refugee Convention. **As part of customary international law, the policy of non-refoulement prevents a country from expelling refugees to countries where their lives or liberties would be threatened.**
- The majority of states, including the 137 signatories to the Refugee Convention, consistently practice non-refoulement in its determination of whether to grant entrance to people seeking asylum.
- States consider non-refoulement an obligation to all persons seeking asylum, regardless of whether they are in countries that are signatories to the Refugee Convention. The practice of non-refoulement by most states, as well as their respect for the policy as a legal obligation, has rendered non-refoulement customary international law.
- India consequently violates customary international law, as well as the Refugee Convention, when it returns groups at the border.

An examination of India's treatment of Tibetan refugees

- An examination of India's treatment of Tibetan refugees arriving in the 1960s and 1970s versus Tibetan refugees arriving since the 1980s provides an example of India's policies.
- India gave Tibetan refugees arriving in the 1960s and 1970s **preferential treatment** compared to the other refugee communities living in India for a variety of reasons.
- The first group of Tibetan refugees to enter India had several exigencies that other refugee groups did not.
- First, a head of state of a previously independent country, the Dalai Lama, asked for shelter for himself and his people.
- Second, China's invasion of Tibet played a role in relations between Democratic India and Communist China and focused the world's attention on the Tibetans' plight.
- Third, Tibetan refugees were then, and still are, the largest body of refugees in India, and were thus too large a group to ignore.
- Fourth, Tibetan refugees are members of a society and culture that is eager to re-establish itself in its home territory and were viewed as only having a temporary reliance on India.
- As a result of these exigencies, India allowed the Dalai Lama to establish a Tibetan government-in-exile called the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA), seated in the northern Indian city of Dharamsala, but it did not officially recognize it.
- Although no foreigners can own property in India, the Indian government provided land and housing to establish Tibetan farming settlements.
- Furthermore, the Indian government granted the Tibetan refugees who entered through the 1970s Indian Residential Certificates for identification purposes, permission to work, domestic travel rights, Indian Identity Certificates, which allowed them to travel outside India (similar to a passport), and medical treatment.
- Although, according to Indian law, the Indian government has no obligation to assist refugees, the Indian government chooses to grant these early Tibetan refugees services and opportunities no other group enjoys.

Scholarly Analysis

Views of Sasmit Patra: Why does India need a refugee law?

(A sustainable refugee policy is a necessary step to intelligently manage population movements and ensure transparency and predictability in our administrative actions.)

Whatever be the considerations of refugees seeking a sanctuary — economic, demographic, security, or political — India has been adept in managing complications that result from such situations. Yet, we have not codified our interventions in asylum management, so that they can be showcased globally. While we laud our economic progress and achievements in communications, manufacturing, and in the industrial arena, let us not forget our successes in protecting those forced to flee their homes. Such inclusiveness is as much about the rights of these refugees as our obligations.

Contribution of refugees

Over the years, refugees have contributed significantly to India's economy — as well as culturally. The manufacturing, automotive, retail, hospitality and food industries bear the positive imprints of their endeavours.

Need of legislation

- *Treatment of refugees must receive the same attention that other human rights protection issues receive — this is consistent with the constitutional emphasis on the rule of law. This is also an important national security consideration that cannot be relegated to a bureaucratic exercise as it is currently.*
- *A national refugee management law will be in keeping with India's leadership role in the region and amongst developing nations. The administrative gains from a standardized mechanism for refugee status determination and treatment will be immense.*
- *The legislation will also clarify the roles of different agencies — governmental, judicial, UN — involved in refugee protection and lay down the procedures of coordination amongst them.*
- *It would also help avoid friction between the host country and the country of origin. Other states would recognise the move to grant asylum as a peaceful, humanitarian and legal act, and not an arbitrary political gesture. It will also provide a platform for dialogue on sharing responsibility and aid the search for durable solutions to the root causes of a refugee problem.*
- *A refugee law can further clarify this discrepancy. Even though the courts have upheld certain rights of refugees, there needs to be greater clarity about the protection they are entitled to. The time has, therefore, come for a national law specifying the rights and obligations of refugees and the state, and the procedure to be followed while handling refugees in India.*

Welcoming refugees must be seen as investment not burden

- *Some may also argue that though India would like to welcome refugees, we might not always afford to do so. Historically, however, accepting refugees has not been about costs but opportunities. Had India not welcomed former refugees, many of whom are thriving businesspersons today, the nation might have lost out.*
- *Welcoming refugees generally implies an initial investment of public funds. Once refugees start working, this investment may harvest dividends.*
- *Refugees can fill gaps in the labour market or start trades that create wealth and help improve international trade and investment. With their diverse experiences, refugees bring new concepts, technologies and innovative ideas.*
- *But their ability to contribute to the economy is also contingent on policies, laws and institutions of the host country. Some countries provide initial help to refugees, after which they are expected to fend for themselves. A few countries have treated refugees like charity cases. Finding the right balance between the two is what a national refugee law can help achieve.*

Other aspects law must contain:

- *The law should differentiate between various categories of refugees and migrants and assign each a relevant form of protection — it should anticipate secondary movements and protect the most vulnerable.*
- *Progressive states and economic powerhouses like India, with traditional experience and values, can serve as catalysts for global humanitarian action and asylum management. The current global refugee and economic crises present an opportunity for India to better calibrate its asylum management by enacting a national refugee law.*

Views of Rajeswari Pillai Rajagopalan

- *Having hosted close to 500,000 refugees at various points, India should formalise its arrangements. A law will also bring about greater coherence in terms of treatment meted out to various refugee groups, instead of the somewhat discriminatory treatment to different refugee groups.*
- *For instance, India's track record in the treatment of Chakmas has not been particularly great and that has washed down all the good efforts that India has put in overall terms.*
- *The Rohingya issue could have been handled in a more effective manner. This is also significant as India seeks a larger role in global governance mechanisms such as the UN Security Council.*
- *Initially, India stayed out of the Convention because it was seen as a Cold War instrument, but today equations have changed and it may be time for India to review its position.*
- *India is already obliged for certain regulations since it has signed the **Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (known as the United Nations Convention against Torture (UNCAT), 1984.***
- *Under "A State Party's Undertakings", Article 3 of UNCAT, **"No state party shall expel, return (refouler) or extradite a person to another state where there are substantial grounds for believing that he would be in danger of being subjected to torture."***
- *Therefore, it is not as if India will have to alter its current practices and approaches to be a party to the 1951 Convention. Be that as it may, India must undertake a review process to examine the pros and cons of joining the Convention. Whatever conclusions such a review comes to should be based on the current environment and concerns rather than those of the bygone decades. By being a party to the Convention, India will be in a better place to also lobby for effecting changes in the Convention.*
- *Even if India does not want to ratify, it must do a better job on the policy front because it allocates enormous amounts of financial and other resources and the arbitrary approach of today has earned it no goodwill — either among the refugees or from observers and the international community.*
- *The enactment of a national law need not be linked to India's accession to the 1951 Convention. India could institute a national law without being party to the Convention, if New Delhi still feels strongly about the Convention.*

Views of Shashi Tharoor: India needs a Refugee and Asylum law

(The opinions expressed within the content are solely the individual's and do not reflect the opinions and beliefs of the website or its affiliates.

- *The Government has expelled to Myanmar two batches of Rohingya refugees in the face of a grave risk of persecution in the country they had fled. In conducting this act of "refoulement" in violation of international law, the Government revealed both religious bigotry (the refugees were Muslim) and intolerance.*
- *It has attempted to do the same with Chakmas in Arunachal Pradesh and Myanmarese in Mizoram. Today, Afghan students stranded in India by the takeover of their country by the Taliban have not had their visas renewed, and could find themselves in a similar predicament.*
- *This is ironic, given that our record on asylum goes back millennia, from the Jewish people who fled to India centuries before Christ after the demolition of their Jerusalem Temple by the Babylonians and then the Romans, to the Zoroastrians fleeing Islamic persecution in Persia, to Tibetans, Bangladeshis and Sri Lankan Tamils in more recent years, as well as streams of Nepalis, Afghans and the Rohingya. (Indeed, so famed was our reputation as a land of asylum that a defeated Cleopatra thought of sending her son to the safety of India's west coast, before killing herself. Alas, her son made the fatal mistake of turning back midway to stake his claim to the throne, and met with a gory end, or he might have lived happily ever after in India!)*
- *In fact, it is quite deeply embedded in the Indian psyche that nobody should ever have to face the predicament of being driven out of their home. Our great epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, both dwell at great length upon the injustice of the protagonists being forced into exile, and the nobility involved in extending support and succour to the exiles. And the fact that one of our most popular festivals, Deepavali, celebrates the homecoming of refugees after 14 years of exile, demonstrates fully how important the concept of home and the homeland is to an Indian.*
- *Given this history, India ought to be a natural leader on the question of refugee rights on the world stage. However, our present actions and our lack of a legal framework does our heritage no credit, shames us in the eyes of the world, and fails to match up to our actual past track record.*
- *We should build on the Supreme Court's vision and pass the Asylum Bill 2021 Bill, or something very like it. We should be among the most admired nations in the world, not one that, on refugee issues, has much to be ashamed of now. The problems of refugees worldwide are problems that demand global solidarity and international cooperation.*
- *India, as a pillar of the world community, as a significant pole in the emerging multipolar world, must play its own part, on its own soil as well as on the global stage, in this noble task.*
- *In so doing, we would uphold our own finest traditions and the highest standards of our democracy, as well as demonstrate once again that we are what we have long claimed to be: a good international citizen in an ever-closer knit and globalizing world. This is a worthwhile aspiration for all of us who care about what India stands for, at home and in the world.*

UNHCR in its Global Appeal Update 2011

"The lack of a national refugee protection framework is an obstacle to providing effective refugee protection," says the UNHCR about India.

Naityanand Rai in a response to Lok Sabha Question

"Since such foreign nationals (refugees/asylum seekers and stateless people) enter into the country without valid travel documents in a surreptitious and clandestine manner, data relating to them is not maintained centrally,"

Conclusion

India's lack of clear standards for the treatment of refugee groups is resulting in violations of the international norms for the treatment of refugees. Its policies are discriminatory and inequitable, even to members of the same group. Although Tibetan refugees who arrived prior to 1980 received adequate assistance from the Indian government, assistance to the Tibetan refugees who arrived after 1980 has declined greatly, forcing them to live in inhumane conditions. These inconsistent policies demonstrate that India should adopt basic standards of treatment for the refugees living inside its borders. In order for India to bring its refugee law into conformity with the international community, only improving its domestic laws is insufficient because it will continue to reject international assistance and monitoring of refugee groups. India should reform its refugee policies and accede to the Refugee Convention or its Protocol.

NORD STREAM- 2

Nord Stream 2 (NS-2), a 1200-km long Russian undersea gas pipeline project that intends to deliver natural gas from Siberia to Germany, has been controversial since its inception and is back in news as a major geopolitical flashpoint.

Why Nord Stream-2?

- Central European countries are highly sensitive to Russia–Ukraine relations **as one-third of Russian gas exports to Europe travel through Ukraine**. In case of erstwhile disputes between the two, Russia had unabashedly turned off its gas pipelines to Ukraine which resulted in millions of Europeans being without gas during the winters of 2006 and 2009.

- Hence, some European states started exploring other alternatives to acquire gas supply without disruption and that led to **Nord Stream 2 (as well as TurkStream, a southern pipeline that carries gas from Russia to the Balkans via Turkey)** in June 2015.

- The European Commission had insisted on the maintenance of gas transit through Ukraine and keeping the Nord Stream project under EU regulations. The first insistence failed but the second was partly fulfilled. Russia from the beginning asserted that the European Commission worked under the pressure of Western allies and insisted on the purely economic nature of the project.

- The Nord Stream -2 Project aims to establish a reliable supply of Russian natural gas to central Europe. To do this, the Gazprom-owned Nord Stream company would connect Russia to Germany via pipelines running through the Baltic Sea.

- Starting north of St Petersburg, the pipelines would run for more than 1,200km through the waters of several Baltic countries. Each pipeline would carry 55 billion cubic metres of natural gas to refining and distribution hubs.

- Along the way, Nord Stream would run through waters controlled by Russia, Finland, Sweden, and Denmark before making landfall on Germany's northeast coast.

- Due to the project's possible environmental impacts, international conventions required Nord Stream to also consult Poland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.
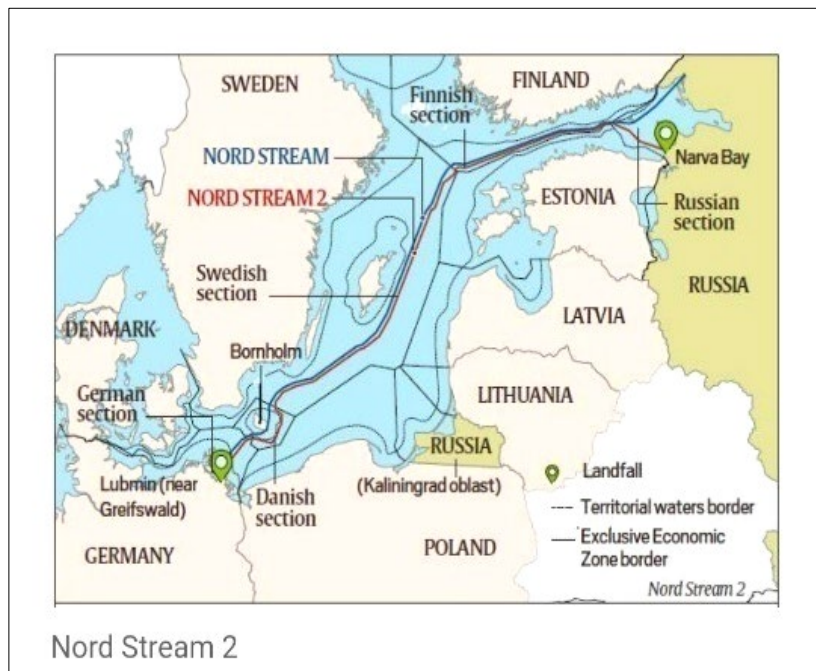
Nirupama Subramanian

- The EU imports less than 5% of its gas from the US (the top four suppliers are Russia at 41%, Norway at 16%, Algeria at 7.6% and Qatar at 5.2%, according to 2019 figures). But as a net exporter of LNG since the middle of the last decade, the US wants to expand its markets and reach the continent.
- According to one estimate, 23% of US exports of gas are to the EU now, and in 2021, hit a high of 21 billion cubic metres (bcm). Among the buyers are France, Italy, Spain, Greece, Portugal and a host of smaller countries.
- US exports are seen by some as vital to the diversification of Europe's energy supplies, and its energy security. In January, in a war-like atmosphere, Europe imported more gas from the US than from Russia.

What is Controversy regarding the project?

- The Danish Government then changed its laws so that ministers could prevent the pipeline's passage through its territory. In response, Nord Stream withdrew its application, while continuing with construction from the Russian end.

Source: The NYT

- The company then proposed a new route in 2018, followed by another in 2019. These still passed through the exclusive economic zones of the relevant countries but avoided Danish territorial waters.
- However, the first proposed route seemed unlikely to pass, while the second route passed through an area of disputed territory between Denmark and Poland. After further political wrangling, the two countries resolved their dispute and Denmark agreed to the second pipeline route. This cleared the last obstacle for Nord Stream's construction.
- Other EU nations have also objected to the pipeline, seeing it as against the organization's interests. In 2016, leaders of the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, and Slovakia signed a letter to European Commission President Jean Claude Juncker expressing concern over the **"potentially destabilising geopolitical consequences"** of the pipeline's construction. Since then, Poland has become particularly vocal over security concerns.
- **Beyond this, Ukrainian officials worry that the pipeline would mean less gas passing through its borders. Ukraine earns transit fees from the gas passing through the country, and Nord Stream would decrease Russia's reliance on pipelines there.**
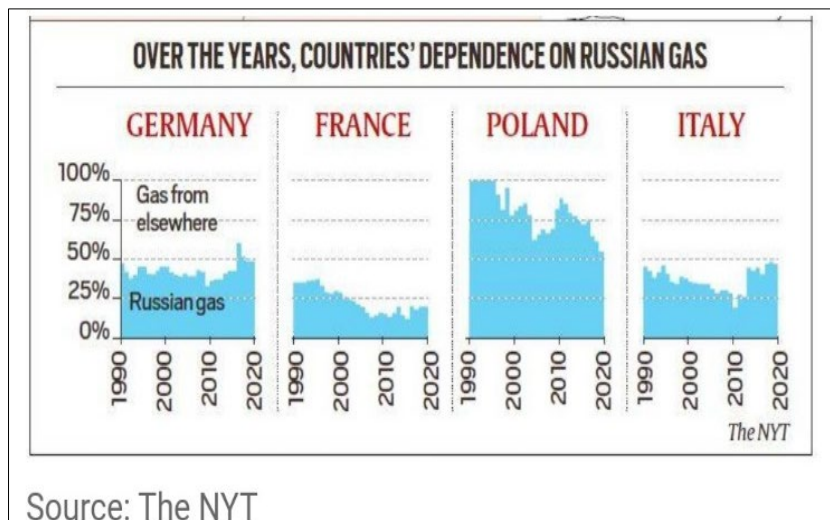
- Ukraine has remained wary of Russian interests since the country invaded the Crimean region in 2014. Since then, Ukraine has carefully balanced its relationships with Russia and Europe, but Nord Stream could upset its strategic position. **Officials have said that Nord Stream 2's gas flows could decrease Ukraine's pipeline income by up to $3bn.**
- **In the eyes of the US Government, the pipeline would make several European nations more reliant on Russia. For political reasons, the US sees this increase in international power of Russia as unacceptable. As a result, it has made several attempts to slow or sanction construction progress.**
- Under President Trump, the US threatened to sanction any vessel found to have assisted the construction of the pipeline. After the US elections in late 2020, President Biden retained this policy, which maintains widespread support in the country.
- However, the US recently stepped back from its sanctions. President Biden said efforts to stop the 98%-complete pipeline at this stage strained diplomatic ties with little chance of success. This view attracted criticism from opposition politicians, who see it as a "weakness" in the face of Russia.
- **Environmental concerns** – While Nord Stream-2 consortium has argued that as natural gas emits less carbon dioxide, "by making more gas available to replace coal in power generation Nord Stream-2 will provide a cost-effective contribution to emissions reduction".
- Several environmental groups like **Greenpeace, ClientEarth, Nature and Biodiversity Conservation Union of Germany**, etc. have highlighted the environmental impact of the construction and running of The Nord Stream-2 pipelines through the Baltic Sea.
- According to their reports and petitions, the pipeline would have a severe impact on the fragile ecosystem of the Baltic Sea and would damage the flora, fauna and marine life of the region.
- Also, the report by German Institute for Economic Research (DIW) pointed "*the carbon footprint of high leakage rates during extraction or transport is about the same as that of coal, if the entire life cycle of emissions is taken into account*", thereby making natural gas harmful to the environment and marine life
- The pipeline is still awaiting certification by the EU, whose official position on the project has been that it will not stop the pipeline so long as the project complies with the EU law and the German energy regulator decides to allow its operation.

The Nord Stream-2: a tool of Geopolitics

- The EU 27 in 2019 imported 44.7%of their natural gas from Russia making it their largest partner, followed by Norway (21.3%), Algeria (12.1%), Qatar (6.3%) and Nigeria (5.9%)[iv].
- Many EU members have raised concerns regarding the lack of diversification of energy resources away from Russia, which was one of the key goals of the EU's energy security conclusions[v]. They have also highlighted the geopolitical impact of the loss of their bargaining power with Russia given the reduced transit volume of natural gas.
- A study done on behalf of the European Parliament highlighted that Nord Stream-2 would result in Western European countries getting access to competitively priced gas "**without the added difficulties of having to deal with Ukrainian-Russian tensions".**

- The central and eastern European countries view Nord Stream-2 as a 'potent geopolitical tool' in the hands of Russia that would "**serve a broader Russian strategic objective, namely to foment division inside the EU and prevent the development of a common European foreign and energy policy**".
- **The pipeline has divided the EU between those who view the pipeline as an economically viable project and those who object to it for geopolitical and economic reasons.**
- Despite various concerns and criticism, the German government has justified its support for the project under its policy of continued engagement with Russia arguing that the pipeline is only a commercial project.
- **One of the key arguments presented in defense of the pipeline is that Russia is more dependent on the revenues earned through natural gas supply than Germany is on the energy resources.**

The deal between USA and Germany in July 2021

- Following this, the US entered talks with Germany, seeking assurances that both nations would try to maintain Europe's energy security. A joint statement setting out the details of the deal said Washington and Berlin were "**united in their determination to hold Russia to account for its aggression and malign activities by imposing costs via sanctions and other tools.**"
- "If Russia attempts to use energy as a weapon or commit further aggressive acts against Ukraine," Germany will take steps on its own and push for actions at the EU, including sanctions, "to limit Russian export capabilities to Europe in the energy sector," the statement said.

Dr Swasti Rao

- Supporters of the project have argued that the pipeline will double the supplies of cheap natural gas from Russia to Germany from the original 2011 Nord Stream, which runs parallel to the new project.
- However, facts tell another story. Repairing the current Ukrainian–Polish pipeline would only cost around €6 billion. The construction of NS-2, however, would cost more than €11 billion.
- Also, in effect, it is merely diverting gas from the pre-existing Ukrainian–Polish pipeline, which means that Europeans will receive the same amount of gas, but from a different source. Further, €11 billion is not the final construction cost of the project because one pipeline alone like the NS-2 will not fulfill its function in isolation.
- Additional distribution gas pipelines on both the Russian and European sides will be needed. Consequently, the overall construction cost of The S-2 route should include all the additional necessary infrastructure required to achieve this objective.
- Gas flowing directly from Russia to Germany by way of the Baltic Sea would mean that the Russians will be gaining additional leverage as well as an energy monopoly over the Europeans. Additionally, this pipeline could increase Russia's naval presence in the Baltic Sea, a move that would unsettle the Baltic States.

- Russia's hybrid warfare against the latter has been a matter of concern for NATO and its allies. Along the same lines of targeting the Russian population in Crimea in Ukraine, Russia has been deploying strategies to isolate the economically weaker Russian ethnic sections of the Baltic populations to tear away from their respective countries and join Russia.

- A referendum followed by the Russian annexation of these territories cannot be ruled out completely, especially after the Crimean experience.

Recent developments

- Germany suspended the process of certifying the Nord Stream 2 gas pipeline from Russia after President Vladimir Putin recognised separatist-held regions in eastern Ukraine. In an announcement, German Chancellor Olaf Scholz said he decided that Russia's actions against Ukraine marked a "serious break of international law."
- As in the 1950s, the U.S. can now deliver energy — LNG — to buttress its security umbrella. The shale gas revolution has made the U.S. the world's largest producer of gas; and as production surpassed the peak set in 1973, it has become a major exporter of LNG.
- The strategy of reducing Russia's grip on the lucrative EU gas market is thus being pursued ruthlessly for both strategic and commercial reasons. U.S. LNG exports to the EU have grown rapidly to 22 billion cubic meters (BCM) worth $12 billion in 2021; and will go up sharply, if Nord Stream 2 remains non-functional and Germany has to set up LNG terminals instead.
- In case "green" activism curbs U.S. shale gas expansion, the geopolitically risk-laden effort to create a long-term Europe-Mideast gas nexus using the enormous gas reserves of Iran (and Qatar) could be revived.
- **German Chancellor Olaf Scholz's** support for Nord Stream 2 has been threatened since he assumed office last December, which coincided with U.S. intelligence leaks about the imminent invasion of Ukraine.
- The beleaguered leader was ambivalent even in early February when U.S. President Joe Biden audaciously announced in MrScholz's presence, that in case of an invasion of Ukraine "**there will no longer be a Nord Stream 2... We will bring an end to it**". His hand has now been forced and regulatory certification of the pipeline is suspended, and Mr. Scholz announced a U-turn away from Ostpolitik to closer coordination with NATO.
- Nord Stream 2 is a well-chosen target of the recently completed €10 billion asset solely owned by Russia's Gazprom unlike Nord Stream 1 (functional for a decade) which is jointly owned with European companies. Mr Mrolz's Green coalition partners are also skeptical about it.
- The Nord Stream project has larger capacity than all of Russia's current and planned gas pipelines to China; so it remains of great importance for Moscow. Nord Stream 1 survives, as Europe will suffer without it, but preserving market share in the EU requires Russia to keep gas also flowing through Ukraine.

INDO-ASEAN
(30 years to ASEAN-India relations)

India's relationship with ASEAN has emerged as a key cornerstone of our foreign policy. The relationship has evolved from the '**Look East Policy'** enunciated in early 1990s which led India to become a Sectoral Partner of ASEAN in 1992, a Dialogue Partner in 1996 and a Summit-level Partner in 2002. The upgrade of this partnership to Strategic Partnership during the celebration of 20th anniversary Commemorative Summit at New Delhi in 2012 was a natural corollary to the growth of India-ASEAN relationship during the last two decades. The India-ASEAN Strategic Partnership acquired a new momentum with the announcement of **"Act-East Policy"** in the 12th Summit in 2014. It conveyed a clear intent on the part of India to up-scaling its engagement with the ASEAN Member States.

Connectivity
- Strengthening Connectivity, including land and sea connectivity, with ASEAN is one of the strategic objectives of India and ASEAN Member States.
- Regular exchanges take place between **ASEAN Connectivity Coordinating Committee (ACCC)** and India on Connectivity.
- The signal effort under the **ASEAN-India Connectivity initiative** is the **India-Myanmar-Thailand Trilateral Highway**.
- **India-Myanmar- Thailand Trilateral Task Force on Connectivity and Infrastructure** has been set-up to undertake time bound work on completion of the Trilateral Highway and also undertake negotiations on the Motor Vehicles Agreement.
- India and ASEAN are holding consultations on extension of Trilateral Highway to Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam.
- India and ASEAN are also working to strengthen Maritime Connectivity.

India-ASEAN Trade & Economic Cooperation
- The **ASEAN-India Trade in Goods Agreement** was signed in 2009 and the **ASEAN-India Trade-in-Services and Investments** In 2015. With the signing of these Agreements, the ASEAN-India FTA is complete.
- ASEAN-India trade rebounded in 2016-17 to reach USD 70 billion after a few years of static growth due to global slowdown.
- FDI inflows into India from ASEAN in April 2000 to December 2016 were US$ 54.97 billion, which represents 16.81% of the cumulative inflows received by India.
- A cumulative FDI outflows from India to ASEAN countries, from April 2007 to March 2015, as per data maintained by the Ministry of Finance, was about US$ 38.67 billion.

India-ASEAN Business Council (AIBC)

The AIBC consists of eminent Leaders of Business in ASEAN Member States and India. They meet annually on the sidelines of ASEAN- India Economic Ministers' Meeting. A Secretariat for AIBC was established in Malaysia in 2015.

Agriculture

ASEAN-India cooperation in the field of Agriculture is diverse and covers a variety of sectors such as food security, exchange of information and technology, research and development projects, agriculture and forestry-related industries, and human resources development. An annual **ASEAN-India Agriculture Ministers Meeting (AIMMAF)** has been formalized and has met regularly since 2011.

Space

In the field of Space cooperation, ISRO is implementing a project proposal for
  i.   establishment of Tracking and Data Reception Station and Data Processing Facility at Ho Chi Minh City;
  ii.   up-gradation of Tracking Telemetry and Command (TTC) Center at Biak, Indonesia; and
  iii. Training of ASEAN Personnel in Space Science and Technology at the Center for Space Science and Technology Education in Asia and the Pacific (CSSTEAP).

ASEAN–India Summit 2021: Outcomes and Prospects

The broad outcomes cover the economic and strategic arenas. India's cooperative stance as regard to the three pillars of the ASEAN Community—the **ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC),** the **ASEAN Economic Community (AEC)** and the **ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC)**—is well established.

Politico-Security Outcomes

• India contributes to influencing, if not shaping, the regional security agenda. Besides the ASEAN–India Summit Meeting, India participates in several ASEAN-led dialogue mechanisms like the **Post-Ministerial Conference with India (PMC+1), East Asia Summit, ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), ADMM Plus** and **Expanded ASEAN Maritime Forum (EAMF).**

• India is Co-Chair of the **ADMM Plus Experts' Working Group on Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR)** for the cycle of 2021–2024.

• India and ASEAN collaborate on countering terrorism through the **ASEAN Plan of Action in Combating Transnational Crime (2016–2025)** and counter terrorism through the **Bali Work Plan (2019–2025).**

• The Joint Statement that was issued after the ASEAN–India Summit this year reaffirmed commitment to shared values and norms that underlie ASEAN–India Dialogue relationship that started in 1992.

- India remains committed to the ASEAN Charter and the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation besides several instruments and agreements it is party to along with ASEAN.
- India and ASEAN decided to: *"Commit to supporting ASEAN Community building and strengthening the ASEAN-India Strategic Partnership across the whole spectrum of political-security, economic, socio-cultural, and development cooperation by utilizing relevant existing ASEAN-led mechanisms and fora, including the ASEAN–India Summit…".*

Economic Outcomes

India and ASEAN agreed on the following points:

- To narrow the development gap and strengthen economic relations. An important part of this is social infrastructure development (including vaccine and pharmaceutical research) and people-to-people connectivity.
- The two sides also agreed to link the various forums such as Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA), the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC), the Brunei Darussalam–Indonesia–Malaysia–Philippines East ASEAN Growth Area (BIMP-EAGA), Indonesia–Malaysia–Thailand Growth Triangle (IMT-GT), Mekong sub-regional cooperation frameworks, including Ayeyawady-Chao Phraya-Mekong Economic Cooperation Strategy (ACMECS).
- Capacity building for MSMEs.
- Cooperation for energy security and environment protection.
- Development of agriculture, livestock and fisheries sectors.
- Sustainable management of marine resources (blue economy).
- Biodiversity conservation and climate change adaptation, disaster risk reduction and management

Scholarly Analysis

Views of Rajeev Bhatia-Scope for cooperation

- *A good way to begin is to listen to ASEAN voices.* ***The participation of ASEAN leaders in a second summit in Delhi in five years and their historic presence as chief guests at the Republic Day celebrations convey a clear message: India is important to ASEAN; it is viewed as a benign power; and huge scope exists to develop cooperation with it.***
- *For India, ASEAN is of vital importance both for strategic and economic considerations. New Delhi seeks to redefine the contours of its neighbourhood.*
- ***Constraints and setbacks in South Asia and opportunities in Southeast Asia have led it to blur the traditional distinction between 'immediate neighborhood' and 'extended neighborhood'.***
- *Friendly South Asians and welcoming Southeast Asians now constitute our new neighborhood, with an eastward tilt.*

PM Narendra Modi

"There is ample closeness between India's "Indo Pacific Oceans Initiative" and ASEAN's "Outlook on Indo Pacific"," Mr. Modi said, addressing the summit. *"Speeding up all types of connectivity initiatives between India and ASEAN - physical, economic, social, digital, financial, maritime - is the top priority for us,".*

Harsh V. Pant

- *India has repeatedly underscored the centrality of the ASEAN in its Indo-Pacific vision. In his keynote address at the Shangri La Dialogue earlier this year too, Modi had suggested that India will promote a democratic and rules-based international order in the Indo-Pacific with ASEAN at its heart, that allows free access to common spaces and is not limited to a 'club of limited members.'*

- *It is in this context, it is interesting that despite suggestions that nothing much has been happening on the Quad front, the third meeting of Quad countries — India, the US, Japan and Australia — at the joint secretary-level will also take place in Singapore. It is clear that these four nations do not want to let go of the momentum that is gradually building up. There may be little substance in the engagement at the moment but all four states remain keen to leverage it in some form.*

- *The Indo-Pacific region is now central to global politics and economics, and recent days have merely reinforced the trends that have been emerging for some time. China is the most important player in the region, and Beijing is now more confident than ever of projecting regional and global power. In this, China has had the good fortune of having an administration in the US that lacks seriousness of purpose and is unable to communicate effectively its priorities for the region.*

- *This makes this period of transition very significant for countries like India that have a stake in the long-term stability of the region. As China's profile grows, there is a new opportunity for India in the region. Unlike in the past, New Delhi is no longer diffident about engaging with other regional players if it helps to further Indian interests in maintaining a stable balance of power in the region.*

Views of Nazia Hussain and Tan Ming Hui on 30 years to ASEAN-India relations

Slow Progress

- *ASEAN-India dialogue relations mark their 30th anniversary this year, with Singapore starting its three-year term as country coordinator in 2021.*

- *However, relations progressed slower than expected despite New Delhi's reaffirmation of its engagement with ASEAN as the crux of its major foreign policy initiatives — its 'Act East' and 'Neighbourhood First' policies.*

- *In truth, the dialogue partners have relatively little to show for in terms of functional collaboration and implementation on the ground compared to some of ASEAN's other regional partners such as Japan, China and South Korea for instance. This has stoked scepticism in ASEAN*

as to whether India has the political will to follow through on deliverables to deepen the relationship.

- *Southeast Asia's central location in the Indo-Pacific is of vital importance to India's strategic considerations. A steely-eyed assessment of the partnership should focus on three areas — physical infrastructure, trade and public health. This would provide a good starting point for the partnership to move forward.*

Concerns

- *Connectivity remains an important element of India's engagement in Southeast Asia. Not just from a foreign policy perspective as China makes inroads into the region with its Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), but also from a domestic angle. Development of India's strategically important north-eastern frontier — a region sharing an over 1,600 km long land border with Myanmar and long been plagued by cross-border insurgency — requires transnational cooperation with ASEAN countries.*
- *Projects in the pipeline have seen multiple delays. Both the India-Myanmar-Thailand trilateral highway — with a proposed plan to extend to Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam — as well as the Kaladan Multi-modal Transit Transport Project jointly developed by India and Myanmar have lagged behind deadlines for years. With uncertainties in junta-controlled Myanmar, these projects might face further delays.*

Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP)

- *India's decision to withdraw from the ASEAN-led Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) disappointed many ASEAN member states, particularly Singapore, which acted as an interlocutor during negotiations with India. New Delhi pulled out of the talks for the mega trade pact due to India's trade deficits with most RCEP participants. It also faced opposition from several domestic sectors, such as dairy producers. Another key concern was to avoid becoming a 'dumping ground' for cheap Chinese goods.*
- *New Delhi should consider weighing the merits of joining the RCEP once it is ready, and ASEAN should leave the door open for India to resume negotiations. India will need to focus on creating a more robust business environment, and increase the competitiveness of local businesses. These are substantial challenges, but India needs to act fast. It might miss out on potential foreign investments from RCEP member countries. Also, RCEP might lead to preferential trade arrangements within the bloc, which could be detrimental to India's growing manufacturing sector and the 'Made in India' initiative.*

Covid Vaccine Diplomacy

- *ASEAN appreciates India as another source for Covid-19 vaccines, which have been critical in the fight against the pandemic. Nevertheless, India's image as a reliable supplier was affected when New Delhi imposed vaccine-export restrictions in early 2021 due to surging infections and the urgent need to inoculate its population. Several ASEAN countries had to seek alternatives from China and Russia.*

- *Despite exports resuming since October 2021, it is critical that India avoids another ban to rebuild its credibility and ensures that exports continue even during difficult times. As India has fully vaccinated 75 percent of its adult population with two doses, future domestic demand will be driven by the other 25 per cent and the possible booster shots.*

- *In addition, India's engagement with ASEAN in health security cooperation can go beyond vaccine export and distribution to a long-term strategy of enhanced joint research to combat future infectious diseases and substantiate ASEAN's healthcare capacity.*

- *ASEAN-India dialogue relations have come some way in the past 30 years. Looking forward, India can signal its long-term commitment to the region by consistently pursuing results-oriented, practical initiatives through the ASEAN way of dialogue and consensus. A sustained focus on the areas will put the dialogue partnership in good stead.*

Views of Jay Maniyar: India-ASEAN relations in the maritime domain

(Both India and ASEAN need to act on the ample opportunities available to advance a cooperative and mutually beneficial maritime relationship)

- *India and ASEAN engage in maritime diplomacy that significantly augments the maritime profile of the region. This has led to increased bilateral maritime trade, interactions at the level of senior officials and ministers, and bilateral naval cooperation resulting in exercises and suchlike. This diplomacy is being undertaken to meet the wide-ranging tactical objectives of their respective maritime forces and to enhance maritime domain awareness (MDA) of the Indian and Southeast Asian maritime regions.*

- *The issues resonated by the maritime domain are multi-fold and require concerted cooperation, combined attention, and a diverse array of wide-ranging measures that can alter the status quo. In addition to traditional threats, non-traditional ones in the form of marine pollution leading to environmental degradation like illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing (IUU) of which Indonesia is known to be the most afflicted with financial losses tantamount to billions of dollars; maritime piracy and crime; threats to the maritime tourism industry which contributes substantially to the Gross Domestic Products (GDP) of the ASEAN countries and ASEAN as a whole; natural disasters and calamities; and many other such issues continue to sabotage prospects for peace, stability, and safety.*

India and ASEAN in the maritime domain today

- *ASEAN released the widely circulated 'Outlook' document, espousing its broad-based approach to the Indo-Pacific region. Along with France and the US—the two other major powers that purport to a paramount set of interests exclusive to the Indo-Pacific region—ASEAN made it clear that it prioritizes the Indo-Pacific, given its immense strategic primacy amidst the ongoing travails and turmoil resulting in sustained turbulence, in the vast terrestrial and maritime expanse that the Indo-Pacific occupies.*

- *The Outlook document even stressed ASEAN's continual and renewed commitment to the maritime domain, which necessitates cooperation with India owing to the converging seas and oceans in the peripheries of the maritime domains of the two partners.*

- *Notwithstanding the convergence of the maritime domain between India and ASEAN, bilateral relations need to be cultivated on the basis of India's strong historical relations and bonds with the founding members of ASEAN individually, as well as the later accessions.*
- *The ASEAN has much to offer to India in terms of maritime cooperation, maritime diplomacy, and the trade of high-end military-maritime weapons and other equipment.*
- *Other factors include the urgency to jointly address the diverse security concerns that thrive in the domain and to cater to the diverse set of environmental and ecological concerns that may hinder a progressive future.*

The road ahead for India and ASEAN

- *India-ASEAN relations, with seemingly ample evidence on offer, are crucial for the geo-Asian mix, especially in the domain encompassing the straits, seas, and oceans of the Asian and Pacific regions. For the two entities of ASEAN and India to shape the delicate balances, which may otherwise be primed for a prosperous future, remains a persistent necessity.*
- *ASEAN and India are relatively well positioned when it comes to the budding relations in several areas, including the maritime domain. Given the lack of historical grievances of the type that stymie relations between ASEAN countries with respect to China, India has cultivated strong bonds of historical and contemporary significance that can offer the region a natural recourse to peace, unlike the many conflicts that the ASEAN countries are involved in with China.*

ASEAN AS A REGIONAL ORGANIZATION

Objectives

- To accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development for a prosperous and peaceful community of Southeast Asian Nations.
- To promote regional peace and stability through abiding respect for justice and the rule of law and adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter.
- To promote active collaboration and mutual assistance on matters of common interest in the economic, social, cultural, technical, scientific and administrative fields.
- To collaborate more effectively for the greater utilization of agriculture and industries, the expansion of their trade, the improvement of transportation and communications facilities and the raising of the living standards of peoples.
- To promote Southeast Asian studies.
- To maintain close and beneficial cooperation with existing international and regional organizations.

The ASEAN fundamental principles, as contained in the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC) of 1976:

- Mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity, and national identity of all nations.
- The right of every State to lead its national existence free from external interference, subversion or coercion.
- Non-interference in the internal affairs of one another.
- Settlement of differences or disputes in a peaceful manner.
- Renunciation of the threat or use of force.
- Chairmanship of ASEAN rotates annually, based on the alphabetical order of the English names of Member States.
- **ASEAN Summit**: The supreme policy making body of ASEAN. As the highest level of authority in ASEAN, the Summit sets the direction for ASEAN policies and objectives. Under the Charter, the Summit meets twice a year.

- **ASEAN Ministerial Councils**: The Charter established four important new Ministerial bodies to support the Summit.
  - ✓ ASEAN Coordinating Council (ACC)
  - ✓ ASEAN Political-Security Community Council
  - ✓ ASEAN Economic Community Council
  - ✓ ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community Council
- Decision Making: The primary mode of decision-making in ASEAN is consultation and consensus. However, the Charter enshrines the principle of **ASEAN-X – This means that if all member states are in agreement, a formula for flexible participation may be used so that the members who are ready may go ahead while members who need more time for implementation may apply a flexible timeline**.

ASEAN-led Forums

- **ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF):** Launched in 1993, the twenty-seven-member multilateral grouping was developed to facilitate cooperation on political and security issues to contribute to regional confidence-building and preventive diplomacy.
- **ASEAN Plus Three:** The consultative group initiated in 1997 brings together ASEAN's ten members, China, Japan, and South Korea.
- **East Asia Summit (EAS):** First held in 2005, the summit seeks to promote security and prosperity in the region and is usually attended by the heads of state from ASEAN, Australia, China, India, Japan, New Zealand, Russia, South Korea, and the United States. ASEAN plays a central role as the agenda-setter.

Strengths & Opportunities

- ASEAN commands far greater influence on Asia-Pacific trade, political, and security issues than its members could achieve individually.
- **Demographic dividend** – It constitutes the 3rd largest population in the world, of which more than half is below thirty years of age.
- **Economic**: 3rd largest market in the world - larger than EU and North American markets. 6th largest economy in the world, 3rd in Asia.
- Free-trade agreements (FTAs) with China, Japan, South Korea, India, Australia and New Zealand.
- Fourth most popular investment destination globally. ASEAN's share of global exports has also risen, from only 2 percent in 1967 to 7 percent by 2016, indicating the rising importance of trade to ASEAN's economic prospects.
- The ASEAN Single Aviation Market and Open Skies policies have increased its transport and connectivity potential.
- ASEAN has contributed to regional stability by building much-needed norms and fostering a neutral environment to address shared challenges.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF ASEAN

- ASEAN has preserved peace and stability in the region. In 2015, ASEAN established the ASEAN Community, which consists of a political and security community, economic community and socio-cultural community. This was a substantial step toward regional integration.

- In addition, ASEAN has developed and expanded the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia as a foundation of inter-state relations that has been endorsed by 27 states within and outside Southeast Asia. It has helped its members overcome the unresolved and seemingly insurmountable conflict and distrust that roiled the region in 1967.

- In the past, successful experiments in regionalism involved greater integration of economies at similar stages of development. From this perspective, ASEAN represents an alternative approach that incorporates a broader range of economic and policy experiences. For example, unlike regional agreements such as the European Union and the North American Free Trade Agreement, ASEAN is a more flexible arrangement that emphasizes consensus-building and informal norms, instead of legalistic structures and independent enforcement of the rules.

- ASEAN has provided its member states with a better negotiating platform than they could have achieved on their own. Their economies have been boosted by the ASEAN Free Trade Area agreement and by ASEAN's free-trade agreements with other major economies such as China, India, Japan, and South Korea, as well as Australia and New Zealand. And, following the launch of the ASEAN Economic Community on December 31, 2015, ASEAN now has a projected average annual growth of 5.2 percent from 2016 to 2020. By 2030, analysts estimate, its combined Gross Domestic Product (GDP) could increase fivefold to $10 trillion, and it could become the fourth-largest single market in the world.

- ASEAN has also adopted two conventions to counter transnational crime: the **ASEAN Convention on Counter Terrorism** in 2007 and the **ASEAN Convention against Trafficking in Persons** in 2015. ASEAN has established the **ASEAN Defense Ministers Meeting (ADMM)** and the **ADMM-plus** for external partners as foundations of intra-ASEAN defense cooperation and military cooperation between ASEAN and its external partners. There are numerous areas of potential co-operation: maritime security, humanitarian assistance, peace keeping operations, disaster response, counter terrorism, cyber security and military medicine (ASEAN Secretariat, 2018).

- ASEAN is focused on building socio-cultural relationships among member states through the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community, which positively contributed to social progress by reducing the proportion of people living on less than US$1.25 a day from one in every two persons to one in every eight within two decades and minimizing infant and maternal mortality in the region.

- Life expectancy in ASEAN has risen from 55.6 years in 1969 to 70.9 in 2016 (ASEAN Secretariat, 2018).

- The ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community also attempts to build ASEAN's identity and character, both of which are people-centered.

- Southeast Asia also provides a burst of optimism in an era of growing economic pessimism. This once-impoverished region has experienced remarkable economic growth. World Bank President

Jim Yong Kim observed that in just thirty years, Vietnam has reduced extreme poverty from 50 percent to roughly 3 percent—"an astounding accomplishment."

- Indonesia, once an example of continuing and persistent poverty, has one of the most optimistic youthful populations in the world. According to the Conference Board Global Consumer Confidence Survey, in the fourth quarter of 2017, Indonesian consumer confidence was the third highest in the world. The Philippines was the highest.

- ASEAN has created an indispensable diplomatic platform that regularly brings all the great powers together and provides conducive environments for them to talk to each other. Such platforms are crucial, as many leading geopolitical thinkers predict rising tensions between great powers—especially between America and China.

- Now ASEAN has begun to share these cooperative norms with the larger Asia-Pacific region—and beyond. Besides providing an important platform for the great powers and regional players to engage with each other, ASEAN-led regional fora—such as the **ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF),** the **East Asia Summit (EAS)** and the **ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting Plus (ADMM-Plus)**—further solidify these cooperative norms in the region.

- ASEAN has also escaped dysfunctions that beset many other regional organizations. Because the Organization of American States is dominated by the United States, it cannot—unlike ASEAN—be inclusive and incorporate a Communist Party-run state like Cuba.

- Philippines's foreign ministry spokesman Robespierre Bolivar noted when he lauded the ASEAN Regional Forum (or ARF) as the only venue in which governments of the region can have candid, free-flow dialogue with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. As George Yeo, the former Singapore foreign minister, explained it: "*In the end, everybody came to the conclusion that however ungainly, however inefficient, however elliptical ASEAN's ways are, it's still better than not having an ASEAN.*"

FAILURES OF ASEAN

Human right issues:

- Even a casual perusal of the annual U.S. Human Rights Report shows that every Southeast Asian state has a blemished human rights record. While for the victims, each case of abuse is special, it is only due to cases of gross and systematic patterns of denial of rights as government policy that human rights concerns become issues in the way governments treat one another in their international relations.

- While human rights NGOs and advocacy groups may become energized by their agendas, governments prioritize their policy attention and deployment of political and economic capabilities in terms of per- captions of national interest. Human rights are seldom the highest priority among the ASEAN states or in dealings with the ASEAN states by external states. The exception is Myanmar.

Rohingya crisis

- Myanmar took no responsibility or action to prevent the outflow. When Thailand instituted a crackdown on traffickers and pushed the Rohingya back to sea, they fled further south to Malaysia and Indonesia or were left stranded on their boats.
- The reaction by Southeast Asian states provoked an international outcry. The reason that ASEAN did not take any response about human rights issues is the doctrine of non-interference in the internal affairs of member states. The doctrine was incorporated in all the major political statements of ASEAN, from the very outset.
- The founding Bangkok Declaration Of 1967 called upon Southeast Asian states to 'ensure their stability and security from external interference in any form or manifestation'. This injunction was intended to apply not only to interference by extra-regional powers, including the major powers such as the USA.

South China Sea issue

- The concerns of some ASEAN countries about China's 'creeping assertiveness' and the China Threat' has led them to deliberately invite the involvement in the area of other big powers, This, taken with Indian and Japanese involvement, has resulted in the South China Sea Increasingly becoming a focal point for big power rivalry, thus complicating the issues.
- ASEAN has not been successful at conflict resolution because there is no joint position/Spirit of collective goodwill among the member states. We know that ASEAN acts based on the consensus in any disputed matters. As a result, every member state looks at their national interest rather than collective interest for organization. When they sit for negotiating with non-ASEAN states, it seems that ASEAN's of good will is not effective.

Migrant labour issue

- In Southeast Asia, only the Philippines, a major labour exporting country, have ratified the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and their Children.
- There is no mechanism to enforce the group's many agreements and treaties. Regional banking systems and capital markets remain unintegrated. Tariffs may vanish, but non-tariff barriers pop up in their place. Members continue to set their own intellectual-property, land-use and immigration policies.

Challenges Ahead

- First is the rising struggle among major powers in the Indo-Pacific region. The US and China are competing on South China Sea issues and the current dynamics in the Pacific and Indian oceans. China has recently expanded its sphere of influence into South Asia and Africa. The US, together with Japan, Australia and India, has established The Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QSD) in order to mitigate and balance the geo-political shift in the Indo-Pacific region.
- The 52nd ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting at the beginning of August in Bangkok, Indonesia and ASEAN promoted the ASEAN outlook on the Indo-Pacific to ASEAN external partners in

order to reach common understanding and cooperation (Kompas, 2019). The challenge for ASEAN is to see how its member states and its external partners work together to implement the outlook in an effective way

- Second, the US-China trade war started on July 6, 2018. The challenge for ASEAN and its partners is to resolve their differences and conclude the trade issues as ASEAN has trade relations with major powers and being entangled in their political game can harm their interest.

- Third, ASEAN's humanitarian assistance for the repatriation of displaced persons from Rakhine State and sustainable development in that province are potentially collective actions. ASEAN supports co-operation with the Myanmar government to facilitate the process of repatriation from Bangladesh to Myanmar and to contribute to development in Rakhine State. However, the Rakhine state issue is quite sensitive for Myanmar. In fact, ASEAN member states still preserve the principle of non-interference in domestic affairs and thus ASEAN cannot directly intervene. ASEAN may implement positive engagement with Myanmar but this remains a tough challenge.

To respond to the challenges above, ASEAN must preserve its centrality and unity in the evolving regional architecture of the Indo-Pacific. The challenges are complex but ASEAN's past should predict a bright future.

INDIA-AFRICA

Introduction

India and Africa are two shore neighbours. It is this geographical proximity, India looking westwards across the navigable Indian Ocean, that made the peoples of the two regions known to each other. Beginning with early colonial days, the free and voluntary relations of the past gave way to colonial needs and preferences. The present relationship, one between independent, self-respecting regions, was formally established only after both sides got independence. A historical examination of Indo-African relations shows that India's interest and intense engagement is not new; it is multidimensional.

INDIA - AFRICA IN NUMBERS

GATEWAY HOUSE
INDIAN COUNCIL ON GLOBAL RELATIONS

India and Africa have a combined population of **2.3** billion

Indian diaspora in Africa consists of nearly **3 million** people.

There is a **50,000**-strong ethnic African diaspora in India who descended from Bantu peoples of Southeast Africa.

India-Africa bilateral trade is estimated to be around **$70 billion**

The trade has increased **20 times** in the past 15 years.

Nearly **4,500 Indian soldiers** are on the ground in Africa under various UN peacekeeping missions.

A fully formed Indian female police unit is also present in Liberia.

India offers **900** scholarships to African students each year.

Indian owned/operated companies are **2nd largest employers in Nigeria.**

3% of South African population consists of people of Indian origin.

India is currently spending **$7.5 billion** on infrastructure projects in over **40 countries.**

Era of Brotherly Relationship

- It was Jawaharlal Nehru who gave the relationship its political structure. During his time as Prime Minister, Nehru was instrumental in shaping and defining major policy objectives and commitment to the Afro-Asian resurgence in which India and especially Nehru tried to emerge as a leader of ex-colonial countries.

- Under him, India took a definite diplomatic stand on many African issues. **First, he supported the decolonization of African states, which he considered a continuation of India's decolonization. Second, he took a firm stand against racial discrimination in South Africa and broke off India's diplomatic and trade relations with the racist regime.** The **Bandung**

Conference (1955) and the **Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Conference of Cairo (1958)** demonstrated these Afro-Asian perceptions of each other.

- India's engagement with Africa, its diplomacy and interactions in the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), the United Nations, the Commonwealth, and Afro-Asian organizations were mainly along the lines of anti-colonialism and anti-racism. However, early hopes of a more intensive Indo-African partnership went into low ebb in the 1960s.

- Indian policy was unrealistic; overestimating the role Africa was going to play due to its numerical strength and underestimating the importance and priority that Africans attached to issues like decolonization and racial equality. In support of African decolonization, India was branded as having a softer attitude toward colonial powers.

- Indian insistence on non-violent struggles against colonialism, its advocacy of 'peaceful co-existence and moderate stand on issues like Mau rebellion, the Algerian war of independence and the Congolese civil war', did not appeal to Africans. On the other hand, the Chinese militancy and advocacy for armed struggle did appeal to Africans. Furthermore, India's Anglo-centric view resulted in no time limit being fixed for colonial withdrawal.

- The gulf caused between Indian settlers and Africans by colonialist propaganda that India was attempting to end white domination to replace it with Indians, brought differences out into the open. During the Indo–Chinese War of 1962 India was isolated; very few African countries supported India and many adopted an openly unhelpful attitude.

- The Cairo Conference of Non-Aligned Countries (1964) exposed Indian isolation, with Africa taking the dominant control of the NAM. The issue of India's policy towards Indian settlers in Africa was another factor that did not augur well with African leaders. India had taken the exclusive issue of the discrimination of Indian settlers in South Africa to the UN. Blacks, who suffered worse discrimination in South Africa, were initially not included in the Indian resolution moved in the UN under Article 10 of the UN Charter. This caused great misgivings in Africans.

The Era of Resurgence (1970 0n wards)

- By the end of the 1960s, India had a tough politico-diplomatic task to overcome the growing isolation in Africa. It was time for India to reconsider its relations with Africa. International situations and India's Achievements at home played an important role in India's move to befriend African countries.

- India won the 1971 war with Pakistan, thereby liberating Bangladesh. The Sino–Soviet conflict and the Cold War enabled India to sign the 1971 Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation with the USSR. Indian diplomacy scored points by obtaining the support of one superpower against the other without being an ally of either.

- The success of India's 'Green Revolution' and achievement of self-sufficiency in food grains production demonstrated Indian economic and managerial capability. India's explosion of its nuclear device in 1974 restored its military confidence and raised its status as a military power.

- The launching of the Aryabhata rocket launcher in 1975 again placed India among the leading scientific and technological countries of the world. With newly acquired self-confidence, Indian policy became more proactive towards the African countries. Under these changed domestic

and international circumstances, Indo-African relations showed noticeable changes compared with the earlier period.

- The previous policy to make friends in Africa and gain their diplomatic support on various issues shifted to the creation and cultivation of gainful economic links. India utilized its diplomatic strength in international forums like the UN, NAM and 'Group of 77', to develop south-south cooperation.

- It was at the Lusaka Summit (1970) that the Indian Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, articulated and gave the call for south-south cooperation. On the issue of the liberation struggle, India worked closely with the African countries in their fight against apartheid in South Africa and Namibia.

- India accorded diplomatic status to the **African National Congress (ANC)** in 1967 and the **South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO)** in 1985. Apart from diplomatic support, it added material assistance; India also made contributions to the UN Fund for Namibia, UN Institute for Namibia, and UN Educational and Training Programme for South Africa.

- At the Harare NAM Summit in 1986 the Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, was chiefly responsible for the establishment of **the Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid (AFRICA)**

Post Cold War Era

- In the post-Cold War era, with the end of apartheid in South Africa, one of the major rationales of solidarity no longer exists. The shared ideologies of NAM and anti-colonialism no longer remained the rallying points of interaction between India and Africa.

- The relationship was shaped by the fundamental changes that took place in both India and Africa. On the one hand was India's rise as an economic power, its vibrant democracy, and its integration into the world economy; on the other hand, was a democratizing Africa, its rapid economic growth rates and its continental integration.

- There is a desire to work on their complementarities and build a partnership based on equality, mutual respect and mutual benefit. Africa is co-operating with India at continental, regional and bilateral levels.

- At the pan African level India stepped up its relations with the **African Union (AU),** which was formalized by the IAFS in April 2008, and its **Delhi Declaration**. The Indian government argued that this Delhi Declaration and the IAFS was 'a defining moment in the India-Africa relationship'.

- India is now not just an observer, but a 'dialogue partner' with the AU. At the regional level, India is engaged in constructing relations of partnership with regional organizations. India made good progress in developing cooperation with regional organizations within Africa like the **Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)**, the **East African Community (EAC),** the **Southern Africa Development Community (SADC)**, and the **Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)** and is expecting to make similar progress with others.

- India has lines of credit available with the East Africa Development Bank, the (PTA) Bank for the COMESA region, the West African Development Bank (BOAD) and, a line of credit of US $250m to the ECOWAS Development Bank in West Africa, to help finance sub-regional projects.

- At the bilateral level, India is intensifying collaboration with African countries in sectors like agriculture, food and energy security, trade and technology. Under the ' **Focus Africa programme'** to increase trade with the continent, the **Techno-Economic Approach for Africa India Movement (TEAM-9)** initiative in 2003 has been taken to enhance cooperation with western and central African countries.

- In accordance with its commitment to the World Trade Organization (WTO), **India has decided to extend a duty-free preferential tariff scheme on 92% of import items for the 34 least developed countries in Africa**. Human resources development and capacity building India's technological capabilities and developmental experience are germane to Africa's socio-economic development.

- One of the strong focuses of the current Indian partnership with Africa is the empowerment of people through **capacity building and human resources development**. Specifically highlighted under the India-Africa Framework of Cooperation agreed at the 2008 IAS.

- India recognizes Africa's need for human resources development in overcoming the gap for development in indigenous capacities. **By adopting a people-centric development approach in Africa, India differentiates itself from other players in Africa: this is an approach that combines the use of lines of credit with the deployment of Indian expertise to create assets in Africa**.

- India has proposed to support human resources development, market access and food security, which India can provide. Local skills development is part of many Indian projects. India has augmented its development package for Africa.

- In India's support of the **New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)** initiative, India has committed $200m to NEPAD to increase economic interaction with Africa. The aim has been to forge closer economic cooperation in the fields of mining, agro-processed products, motor vehicles and components, and information and communication technology (ICT).

- As announced at the 2008 IAFS, India doubled its financial package for the development of the continent to $5,400m. over the next five years. It pledged another $500m. in projects related to capacity building and human resources development. It increased scholarships and the number of training slots for African students under the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) programme.

- The 1,600 training positions offered under the ITEC programme to Africa. India seeks to establish an **India-Africa Institute of Information Technology, India-Africa Institute of Foreign Trade, India-Africa Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, India-Africa Diamond Institute**, and 10 Vocational Training Centers and five human Settlement Institutes in Africa.

- The **Pan-Africa e-network**, costing over $100m., is a particular project that illustrates India's commitment to share its progress in the information technology sector and bridge the digital divide. The project aims to promote tele-education and tele-medicine in all 53 members of the AU. Senegal has been designated by the AU as the hub for the entire project.

- Indian initiatives like **Focus Africa** (2002), **Duty-Free Tariff Preference Scheme(DFTP) for Least Developing Countries (2008),** and the institution IAFS and private-led conclaves like

Confederation of Indian Industries-EXIM Bank Conclave on India Africa Project Partnership have succeeded in lifting bilateral trade and investments to new heights.

- Bilateral trade has grown from a mere US$7.2 billion in 2001 to a peak at US$78 billion in 2014, before falling to US$59.9 billion in 2017. The decline in trade after 2014 was mainly "due to the effect of plummeting commodity and a slowdown in global economic activity."

- Various African countries have also benefited from India's DFTP scheme. Only 26 out of 33 African Least Developed Countries (LDCs) are eligible to participate in this scheme. Under the scheme, "**duty-free access is granted to LDCs on their exports to India for 96 percent of the tariff lines, with an extra 2.2 percent subject to preferential duties, leaving 1.8 percent of product lines i.e. ninety-seven products, without any duty concession**."

- But among these items on the exclusion list, products such as fruits and vegetables, cashew nuts, coffee, tea, spices, wine and spirits, and tobacco are strategic for Africa. Therefore, to stimulate more exports from African countries, India should look to implement a 100-per cent duty-free tariff preference, which will include products that African countries usually export.

Challenges for Indian foreign policy in Africa

- There is constant electoral contestation in Africa, where the multi-party rule has been adopted by many of its countries through going through Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) since the early 1990s.

- While SAP became a catalyst for the institutionalization of democratic governance across Africa, pre-existing ethnic tension has got its reflection in the electoral politics of the continent.

- The insecurity in Africa is linked to competition between dominant global powers and new challengers over the continent's economic space, notably its resource base. In some cases, this has resulted in disproportionate military interventions, creating scope for further security unrest in the continent.

- The complex security scenario has provided space for radical mobilization along extremist/religious fault lines in Africa. This is evident from the steady rise in terror attacks in many parts of the continent in recent years. The lethality of these attacks became a gradual reality in Africa, ever since the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces started providing arms and related logistical support to the Islamist groups in their campaign against Gadafi in Libya in the year 2011.

- In this respect, a United Nations (UN) report published in April 2013 stated, "**Illicit flows from [Libya] are fuelling existing conflicts in Africa and the Levant and enriching the arsenals of a range of non-state actors, including terrorist groups**."

- Above all, the human security crisis is the topmost concern in Africa. The continent's integration into the world economy has unleashed unprecedented economic growth, bringing simultaneous problems concerning service distribution and opportunity access for its people.

- Based on gender, rural/urban location and family income considerations, there is an increase in access disparity to basic services, such as food, water, health care, sanitation and education across the continent.

- Among these development challenges, the emergency of public health caused by the spread of epidemics currently remains a major human security issue in Africa. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has, for instance, declared Ebola as a regional security threat, affecting so far nearly 20, 000 people and taking more than 7, 000 lives in West Africa.

India's Partnership with Africa

- India and Africa continue their close security cooperation, including through regular consultations at the UN, at the AU and in New Delhi/National capitals. New Delhi has security cooperation with several African countries, including South Africa, Mauritius, Seychelles, Kenya, Tanzania, Mozambique and Nigeria.
- India has signed its first strategic partnership with South Africa. Both remain committed to the operationalisation of the African Standby Force through special training programmes. This cooperation has been appreciated by the UN, the AU, in regional entities like ECOWAS for India's contribution to peacekeeping, and in providing security in the countries which are in the conflict zone in Africa.
- India's contribution to the **United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (UNPKO)** is acknowledged globally, especially in Africa. India has become part of the conflict- containment and reconstruction process of the affected region. As the third-largest contributor of personnel to the UNPKO, India has more than 5,000 peacekeepers in Africa. In 2007, India's unparalleled contribution of a 125-member Female Formed Police Unit (FFPU) of its paramilitary Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) to the UN Mission in Liberia represents the first-ever women contingent in the history of UN peacekeeping.
- In the context of issues relating to international peace and security, India has appreciated efforts made by the **Peace and Security Council of the African Union (AUPSC)** in maintaining peace in Africa.
- Moreover, India has engaged with Africa as one of its crucial partners in the electoral process. New Delhi has approved US$ 10 million to the UN fund and has promised an additional amount of US$ 2 million for the purchase of protective gear, to combat the Ebola epidemic.
- India's security cooperation with Africa needs a greater thrust. As a victim of terrorism, India could partner in the proposed multilateral and regional counter-terror initiatives in Africa.
- As a recent Gateway House study showed, Africa experienced a sharpened international competition, known as 'the third scramble', in the first two decades of the 21st century. A dozen nations from the Americas, Europe and Asia have striven to assist Africa in resolving the continent's political and social challenges and, in turn, to benefit from Africa's markets, minerals, hydrocarbons and oceanic resources, and thereby expand their geopolitical influence. A mix of competition and contestation involving traditional and new players, especially the United States, the European Union (EU), China, Japan and India, has attracted much attention from governments, media and academia.

Constraints in Economic Relations

- **There are three primary constraints to Africa-India trade:** Limited access to trade finance – Lack of proper financing mechanisms and limited access to trade-related project finance have been exacerbated by a stringent regulatory environment, resulting in the withdrawal of many international banks from Africa's trade finance space.

- This has contributed to limited trade expansion with the rest of the world, including India. Transport and logistics costs – High shipping costs and high cost of insurance in exports to African countries have led many Indian exporters to sell on a 'free onboard' basis rather than an 'on-delivery' basis.

- Given the high transaction costs and risk perceptions attached, Indian exporters sometimes show tendencies to become risk-verse. Therefore, lowering transaction costs is crucial for increasing India-Africa trade limited market information and knowledge — The knowledge asymmetry created due to the lack of proper dissemination of information, and the incomplete understanding that India and Africa have about each other's markets creates major hurdles.

- It is necessary to create straightforward regulations, develop basic infrastructure, generate greater political will, and address domestic leakages, to create the correct environment for reducing investment risks in terms of commodity patterns, India has traditionally exported manufactured products to and imported raw materials from Africa.

- India has a negative trade balance with Africa due to its high demand for oil (petroleum and crude) and natural resources. Therefore, India must expand and diversify its import basket to include both primary and manufactured goods. The biggest question is whether there is a demand for African manufactured products in India.

Latest trends in India's Africa engagement

- India's bilateral partnership with African countries can best be defined by the spirit of **developing together as equals**. Indian engagement emphasizes the long term – enhancing Africa's productive capacity, diversifying skills and knowledge, and investing in small and medium-sized enterprises.

- Our special relationship is underscored by the fact that India was one of the first few countries, after the Hong Kong World Trade Organization Ministerial in 2005 that announced duty-free, quota-free access to low-income countries back in 2008.

- Even during the recession from 2009 to -2012, trade between India and Africa continued to grow by nearly 32%.

- In terms of investments, India is the fifth-largest investor in Africa with our cumulative investments standing at US$ 54 billion although India and Africa's economic relations are modest compared to China, India has numerous advantages, including proximity, a common language, popularity of Indian culture, and the appeal of democracy.

- Our most prominent example of sustainable development partnership is reflected through the **International Solar Alliance (ISA).** Africa has taken a leadership role in solar expansion with 25 member-states out of 48 countries ratifying the agreement coming to the African continent.

- Under the initiative, India has pledged more than 1 US billion $ for implementing off-grid solar energy projects in Africa, especially in West African countries. Also, with the enunciation of the Ten Guiding Principles for India Africa Engagement back in July 2018, the Indian Government has addressed the primary concern of not having a coherent Africa policy.

- For the longest time, India has been criticized for not having a clear vision or strategy for Africa, even after seventy years of robust engagement with the continent. Although many aspects of the Ten Guiding Principles are not new, they serve two purposes – the Guiding Principle represents a continuity in policy that has historically defined India Africa partnership, and at the same time reflects a change in the nuances and priorities in our engagement.

- Most importantly, these principles have been clearly articulated, and can thus be seen as a vision document for the India Africa partnership prospects.

Scholarly Analysis

Shyam Saran

- *Today, India and Africa are the most rapidly growing developing economies in the world. Africa is the continent of the future. India is a major emerging economy.*

- *India can contribute its capital, skills and technological capabilities to sustain Africa's growth. Africa in turn can support India's growth through mutually beneficial resource partnerships and easier access to each other's expanding markets.*

- *Africa is already one of India's Fastest-growing markets and investment destinations. This trend is likely to continue. Our world is still beset with debilitating poverty, disease and lack of opportunities for the youth who are entering the labour market in larger numbers.*

- *Resources available from traditional donors belonging to the OECD and from multilateral financial institutions are diminishing precisely at a time when the current United Nations session has adopted ambitious Sustainable Development Goals (SDG).*

- *Development cooperation among developing countries themselves, the sharing of development experiences among them and ensuring that their development trajectories follow an ecologically sustainable path, are new challenges confronting our world today.*

- *Whether or not SDGs are successfully achieved will critically depend upon what path countries like India and those in Africa take as they grow their economies.*

- *It is in this context that India-Africa development cooperation assumes importance beyond the bilateral relations with individual African countries and regionally with Africa as a whole through the African Union and several sub-regional African organizations.*

- *India-Africa cooperation based as it is on mutuality of interests, with its emphasis on alignment with local priorities and on the capacity building could well become the template on which the SDGs could be pursued globally.*

- *African countries and India are extraordinarily rich in biodiversity, with species of rare flora and fauna which are threatened both by over-exploitation as well as by Climate Change. We need strong global rules to safeguard our biodiversity. This requires coordinated positions in the deliberations under the Biodiversity Convention.*

- *We share a common interest in a robust global Climate Change regime that enables us to develop in an ecologically sustainable manner. We will be the worst affected by the consequences of Climate Change and must, therefore, work closely together in the ongoing multilateral negotiations on Climate Change culminating in the Paris Climate Summit later this year.*

- *The Doha round of multilateral trade negotiations has stalled for several years now. In several regions of the world, including in Asia and Africa there is a trend toward establishing regional free trade agreements. However, we are now seeing a trend toward mega trade blocs and the recent conclusion of negotiations on the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) is an ominous indication. TTP is likely to be followed by the Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (T-TIP).*

- *Neither India nor African countries are part of these new trade blocs which could corner more than 65% of global trade. The economic interests of India and African countries are best served by a universal, multilaterally negotiated, rules-based global trade regime under the WTO.*

- *The two sides should consult each other and other like-minded countries to find ways and means to revive the Doha round and prevent the fragmentation of the global economy. Such fragmentation could adversely impact their economic prospects.*

- *As the world becomes more globalized and interconnected, the salience of global cross-cutting issues is rising. These issues cannot be resolved by a handful of powerful countries or even through regional efforts.*

- *They include issues such as Climate Change but also global public health challenges, drug trafficking, trafficking of humans, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and international terrorism.*

- *There are newer domains of cyber security and space security. These are all issues on which the active participation of large and populous countries like India and those in Africa, becomes indispensable. This also creates an opportunity for the two sides to work closely together to promote collaborative responses to these challenges.*

Not without its fair share of criticisms

- *There is no doubt that Indian projects, capacity, and skills development programmes have positively impacted the lives of many Africans. However, at the same time, there is a realization that our partnership is yet to reach its true potential.*

- *Indian engagement in Africa is not without its criticism. The principal concern has been India's poor track record when it comes to project delivery and implementation.*

- *India is viewed to be slow in delivering on its development partnership commitments, especially in comparison to China. Also, few agribusiness firms have been criticized for land-grabbing and displacing the local population.*

- *Cumbersome bureaucracy on both ends also makes it difficult for funds to their intended beneficiaries. In such an instance, India's main challenge is to bridge the gap between rhetoric and practice, and this is where India has made positive strides.*

- *Various commentators, analysts, and practitioners have time and again questioned if India could live up to its lofty promises. The answer to that is 'yes'.*

Abhijit Singh on India-Africa Maritime Relations

- *Indeed, the past few years have witnessed a reorientation in India's nautical outlook toward Africa. With increasing emphasis on developing maritime relationships with Mozambique, Kenya, Tanzania, Madagascar, Seychelles and Mauritius, India has reached out to African states through offers of greater military aid, capacity-building and training assistance.*

- *With its economic engagement in the African continent growing rapidly, New Delhi has also sought to widen its sphere of influence in the Western Indian Ocean. In a display of a more purposeful maritime diplomacy, Indian naval ships have increased their port visits to Africa's East coast and smaller Indian Ocean island states.*

- *Yet, India's essential approach to maritime cooperation has revolved around anti-piracy operations in the Gulf of Aden. While it has provided security assistance to small island states in the Indian Ocean (undertaking regular patrols in the Exclusive Economic Zones of Mauritius and Seychelles, carrying out hydrographic surveys, even assisting in the establishment of a coastal radar network) the Indian Navy's larger security initiatives have been animated by the need to safeguard energy and resource shipments in the waters off Somalia.*

- *Not surprisingly then, India's security role in Africa's continental littorals has struggled to move beyond the set parameters of anti-piracy collaboration. With Indian naval ships constantly involved in collective maritime patrols in the Gulf of Aden and the East African coast, capacity-building efforts – in terms of the provision of security and surveillance assets and critical technology to African navies and coast guards to help them perform basic constabulary functions – have remained rudimentary.*

- *New Delhi's inability to raise its security game in Africa, however, is only a small adjunct to its wider failure to leverage Africa's huge maritime economic potential With rising economic development and the gradual integration of African states into the global economy, Africa's maritime sector has shown great promise.*

- *But even as African institutions and governments come together in a rare show of unity to secure the nautical commons, New Delhi has been lacking in its appreciation of Africa's maritime developmental needs. More crucially, Africa's efforts to evolve a harmonizing vision for the continent's economic sector have received little help from New Delhi.*

- *In January 2014, the African Union announced an **Integrated Maritime Strategy- 2050** and "Plan of Action," outlining a blueprint to address the continent's maritime challenges for sustainable development and competitiveness.*

- *The strategy, meant to systematically address Africa's maritime vulnerabilities, marked a declaratory shift. Unfortunately, security discussions in New Delhi have continued to revolve almost exclusively around India's political influence along Africa's Indian Ocean Rim.*

- *If India hopes to partner with Africa in striving for a prosperous future, it must work with it in the creation of a maritime system. Through infrastructure creation and the strengthening of legal*

frameworks and institutions, New Delhi can join with African states in the effective governance of Africa's maritime commons.

- *India's guiding text is the **African Union's Agenda-2063** document spelling out Africa's vision over the next five decades aligned closely with its own "development goals" and "international aspirations."*

- *But New Delhi is also aware that other than hard security tasks, it must play a role in developing a comprehensive continental strategy that can improve the lives of African people by creating a model of sustainable maritime development.*

Policy Recommendations

- *India has a unique position in Africa. Its strength lies in its soft-power capabilities, historical ties and a vibrant private sector that is scouting for opportunities to grow in Africa. **At present, though India is making significant strides in the continent, the lack of an articulate Africa policy has resulted in a fragmented and ad hoc approach, which prevents it from optimising its economic engagement on the continent.***

- *India needs political will to step this up. The state should drive a coherent multi-actor 'Africa Policy'. This involves three critical steps. Firstly, it must identify key Indian stakeholders in Africa and assess how each stakeholder should engage with African countries on their terms while keeping the goals of India's economic diplomacy in mind.*

- *Broadly, Indian stakeholders can be divided into three categories: this includes the State, the private sector and the Indian diaspora in Africa. A forum should be formed within which key stakeholders can coordinate and augment a sustainable Africa policy.*

- *Secondly, the Government of India needs to set some broad guidelines within which the private sector can act in Africa. Indian firms must be obligated to adhere to labour laws and environmental regulations. They must also pay attention to social issues in the region. For instance, the pharmaceutical sector should be more deeply involved with local health issues and work on the eradication of diseases like malaria.*

- *Thirdly, the Government should develop a policy on how to engage with People of Indian Origin (PIOs) in East Africa.*

- *According to **Harry Broadman**, 'ethnic networks' would enhance trade and investment ties by overshadowing the 'imperfections and asymmetries of market information, given the fact that PIOs have immense local knowledge. At the same time, India's engagement with the Indian community in Africa should not be exclusive to an economic elite with political connections. Indian policy on PIOs has shifted away from complete neglect, but only to selective engagement.*

- *In South Africa, as **Sanusha Naidu** observes, many who belong to the Indian community do not have a political or economic city India. India can use its strengths in education and healthcare to help advance this section of society as a means to strengthen ancestral ties and win their unity. Energy policy should be placed within the framework of sustainable development.*

- *India should position its energy policy in Africa within the broader arena of India-Africa relations. This means linking energy policy to trade and investment initiated by the private sector.*

Furthermore, the optimisation of energy ties should be based on a relationship of mutual dependence.

- *India's need for energy sources is matched by Africa's own need for investment, technology and capacity building too. While infrastructure development is something India is already pursuing in countries like Nigeria, these efforts must be supplemented by the transfer of skills and technical knowhow to develop African oil companies themselves.*

- *While India is prepared to share with Africa its knowledge and expertise in exploration, distribution, renting, storage and transportation, it needs effective planning and implementation. One way this can be pursued in the oil and gas sector is through **Petroleum India International (PII),** which was set up to provide technical, managerial and human resource development (HRD) services in the upstream as well as downstream sectors on a global basis.*

- *Dispatching consultants would enable the development of local capacity and also assure India of the stability of the sector and thus its energy interests. India must also help African countries to strengthen their governance frameworks in the energy sector. This could be achieved by working in close coordination with the **New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD),** under its **'Economic and Corporate Governance Programme'.***

- *This will minimize the risks involved in engaging with energy-rich African countries that possess weak and unregulated governance structures. By applying its experience of developing energy governance in a complicated domestic environment, India can help African countries develop their natural resource sectors and thus assist them in building stronger governance institutions.*

- *While India does provide concessional lines of credit to NEPAD programmes, it could play a more active role in assisting African countries to build their local capacity to help stronger and more sustainable energy ties. Indian Policy should be cast within not only a bilateral but also a multilateral institutional framework. India must give as much emphasis to boosting its economic engagement with African Indian Ocean Rim countries as it does to building defense ties.*

- *At a bilateral level, India needs to enhance the number of diplomatic visits to these countries and develop a detailed strategy of how it aims to enhance its diplomatic, cultural and economic engagement with these countries. India must work toward revitalizing the relatively inactive **Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC).***

- *The institution was launched in 1997 to strengthen trade and investment ties between 19 Indian Ocean rim countries. The disparate nature of its membership coupled with the lack of a strong vision has prevented any tangible results from taking shape. India should capitalize on China's non-membership in the IOR- ARC and use it as a platform to augment its economic and defence engagement with East Africa at a regional level.*

- *Overall, India needs to envision an Africa policy for long-term engagement with the continent. This requires a comprehensive analysis of India's strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats in African countries. With a similar range of interests, both India and China inevitably cross paths in Africa, and while China may have deeper pockets, India's strengths lie in her own experiences of economic development and democracy.*

- *With its emphasis on training, capacity building and locally-integrative business structures, India's engagement seems more true to its rhetoric of South-South cooperation than that of*

China. By and large, unlike in the case of China, the international community, and the U.S in particular, largely welcomes India's engagement with Africa.

- Nonetheless, China is enhancing its role in the region rapidly. India needs to ensure that its engagement with African countries is aligned to their developmental needs and social concerns. This will legitimise India's presence in the region in the eyes of the African people, which will pave the way for stronger long-term ties.
- Recently, India has made significant advances toward increasing its economic and diplomatic footprint in Africa.

While trade and investment between India and African countries are on a rise, India's Africa policy suffers from four critical weaknesses:

1. Both the Indian Government and Indian private sector companies have strategic interests in Africa. As key stakeholders, they should but do not keep each other's interests in mind, thereby preventing the formulation and implementation of a coherent Africa policy.
2. India's Africa policy is not supplemented by a strong and proactive diplomatic thrust.
3. In some instances, India appears to be emulating China's aid for resources strategy (by providing loans in exchange for access to the natural resources of African countries), which may not be the best approach to maintaining long-term relations.
4. Engaging with politically unstable yet resource-rich African countries could threaten India's interests in the long run and taint the perception of India's engagement with African countries. There are signs of this happening at present.

Some argue that India's democratic framework may serve as a strong base for enduring India-Africa ties.

While this argument has its merits, India needs to develop a strong and coherent vision for its Africa policy to optimise its strengths and opportunities given the active presence of China on the continent. The state should drive a coherent multi-actor **'Africa Policy'**. This involves the following critical steps:

- Identifying the role of different Indian stakeholders (especially the Government of India and the Indian private sector) in Africa and assessing how each should engage with African countries on their terms while keeping the goals of India's economic Diplomacy in mind.
- Setting broad guidelines within which the private sector can act in Africa.
- Developing a policy on how to engage with People of Indian Origin (PIOs) in East Africa.
- Energy policy should be placed within the framework of sustainable development: Linking energy policy to trade and investment initiated by the private sector. There should be an optimisation of energy ties based on a relationship of mutual dependence. Helping African countries regulate their energy sector to mitigate risks in energy-related deals.
- Indian Policy should be cast within not only a bilateral but also a multilateral institutional framework: Giving as much emphasis to boosting economic engagement with African countries of the Indian Ocean Rim as it does to building defence ties.
- Revitalizing the fairly inactive Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC).

Rajeev Bhatia

- It is time to seize the opportunity and restore Africa to its primary position in India's diplomacy and economic engagement. The third India-Africa Forum Summit was held in 2015. The fourth summit, pending since last year, should be held as soon as possible, even if in a virtual format.
- Fresh financial resources for grants and concessional loans to Africa must be allocated, as previous allocations stand almost fully exhausted. Without new commitments, India's Africa policy would be like a car running on a near-empty fuel tank. The promotion of economic relations demands a higher priority.
- Industry representatives should be consulted about their grievances and challenges in the COVID-19 era. It is essential "to impart a 21st-century complexion to the partnership with Africa", as the above-mentioned study argues. This means developing and deepening collaborations in health, space and digital technologies.
- Finally, to overcome the China challenge in Africa, increased cooperation between India and its international allies, rates a priority.
- The recent has identified Africa as a region where a partnership-based approach will be followed. Similarly, when the first in-person summit of the Quad powers is held in Washington, a robust partnership plan for Africa should be announced. For it to be ready in time, work by Quad planners needs to begin now.

Book review by T.P. Sreenivasan authored by Rajiv Bhatia- India-Africa Relations, Changing Horizons

- *Bhatia has devoted a large part of his book to the rationale, the details and the impact of India's Africa cooperation programme. Prime Minister Modi asserted that India is honoured to be a development partner for Africa. It is a partnership beyond strategic concerns and economic benefits.*
- *It is formed from the emotional bonds we share and the solidarity we feel for each other. Africa has also welcomed the increase in the number of visits of Indian dignitaries to Africa and the Indian decision to open new diplomatic missions in Africa.*
- ***But Bhatia points out that, in the light of the Chinese experience, India should deepen its political commitment to Africa, set aside sizable financial resources and increase its capacity for project execution.***
- *The continental, regional, bilateral, diaspora and other dimensions of India-Africa cooperation have been analysed in detail to show the prospects for Africa in the coming years. **Inevitably, de-globalisation, debt and digitalisation, the three megatrends in the world will shape Africa's economic future.***
- *India has special capabilities in these areas. Bhatia has established beyond doubt that India-Africa relations have grown from strength to strength and that the future is promising.*
- *But he has also admitted that there are many milestones to cross before it can be claimed credibly that "India and Africa are among the highest priorities for each other." The reality is*

that strategically, politically and economically, India and Africa are still far apart and much more needs to be done.

Africa new battleground for China and India

Nature of Chinese involvement in Africa & increasing backlash

- The Chinese approach toward aid partnership with African countries is more traditional – focusing on resource extraction, infrastructure development, and elite level wealth creation.
- Such an emphasis on more traditional forms of aid through Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) on hard infrastructure projects might seem lucrative on the surface to many developing and small African countries who are always looking for quick and easy money, but is such an approach sustainable in the long run?
- One cannot deny the opaque nature of most Chinese contracts which are mostly not visible to or available for public scrutiny.
- As per estimates from China Africa Research Institute (CARI) at John Hopkins University, loans from the Chinese government, banks and contractors to African governments and state-owned businesses totalled US$ 143 billion between 2000 to 2017.
- Even more alarmingly, the opacity of the costs and terms of Chinese loans makes it difficult for countries to conduct a risk assessment of the projects.
- While Chinese projects seem to serve the quest of African nations to build a sound infrastructure, a closer examination reveals that they serve Beijing's ambitions to write the rules for the next stage of globalization.
- According to **Ted Bauman,** senior research analyst at Banyan Hill Publishing**, "it is clear that China's primary goal with foreign investment is geopolitical and not economic."**
- But the main trouble is that these investments help to bind countries to China politically, and through debt obligations, create a form of leverage.
- China is using its hefty economic prowess to build political 'soft power' through its *'Go Out'* policy, wherein China sends the employees of its state-run companies to Africa, as well as investment money.
- The types of precarious labour conditions typically include cases of low salary below the minimum wage standards, language barriers, unfair termination of contracts, lack of holidays, medical care, insurance, and other benefits.

Narinder Chauhan

- *Criticism of China's economic engagement with Africa has been growing from labour unions and civil society on the poor labourer conditions, unsustainable environmental practices and job displacement caused by Chinese enterprises.*
- *China is also thought to be taking advantage of African government weaknesses, thereby encouraging corruption and wasteful decision making. Angola, Ghana, Gambia, and Kenya have seen demonstrations against Chinese funded projects.*

- *This is where India comes in. Unlike China which has concentrated on creating infrastructure and extracting natural resources, India through its investments of over $11b, has focused on its core competencies of human resources development, information technology, maritime security, education and health care.*

- *China's drive to build infrastructure will yield results only if they create jobs and develop the countries' productive capacity. The reality is that Chinese firms are often accused of employing mostly Chinese workers and doing less to develop local capacities and offering little training and skills development for the African employees.*

- *Some Chinese infrastructure runs the risk of being just vanity projects. In contrast, Indian project construction and financing in Africa is aimed at facilitating local participation and development.*

- *Indian companies rely more on African talent and do capacity building for the local population. Further, unlike lending from China – and even from IMF and World Bank – for projects which are mostly dictated to or foisted from above, India's development assistance through concessional lines of credit, grants and capacity building programmes are demand-driven and untied.*

- *India's role in Africa, thus, runs in tandem with Africa's growth agenda outlined by the African Union Secretariat, the regional bodies or the individual countries.*

- *India has pioneered the tele-education and telemedicine programmes to connect hospitals and educational institutions of all African countries with India through the fiber-optic network. India has aided Africa in the fight against the Covid-19 pandemic with the supply of vaccines and equipment to 42 countries, mainly from sub-Saharan Africa.*

- *India and South Africa came together in WTO to seek a waiver on the patent regime for Covid-19 vaccinations, the initiative for the most part has been supported by the African nations.*

- *India has many other advantages over China as well. While China's political-economic model is attractive, public support for democracy in Africa is very high.*

- *India is seen as a country that affords a model of economic development with grassroots democracy, accountability and transparency.*

- *For this reason alone, Indian experts, accountants, managers and teachers have remained much sought after in Africa. Further, India enjoys the advantages of linguistic and cultural affinity.*

- *Indian presence in Africa comes with the added advantage of the English language which is widely spoken in Africa. This helps the locals' converse with the Indian companies.*

- *Indian training and capacity building programmes are also in the English language which enables both technological development and absorption in the receiving countries.*

- *The role of the Indian diaspora in Africa, at 3 million strong, is eclectic. The diaspora plays its bridging role between India and Africa, though it is equally important that the persons of Indian origin remain well integrated into their host countries, this is an aspect that Africa is particularly sensitive to.*

- *India is better geographically connected with the African continent and thus shares its security concerns as well.*

- *India considers the Indian Ocean rim countries of Africa as critical to its Indo-Pacific strategy, and with many of them, India has defense and shipping agreements including joint exercises.*

- *This is particularly true of the Indian Ocean Island states of Africa which are crucial to India in maintaining the security of sea lanes and in handling the issues of climate change.*
- *Indian armed forces training teams are popular and have helped foster a democratic spirit. The role of Indian peacekeepers is much appreciated.*
- *Africa's economic importance to China is very modest. Africa has little part to play in BRI which is primarily aimed at better penetrating the EU market; Chinese investments under it in Africa are primarily in Egypt and the Horn of Africa, along the route to the Suez Canal. If economics does not explain China's interest in Africa, what does?*
- *The quintessence of Sino-African relations is not economic, but geopolitical. Post Tiananmen Square was a watershed: where China was shunned by the West and African leaders were seen exchanging visits with Chinese leaders.*
- *The fulcrum of its relations with Africa was, thus, to restore the dignity that China had suffered internationally. It continues to use 54 African states to expand the radius of its international influence in the game that China currently plays with the United States. India and China have growing stakes in Africa and are increasingly competing geopolitically.*
- *Both have benefited from the voting patterns of African states in the UN and elsewhere. India's developing engagement with Africa holds the promise of benefits to the partners based on equality and mutual respect.*
- *This is the leitmotif of India's outreach to Africa through the institutionalized India Africa Summit process pioneered in 2008, which provides a coherent and comprehensive strategy that is inclusive, people-centric, sustainable, and guided by African needs and priorities.*
- *India has very wisely built a progressive structure on the foundations of its historic participation in Africa's freedom, the non-aligned movement and the worldwide struggle against apartheid and repression, that earned India a unique role in the continent.*

Rajeswari Pillai Rajagopalan-India's China Challenge in Africa

- *While India has engaged Africa for a long time, its capacity to effect changes has been limited primarily due to the lack of India's economic capacity.*
- *Conversely, China's deep pockets and the larger trade engagement have seen it garner far greater influence. Chinese investments in Africa have been growing for more than a decade.*
- *In 2014, China-Africa bilateral trade was around $220 billion. In comparison, India-Africa bilateral trade in March 2016-17 was $52 billion. To downplay the strategic and economic competition in Africa between India and China, the Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Geng Shuang during a press briefing said that "**both China and India are willing to help Africa within the South-South cooperation framework to accelerate its industrialization and achieve self-driven development… China and India are on the same page in this regard**."*
- *But even as Chinese officials make such claims, Xi has signed several agreements furthering China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), many components of which have been objected to by India.*

- *While New Delhi often makes claims about its century-old historical relationship with Africa, there can be little doubt that the new Indian focus on Africa is more the result of China's growing footprint in Africa.*

- *China in the last few years has been strengthening its presence and influence in Africa, as well as some of the African littoral states in the Indian Ocean.*

- *India's nervousness about the growing Chinese maritime interests is quite real. In response, India is now trying to step up its cooperation with several countries including Seychelles and Mauritius (incidentally, Xi has also included Mauritius in his African tour).*

- *The Indian Ocean region along with the littoral states will become much more vital in the coming years, with these maritime spaces carrying two-thirds of the global oil- third of the bulk cargo, and half of all container traffic.*

- *For New Delhi, Africa has become a lot more significant because of China's proactive engagement in the region. But at the same time, India's long neglect and inadequate economic capacity are serious disadvantages in the face of China's strategic push and economic muscle. Nonetheless, India's promises and commitments will be judged against China's projects in the region.*

- *New Delhi's biggest challenge has been its inability to deliver on the promises that it makes. There is little sign that India has done much about this, adding to the doubts about India's capacity to compete with China.*

Rajeev Bhatia

- *The fundamental trait on which China and India diverge stems from their long-term goals. Going by the nature of policies followed, it is evident that China looks for dominance, control and strategic gains. India, on the other hand, aims at little more than a partnership that is based on equality, mutual respect and benefit."*

Indian Government and Politics

Federal Judiciary

Issues of Center State relations

Role of Civil Service in Democracy

Scholarly analysis- Electoral behavior in recent assembly elections

FEDERAL JUDICIARY

The judiciary is that branch of the government that interprets the law, settles disputes and administers justice to all citizens. The judiciary is considered the watchdog of democracy, and also the guardian of the Constitution. For democracy to function effectively, it is imperative to have an impartial and independent judiciary.

What is the Federal Judiciary?

- Federalism is a midpoint between unitarism which has a supreme center, to which the States are subordinate, and confederalism wherein the States are supreme and are merely coordinated by a weak center.
- The idea which lies at the bottom of federalism is that each of the separate States should have approximately equal political rights and thereby be able to maintain their non-dependent (for want of a better word) characteristics within the larger union.
- **An integral requirement of a federal state is that there be a robust federal judicial system that interprets this constitution, and therefore adjudicates upon the rights of the federal units and the central unit, and between the citizen and these units.**
- The federal principle envisages a dual system of Courts. But, in India, we have a unified Judiciary with the Supreme Court at the apex. The federal judicial system comprises the Supreme Court and the High Court in the sense that it is only these two courts that adjudicate upon the rights of the federal units and the central unit, and between the citizen and these units

Does India have a federal judiciary?

- Dr B.R. Ambedkar stated in the Constituent Assembly that the Indian Federation though a dual polity has no dual judiciary at all.
- The High Courts and the Supreme Court form one single integrated judiciary having jurisdiction and provide remedies in all cases arising under the constitutional law.
- The Indian Constitution envisaged the equality of power of High Court judges and Supreme Court judges, with a High Court judge not being a subordinate of a Supreme Court judge.
- Famously, the Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court, Justice M.C. Chagla and the Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, Justice P.V. Rajamannar, when offered seats in the newly formed Supreme Court, rejected the offer, preferring to be Chief Justices of prestigious High Courts than being ordinary judges in a newly formed court.
- **The Supreme Court has, on many occasions, reiterated the position that the Supreme Court is superior to the High Court only in the appellate sense. Therefore, the theoretical position has always been that High Court judges and Supreme Court judges are equals.** A delicate balance is required to be maintained between the Supreme Court and the High Courts in order for the constitutional structure dreamt of by B.R. Ambedkar to work.
- According to the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution public health and hospitals come under the State List as Item No. 6. There could be related subjects coming under the Union

List or Concurrent List. Also, there may be areas of inter-State conflicts. But as of now, the respective High Courts have been dealing with specific challenges at the regional level, the resolution of which does not warrant the top court's interference.

- In addition to the geographical reasons, the constitutional scheme of the Indian judiciary is pertinent. In **L. Chandra Kumar v. Union of India (1997),** the Supreme Court itself said that the High Courts are **"institutions endowed with glorious judicial traditions"** since they **"had been in existence since the 19th century and were possessed of a hoary past enabling them to win the confidence of the people".**

- Even otherwise, in a way, the power of the High Court under Article 226 is wider than the Supreme Court's under Article 32, for, in the former, a writ can be issued not only in cases of violation of fundamental rights but also "for any other purpose". This position was reiterated by the court soon after its inception in **The state of Orissa v. Madan Gopal Rungta (1951).**

India's record of maintaining balance

- This balance existed from Independence onwards, until the 1990s. Since then, however, it has been tilting in favour of the central court. **The need for this balance was underscored during the Emergency, when the High Court's (a significant number, at least) stood out as beacons of freedom, even as the Supreme Court failed in this duty.**

    In recent years, three specific trends have greatly eroded the standing of the High Court, leading to an imbalance in the federal structure of the judiciary.

- First, the Supreme Court (or rather, a section of its judges, called "the Collegium") has the power to appoint judges and chief justices to the High Courts and the Supreme Court. This Collegium also has the power to transfer judges and chief justices from one High Court to another.

- Second, successive governments have passed laws that create parallel judicial systems of courts and tribunals which provide for direct appeals to the Supreme Court, bypassing the High Courts.

- Third, the Supreme Court has been liberal in entertaining cases on trifling matters. Every time the Supreme Court entertains an appeal against a High Court decision, it second-guesses the High Court. It sends out the message to the litigant: '**It does not matter that the High Court ruled against you, you can take one more chance with this appeal**.'

- Every time the Supreme Court entertains public interest litigation on some matter which could just as effectively have been dealt with by the High Court, what the litigant hears is: '**You do not need to approach the High Court, you can directly file your claim here, and you will not only get your hearing, you will get publicity too**.'

- The third of the factors identified is the creation of parallel hierarchies of courts and tribunals, whether it be the Competition Commission, the company law tribunals, or the consumer courts. In all these cases, the High Courts are bypassed. Laws have been drafted such that the High Court has no role to play and the Supreme Court directly acts as an appellate court.

- The effect of this can be easily imagined, whether it be the weakening of the authority of the High Courts or the possibility of a tendency towards subservience or apathy of the judges of the High Courts.

Scholarly Analysis

(The opinions expressed within the content are solely the individual's and do not reflect the opinions and beliefs of the Editorial Team/Website/Instititute).

Thulasi K. RajKaleeswaram

- *Judicial federalism has intrinsic and instrumental benefits which are essentially political. The United States is an illustrative case. **Scholar G. Alan Tarr of Rutgers University hinted, "Despite the existence of some endemic and periodical problems, the American system of judicial federalism has largely succeeded in promoting national uniformity and subnational diversity in the administration of justice".***

- *Justice Sandra Day O'Connor rightly said in a 1984 paper that the U.S. Supreme Court reviews "**only a relative handful of cases from state courts**" which ensures "**a large measure of autonomy in the application of federal law**" for the State courts.*

- *This basic tenet of judicial democracy is well accepted across the courts in the modern federal systems. The need for a uniform judicial order across India is warranted only when it is unavoidable — for example, in cases of an apparent conflict of laws or judgments on legal interpretation.*

- *Otherwise, autonomy, not uniformity, is the rule. Decentralization, not centrism, is the principle. In the COVID-19-related cases, High Courts across the country have acted with an immense sense of judicial responsibility. This is a legal landscape that deserves to be encouraged. To do this, the Supreme Court must simply stay away.*

Alok Prasanna Kuma-High courts set a higher benchmark

- *The Supreme Court's approach as a constitutional court seems to be to adjourn or delay, not wanting to take any tough call when it is not acting as the self-appointed executive wing of the government, such as in the National Register of Citizens case.*

- *To see the difference, compare the Gauhati High Court striking down the internet ban in Assam with the Supreme Court's waffling Constitution bench 'judgment' in the context of Jammu and Kashmir's internet shutdown.*

- *From granting bail to anti-CAA protesters to upholding the right to protest peacefully, to ensuring no accused goes unrepresented in the teeth of majoritarian violence, the Karnataka High Court has stood out like a beacon in bleak times.*

- *The Allahabad High Court held the Uttar Pradesh government accountable for police violence on protesters, ensured bail for unjustified arrests and held extraordinary sittings to strike down the Yogi Adityanath government's actions against protesters.*

ROLE OF CIVIL SERVICE IN DEMOCRACY

What is Civil Service?

Civil Service means a group of people who share in the exercise of the sovereign power of the state by discharging the various functions of the executive branch of government other than military responsibilities as a life career and paid from government treasury. Indian Civil Service is a legacy of the British administration in India. Started by Warren Hastings and later modified by Sardar Vallabhai Patel, Civil Service is the steel frame of the political system.

Civil Services and Governance in Independent India:

- The civil service system is the backbone of the administrative system which acts as the most important tool for governance of our country. *"You will not have a united India, if you do not have a good all-India service which has the independence to speak its mind."*-Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

- In post-independent India civil service was reorganized. There are three tiers of administration-
    1. **Union/Central Government**
    2. **State Government**
    3. **Local Government.**

At the central level, the civil services include the All India Services, namely the Indian Administrative Service (IAS), Indian Foreign Service (IFS), Indian Forest Service (IFS), and Indian Police Service (IPS). Apart from these there are various other Central Services like the Indian Income Tax Service, Indian Railways Service, etc. at central level. The State Governments have their own set of services – State Civil Service.

- Over the period the role of civil services has changed depending on the agenda of the governance of that particular period. During the British period, enforcement of law and order and collection of revenue was the main concern of civil servants.

- In post-independence India, when the Government has acquired the role of Welfare State, civil services act as an important tool for implementing national and state policies of welfare and planned development.

- The Indian civil services, with its national character, have been a strong binding force to the Union of States. The institution of civil service has rendered service to the overall socio-economic development of the country. It has been at the forefront of the development process right from the 'commanding heights regime' to the 'liberalization and de- regulation era'.

- It has acted as a force of unity among diversity. It has not only played a pivotal role in designing and activating policies, it has also ensured basic service delivery at the grass root level to the marginal section of our society.

- Since civil services are considered as the most important element of the Indian administrative system that has the responsibility to fulfil the development objectives of the welfare state, any failure or shortcomings in fulfilment of these objectives are attributed to the failure of civil services.

- It is said that India's massive bureaucracy is maintained at huge cost by the country's taxpayer whose average income is among the lowest in the world. The public perception about the members of the civil service, who function at cutting edge, higher coordination and policy making levels, is that they are `**burdensome low performers'** heading a highly bloated bureaucracy, which is, often, perceived to be corrupt and inefficient in governing the country.

Constitution Provisions with Respect to Civil Services

Part XIV of the constitution deals with provisions of civil services.

Article 309: Powers of Parliament and state legislatures

It empowers the Parliament and the State legislature to regulate the recruitment, and conditions of service of persons appointed, to public services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of any State respectively.

Article 310: Tenure of office of persons serving the Union or a State.

According to Article 310, except for the provisions provided by the Constitution, a civil servant of the Union works at the pleasure of the President and a civil servant under a State works at the pleasure of the Governor of that State. This implies that the operation of the Doctrine of Pleasure can be limited by constitutional provisions. Under the constitution, the following are excluded from the operation of this doctrine:

- Judges of the Supreme Court;
- Judges of the High Court's;
- Chief Election Commissioner; and
- Comptroller and Auditor General of India.

Thus, this doctrine is not absolute and is subject to Constitutional provisions. The civil servants can also be excluded from the operation of this doctrine because they have been provided with some protection under Article 311 and thus this doctrine's application can be limited to civil servants as well.

Article 311: Dismissal, removal or reduction in rank

No removal by subordinate authority: No member of a civil service holding a civil post under the Union or State shall be dismissed or removed by an authority subordinate to that by which he was appointed.

Inquiry and informed of the charges: No such person as aforesaid shall be dismissed or removed or reduced in rank except after an inquiry in which he has been informed of the charges against him and given a reasonable opportunity of being heard in respect of those charges.

Article 312: Creation of new All India service

If **Rajya Sabha** passes a resolution supported by **not less than two thirds of the members present and voting**, Parliament may by law provide for the creation of one or more All India Service

including an all-India judicial service common to the Union and the States, and regulate the recruitment, and the conditions of service of persons appointed, to any such service.

Article 315 to 322: Deals with Public Service commissions.

Article 323A: Administrative Tribunals
Parliament may, by law, provide for the adjudication or trial by administrative tribunals of disputes and complaints with respect to recruitment and conditions of service of persons appointed to public services.

Main issues associated with civil services in India:
(Comprehensive coverage of cadre-based service has been covered in our February edition)

Gaps in All India Services and Out-dated laws, rules and procedures
- **Colonial Hangover:** During British time when these services were created the structure of government was unitary and the nature of State was authoritarian. Present day bureaucracy is not in sync with modern day realities and the nature of government.
- **Against Federation:** They in some levels restrict autonomy and patronage of states. Since 1950, they have been a major point of disputes and problem areas between the Center and States.
- **Generalist Vs Specialist:** There has been a long-fought debate over whether civil services should be generalists or specialists. The existing system is a generalist system, where regardless of background and education, an IAS officer for example, can be asked to take up any role he/she is assigned. Moreover, **Ferguson and Hasan (2013)** find that specializations are rewarded in career trajectories of IAS, which suggests that taking into account the cadre's need for certain specializations by incorporating cadre's preferences over officers might be useful. However, it has been observed a sense of detachment in public towards All-India Services' officers in a cadre where they do not speak the local language and unfamiliar with local culture and general environment of the district. **First ARC (1966-1970) recommended that a functional field should be carved out for the IAS.**
- **Not following "All India '' character in letter and spirit:** According to ``**Public Institutions in India – Performance and Design by Mehta and Kapoor'**there is a feeling that IAS officers are 'all India' in name only. As there is decline in proportions of officers who genuinely alternate between state and central government.
- **Geographical Variations:** IAS cadre in UP is 40% smaller than it should be while in Sikkim is 15 % more than it should be, based on population alone. There are large variations in the size of IAS cadres with respect to total state population.
- **Unequal Representation:** The states of Indian Union are not equally represented in these services. The state of the Punjab, UP, Bihar, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh are represented more than others.
- **Lack of Political neutrality and politicization of services:** In the words of **Mohit Bhattacharya**, *'Neutrality meant a kind of Political sterilization, the bureaucracy remaining unaffected by the*

changes in the flow of politics .There might be changes in political leadership, but the civil servant would be unfailingly offering "technical" advice to the political master keeping himself aloof from the "Politics" of the day.'

- In the words of **R.B.Jain**, **"***Political neutrality not only meant the absence of political activity or bias on the part of individual members of the bureaucracy but also that bureaucracy would respond to the will of the Government, no matter what its political complexion be.***"**

- Unfortunately, the vision of civil service neutrality no longer holds good. Changes in governments particularly at the state level often led to wholesale transfer of civil servants. Political neutrality is no longer an accepted norm with many civil servants getting identified, rightly or wrongly with a particular political dispensation. There is a perception that officers have to cultivate and seek patronage from politicians to obtain suitable positions even in the Union Government. As a result, the civil services in public perception are often seen as increasingly politicized.

- **Second Administrative Reform Commission (ARC)** is of the view that the political neutrality and impartiality of the civil services needs to be preserved. The onus for this lies equally on the political executive and civil servants. The commission in its Report on **"Ethics in Governance"** while examining the ethical framework for Ministers has recommended that a code of ethics for Ministers should inter-alia include following: **"Minister must uphold the political impartiality of the civil service and not ask the civil servants to act in any way which would conflict with the duties and responsibilities of the civil servants."**

- In liberal democracies having multi-party systems, the political ideology of the government changes due to the periodic electoral mechanism. Under such circumstances the neutrality of civil service is a precondition for the efficient functioning of the government.

- **Lack of professionalism and Poor work culture:** Most government departments suffer from poor work culture and low productivity. In essence, Indian administration still functions very much the same way it functioned 165 years ago. Its resources have changed; its mind and spirit remain the same. You can do a Google search and can confirm that the intellectual contribution of some 60,000 civil servants to date in terms of original books and research papers published has been insignificant. The sorry state of the country in terms of its economy, public healthcare, education, research and innovation even after 73 years of independence is well known.

- There should be an officer-oriented system with level jumping to speed up decision making by reducing multi-level hierarchical structure. Though the government has incorporated ICT in governance, it needs to be accelerated to weed out the inefficiencies and delay culture in government departments. There is a need to create a lean, thin and efficient government machinery by modernizing procedures and work methodology and abolishing the 'babu' culture in the government offices.

- So, on the basis of experience so far and some other developments of the present era like globalization, coalition nature of polity, etc., it is well recognized that reforming the civil service is not only necessary but also inevitable.

Good Governance' and Civil Service Reform in Present Context:

- For 'Good Governance' which is one of the most important goals of the modern welfare State, civil services have to be responsive to these changes. But for this response, reforms and reorientation of civil services are needed because with its present attitude and training civil services are not going to deliver good governance in the present complex world.

- A well-functioning civil service helps to foster good policymaking, effective service delivery, accountability and responsibility in utilizing public resources which are the characteristics of good governance. 'Good Governance' is being used as an all-inclusive framework not only for administrative and civil service reform, but as a link between Civil Service Reform and an all-embracing framework for making effective policy decisions within viable systems of accountability and citizen participation.

- Administrative reform focuses on rationalizing structures and operations of government machinery. Governance reform tends to focus on facilitating the effective functioning of and interactions between the State, the market and the civil society.

- It refers to the improvement of legal, institutional and policy frameworks to create proper decision making and implementation environments for economic growth and distribution. It encompasses participatory systems for elements of civil society to become actively involved in formulation of policies and programmes and their implementation.

- It also includes effective and transparent systems and processes for accountability in government activities. Civil service reform cannot be seen in isolation and it has to be undertaken along with administrative and governance reforms for effective results.

- Although comprehensive reform that involves governance, the civil service, administrative practices, and civil society is ideal, it requires sustained commitment from political and administrative leaders.

- Most important development of our times which has substantially changed the concept of governance is – **Globalization**. In recent times globalization has permeated every nook and corner of our country and its people. Reason being active trade and commerce across board; governance of which comes under the purview of civil services; thereby requiring greater mingling of civil services with the phenomena globalization.

Civil Services in the era of Globalization:

- **Technological advancement changed the expectation of citizens from civil service**- Fast pace of globalization is mainly driven by the rapid advancement of communication technology. Due to this advancement of technology we are talking about a **'global village'.** So, at present, for effective and efficient administration use of technology is must.

- **Changed role of State**- Since economic liberalization has led to on one hand, the diminishing role of state and on the other hand, increasing role of private sector in the direct economic activities. This has resulted in the marginalization of a section of society who is economically weak and can't take advantage of the economic opportunities provided by economic liberalization. Civil services need to change their mindset from **'only government can do'** to **'government in partnership with the people can do'**.

- **Increased importance of multilateral institutions-** Globalization has increased the importance of international organizations like the UN, IMF, World Bank, WTO, etc.. Dealing with these organizations needs professionalism, tough negotiating skill, manipulation skill, etc. So, to avoid becoming a loser while dealing with these international organizations, training and reorienting our civil services is the need of the hour.

Scholarly Analysis

Views of M. Satish, Centre for Good Governance,

Reforms in Civil Services

Civil Service Reform aims at strengthening administrative capacity to perform core government functions. These reforms raise the quality of services to the citizens that are essential to the promotion of sustainable economic and social development. Civil Service Reform can contribute to macroeconomic stabilization by restoring budgetary stability, strengthening revenue collection, managing aid effectively, and improving development performance through proper implementation of investment frameworks and the management of public expenditure plans and programmes. The reform can contribute to the design and implementation of an equitable programme of social development. Enhancing the capacity of civil servants and improving their morale are critical to all these functions.

Components of Civil Service Reform

Reforms must take into account the role of the Civil Service in the governance needs of the day and the expectations generated from it. The main components of Civil Service Reform should pertain to the following:
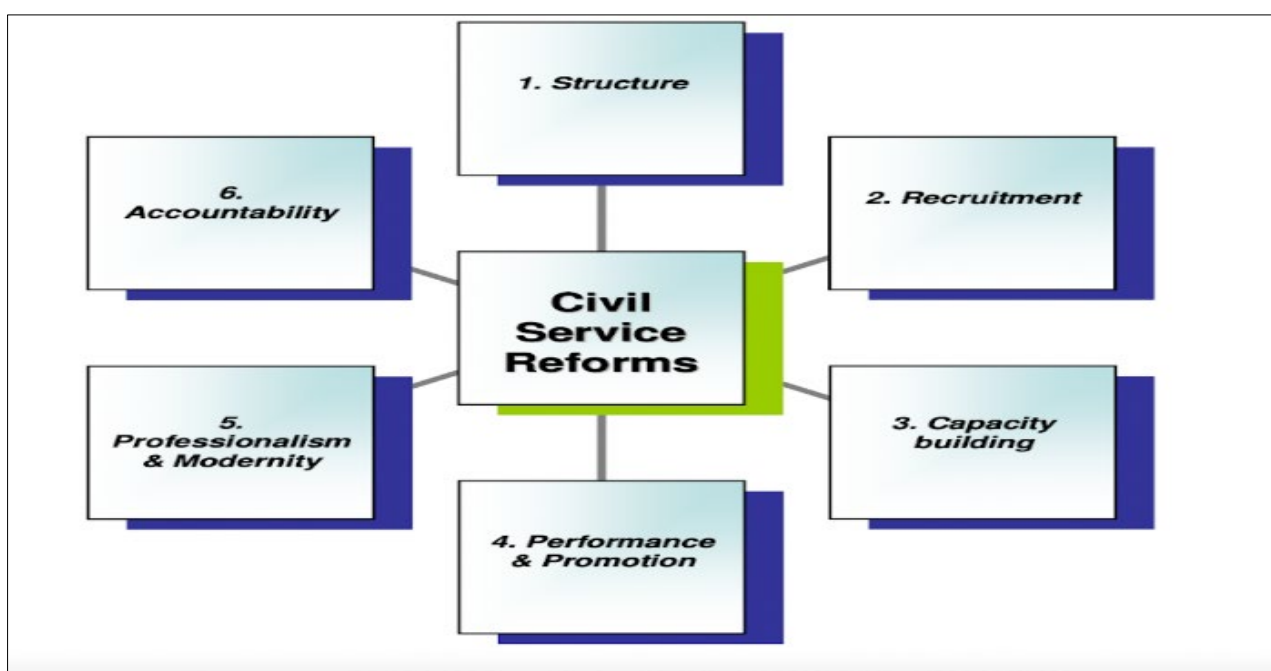
Size and Structure of Government

Since independence, the government has increased the number of their ministries, departments and officials; in some cases even doubling them. In part, this growth has been stimulated by political considerations; it accommodated more and more intra-party groups by offering more ministerial positions. It also created posts for senior civil servants, along with other jobs at other levels that enlarged the patronage capabilities of a number of political and bureaucratic leaders.

However, this expansion has not been offset by a concomitant shedding of lower priority responsibilities or other attempts to eliminate redundancy. Apart from its budgetary aspect, this kind of expansion has stretched implementation capacity, and compounded coordination problems. Civil servants are spending more and more time in maintaining and/or clarifying their jurisdictional rights and boundaries, clearing their decisions through increasingly complex internal processes, and coordinating their activities through an increasing number of agencies.

In addition, it has created vested interest groups at all levels that have blocked efforts at reform and rationalization. Once a ministry, department, division and unit have been created, it is difficult to abolish, even though its function may well have been transferred or may no longer exist. Similarly, it is difficult to dismiss a government employee who has tenure guarantees.

1. **Rightsizing civil services:** The administrative reforms must look into the role clarification, core governance issues so that optimum number of functionaries are available for effective service delivery without any spillage or leakage.

2. **Recruitment:** The recruitment examination for Indian Civil Services is of course one of the most rigorous examinations across the world. The changing trends in the society as well as the economy makes it imperative to stress more on technological knowledge and in areas such as human rights. There is also very little stress on testing managerial skills in the examination.

3. The changes in our economy also create a need for specialists at various jobs. With rapidly advancing technology and high degrees of specialization in every field, the country can no longer afford to put generalists in positions requiring specialized skills. The entry and exit of civil servants from public service to private sector and vice versa, will make the civil services jobs more attractive, thus making it a new economy job. This may create the risk of competition feeding into the civil services even more insidiously than it already has. But that will at least help enforce accountability and be beneficial in the long run.

4. **Capacity Building & Human Resources Development:** The training offered for civil service recruits is one of the most comprehensive training systems. The gaps where the training facilities are not in tune with the new trends have to be identified from time to time, so that training can be provided right at the induction level.

5. **Reforming and Restructuring Human Resource Management:** Building a motivated and capable civil service requires merit-based and non- discriminatory recruitment, which rests on the absence of political patronage, transparent rules and procedures, open competition and selection by an independent agency. Subsequently, important elements in meritocracy and the motivation of employees are the opportunities for promotion, recognition and reward for performance, inter-sector mobility, placement in right jobs and the scope for skill upgrading and

self-improvement. It is equally important to address demotivating factors like frequent and arbitrary transfers, a poor work environment, decrepit housing and health facilities, as well as special factors affecting women in office and field jobs.

6. **Strengthening Meritocracy in Promotion:** In the final assessment, promotion—with its higher emoluments and enhanced status— remains a key element of motivation. There are differing approaches to the use of seniority and merit as criteria for promotion in countries following a similar hierarchical, "mandarin" structure of civil service management. Singapore consistently promotes people entirely according to merit and it is common to see younger officers supersede more senior, but less competent, officers. Malaysia follows a system of promotion and annual salary progression based upon a new performance appraisal and remuneration system.

Civil Services Performance Systems

'But those who do not consume goods and increase them in just ways should be made permanent in their offices, being devoted to what is agreeable and permanent to the king.' -*Arthasastra*

- The present promotion system in civil services is based on time-scale and is coupled by its security of tenure. These elements in our civil services are making our dynamic civil servants complacent and many of the promotions are based upon a patronage system. The non-inclusion of incentives or disincentives for performance is a major drawback for civil services and is making Indian civil Services largely unaccountable to the state.
- Civil Servants are not only recruited through open competitive examination, but certain officials from the state governments are also being promoted. The whole idea of All India Civil Services gets lost when other state officers are promoted to civil services and work in the state itself. This is indeed a retrograde step.
- These promotions should be merit based and the respective authorities have to benchmark the best practices and evaluate the performance of the civil servants both qualitatively and quantitatively with a variety of parameters. The performance appraisal The chart on the left shows the accountability of a civil servant at various levels.

Civil Service Accountability

The Civil Servant has always played a pivotal role in ensuring continuity and change in administration. The civil servants are dictated by the rules and procedures. It is the 'rule of law' rather than 'rule of man' that is blamed for widespread abuse of power and corruption among government officials. The explosion of media has also opened civil servants to external scrutiny.

For greater accountability, the following are some of the measures suggested:
- Strengthening and streamlining reporting mechanisms
- Streamlining and fast-tracking departmental enquiries
- Linking performance with incentives
- Overhaul of employee grievance procedures
- Action on audit findings
- Implementation of Citizens Charters' for monitoring service delivery

- Right to Information Act and its enforcement
- Code of conduct for civil servants

Change in Mindset

A paradigm shift in the nature of civil service/servants is required to cope up with the emerging demands and the changes in society and economy. The following table summarizes the nature of changes required in this esteemed service for better performance.

Parameter	From this	To this
Commitment	To the Civil Service	To public service
Core values	Integrity and neutrality	Integrity, Impartiality and delivery
Precedent	Follower	Creator
Work	Exclusively in policy and ministerial support roles	Varies roles between operations, policy, specialist skills and ministerial support
Aims	To lead the development of a major policy area	To deliver the outcomes of a major policy area
Experience	Widens experience by brief tenures in public sector	Widens experience by taking a private sector role.
Training	Fast stream	Career-long development and learning
Orientation	Status Quo **Monopolistic**	Change **Competitive**

Mission Karmayogi

Mission Karmayogi was launched on September 20, 2020 by the Prime Minister Narendra Modi-led Union Cabinet. **Mission Karmayogi - National Programme for Civil Services Capacity Building (NPCSCB)** is meant to reform Indian bureaucracy and prepare civil servants for the future. The programme aims *"comprehensive reform of the capacity building apparatus at individual, institutional and process levels for efficient public service delivery"*.

Union Minister Prakash Javadekar, during a press conference, said the mission aims to prepare civil service officers for the future by making them more *"creative, constructive, imaginative, innovative, proactive, professional, progressive, energetic, enabling, transparent and technology-enabled."*

Views of Richa Mishra on Mission Karmyogi

- *Mission sounds more like rhetoric than anything else. Individuals across party lines agree that there is a need for administrative reforms. But shouldn't it start from the roots?*
- *While one has to acknowledge that this is a step forward, the key will be on how transparently it will be implemented; otherwise it might just end up being another Game of Thrones.*

Views of Manish Tewari

- *A chunk of India's population lives in rural areas and their contact with the Indian State is primarily with a patwari, the local village official handling land issues, and higher up in the hierarchy, a kanungo and rarely, a tehsildar.*
- *On law and order, they mostly interact with a beat constable, havildar or, at best, an assistant sub-inspector in charge of a thana. When the administration interacts with citizens, it is usually not a pleasant affair. The situation is identical in the urban setting, "what is needed is a bottom-up administrative re-engineering of both the administrative and law enforcement apparatus."*
- *The one thing that stands out is that no government, irrespective of its political color and character, would do any cosmetic administrative reform. "Therefore, it is incumbent on the legislature to step in. Parliament must constitute a Permanent Standing Committee, chaired by the Speaker of the Lok Sabha to study, update, recommend and, if necessary, legislate through even the Private Member Bill process, comprehensive administrative reforms,"*
- *How will Mission Karmayogi ensure the image makeover? Will the appraisal system be more performance-linked? How does the Mission cut red tape? Will the proposed Commission not become a parking ground for retired bureaucrats? How will the marriage of different services take place?*

Views of Dilip Cherian

"This is not the first time there has been an attempt to re-organise bureaucracy. Reforming and restructuring are not things you can do with very bright people. A better way is to let those in the service do it themselves. The reason I say so is that if you call bidders — seniors from consulting firms will come and make a presentation and win the bid. But, when it comes to making the report, they will assign some trainees who will be getting resources. And what will then happen, will be an unhappy summarizing by junior resources as a report. It will be of no help to anyone."

Views of Ashissh Kaul, PSE Business, SHRM India

"The bureaucracy structure, required profile and success traits were crafted and envisaged many decades back. Life has changed significantly since then. A major challenge facing public entities today is aligning its employee strategies to serving the population objectives and driving future growth for India."

Views of TR Raghunandan, former bureaucrat

- *A futile exercise and just big words. Nothing will come out of it.*

- *Quality of young officers (civil servants) is really good and their commitment is superb. But the incentive structure in the government encourages them to either pander to politicians, or look the other way and stay out of trouble. It is a lack of a good value system crisis, not a lack of capacity crisis.*

Book Review: What Ails the IAS And Why It Fails To Deliver: NC Saxena

(*The book paints a portrait of how India's bureaucracy has failed to serve its poorest and most marginalized citizens well.**)*

- *India is lagging behind in improving its average years of schooling. It has gone up only marginally from 4.4 years to 5.4 years against targeted 11.7 years. Income inequality has been rising especially after the economic reforms and inter-state income gaps have not declined, giving rise to worries of social tensions. The civil service which is in key positions must share the blame for it*

- *The bureaucracy is also not fair to the marginalized groups and the poor. The author gives several examples of this neglect. First, the process of identification of the poorest families has left out many. While the labour survey showed 5% entitled to automatic inclusion, the actual number identified was 3.8%. A survey done in 2015 also excluded many poor families as a subsequent review showed. Also, the Dalits, Muslims, women and the tribals have not benefited from India's high rate of economic growth.*

- *The book analyzes extensively the inequities in development flowing to these sections. It talks of discrimination against Dalits, ignoring the needs of the tribals, poor education and social indicators among Muslims and discrimination against women.*

- *The author identifies several reasons for IAS officers not being able to deliver and suggests a range of systemic reforms. The reforms suggested by the author are wide ranging. He argues that tenure of officers should be fixed. With short tenures neither is it possible to plan any improvement nor is there any accountability. There is often a lack of domain knowledge.*

- *In many officers there is little concern for the poor. Both these gaps must be plugged. There is a need for better monitoring and information systems where no fudging of data may be possible. The absenteeism of officials needs to be monitored. The focus should be on outcomes rather than inputs. The author suggests accountability of civil servants with citizen's having an oversight role, greater transparency and strong external pressures to ensure that there is no flouting of rules and corruption is minimal.*

Book Review: 'The Steel Frame — A History of the IAS'-Deepak Gupta

- *The changing role of the IAS over the years since Independence has more immediate implications for the country today. Gupta notes the observations of the former director of the national training academy, P.S. Appu, on the need for the IAS in 2005: first, that such a service can resist the arbitrary actions of those in power; second, by upholding the Constitution uncompromisingly, without fear or favour, it can enable millions of citizens to claim the rights guaranteed to them.*

- *Service should be reinvented for the 21st century needs more nuanced reflection. First, on the basic nature of the service itself: how new recruits should be selected, trained, and prepared for the challenges of public service; second, on the changing role of district administration vis-à-vis democratic decentralization and local government; and third, on the greater need for state-specific policymaking by state governments in sectors that were, until now, addressed mainly through large centrally sponsored schemes, such as nutrition, health and education.*

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ISSUES OF CENTRE- STATE RELATIONS: DIVISION OF POWERS

It is believed that the federation with a strong center is the soundest framework of the Indian Constitution. Though the states have been granted autonomy, many of the matters are exclusively dealt with by the Union. In such a scenario, the Union and states must work in harmony in the interest of the general public. This gave rise to the principle of cooperative federalism which states that the Union and states should cooperate with one another to avoid conflicts. This forms the crux of center-state relations.

Center-state relations have always been a topic for debate. Ever since India gained independence, the issue has attracted attention. Schedule VII which had to be discussed in two days, took six days (August 29, 1949 – September 03, 1949) of the Constituent Assembly, since it was a crucial issue. However, the issue could not be resolved. Later, different commissions also had to be formed to examine the relation between the two and the distribution of powers between them.

Constitutional Provisions

- **Schedule VII of the Constitution-** Schedule VII is of utmost importance to determine the distribution of powers between the Center and the states. It provides for three lists namely Union List (List I), State List (List II), and Concurrent List (List III). The majority of the powers were provided in the Union List followed by State List and Concurrent List. A large number of powers to the Union were the inception point of all debates.
- **Article 246 of the Constitution-** This provision complements the three lists provided under Schedule VII. It states that the Parliament shall have exclusive right to form laws on subject matters enlisted in List I. The states shall have exclusive right to form laws on subject matters enlisted in List II. Lastly, the Center as well as the states shall have mutual rights in subject matters provided in List III.
- **Article 248 of the Constitution-** Article 248 gives residuary power to the Parliament i.e. it has the power to enact laws on those subjects which are not covered by List II and List III and this power even extends to the imposition of taxes. The same has also been supplemented by Entry 97 of List I of Schedule VII.
- **Article 254 of the Constitution-** Article 254 provides that in case of a repugnancy between a Central statute and state statute, the former would prevail and the latter would be void except if it follows the condition in clause (2) of the provision. This again gives superiority to the Union in comparison to the states in any of the subject matters concerning the Concurrent List.

Constituent Assembly debates

The Constituent Assembly debates held for six days saw a lot of complications in the distribution of powers in the three legislative lists. The national leaders such as Rajendra Prasad and Dr. B.R. Ambedkar advocated for a strong center whereas leaders of many states and provinces were not convinced with the same.

Views of Constituent Assembly Members

Sardar Hukum Singh – leader of East Punjab Province

"With every day that passes, we are progressing more and more towards a unitary system, not merely in times of war as was first intended, but in normal times as well." His contention related to List I, Entry 78 in pursuance of which, even the control of the High Court's was provided under the Union List. Yet another contention moved by him was concerning List I, Entry 97 which provided for residuary powers. He believed such power should not be accorded to the Union. Moreover, he sarcastically suggested changing the entries of List I as *'all matters other than those in List II and List III'*.

Kaka Bhagwant Roy – leader from Patiala and Eastern Punjab states

Kaka Bhagwant Roy also opposed giving excessive powers to the State. He stated, *"India is a very big country. She has many provinces. These Provinces have their difficulties and can understand their problems much better than the Centre."* His amendment related to List I, Entry 52 . He was of the view that powers related to industries should be dealt with by the State. Conferring them with responsibilities but not providing them with powers would slow down the industrial development in the country.

H.V. Kamath – a leader from Central Provinces and Berar

H.V. Kamath was also a prominent figure who advocated for the rights of states and provinces while the distribution of powers between Union and states and provinces. His amendment was related to List I, Entry 21. He opined that some states and provinces had certain developments in civil aviation so the entry should be made in Concurrent List rather than restricting it to the Union only. Another amendment moved by him was about regulation and control of films under List I, Entry 60. He believed owing to the linguistic and cultural differences, each province and state should have its own censorship board since one custom which will be permissible in one state, might find criticism in the other, which will make it impossible for the Union alone to control this situation.

R.K. Sidhwa – a leader from Central Provinces and Berar

R.K. Sidhwa also provided certain amendments in favour of states and provinces. One such amendment related to List I, Entry 68. He argued that the Central Government had been inefficient in extracting the rich minerals and identifying their correct usage. Thus, the matter should be exercised by the states and provinces that could do it in a much better way.

Naziruddin Ahmad – a leader from West Bengal

Naziruddin Ahmad stated, *"I should think that the Center is getting seriously encumbered with a large number of subjects, it would have the effect of unduly enlarging the jurisdiction of the Union and curtailing the jurisdiction of the provinces. This tendency should stop."* He also contended against giving excessive powers to the Union. This statement is an extract of his contention concerning List I, Entry 63 which gave power to the Union in regards to all educational institutions.

This was criticized since the Center could gain control over any institution in any state as per its wish. In another statement, he said, *"If the Provinces are to be robbed one by one of their powers, political, financial and others, it would be far better for us to say here and now that Provincial Autonomy must go and there must be a Unitary Government."*

Mahavir Tyagi – a leader from United Provinces

Mahavir Tyagi, who was representing the United Provinces, showed opposition to List I, Entry 3. The jurisdiction of cantonments in various states would be given to the Center as per this entry. He believed it to be unjust if people are treated differently because one area lies in a cantonment zone while the other does not. He narrated about the practical difficulties which people had already been facing as a result of such existing provisions. However, his amendment was not moved and was negative.

Debates giving rise to Sarkaria Commission

Due to strenuous relations between Center and states, Sarkaria Commission was formed in 1983 to examine the relations between Center and states. Chapter II of the Report of the Sarkaria Commission relates to legislative relations. As evident from the report, the following contentions were raised by different state governments.

- **Exercise of legislative powers-** Most of the states were vehement about the approach taken by the Center in the exercise of its powers under List I. More than its existence, the leaders opposed the usage of its legislative powers. They believed Entry 52 and 54 of the Union List gave them excessive powers which reduced the role of states. However, the same was rejected by the Commission owing to its national importance.

- **Biasness towards center-** The states believed that the legislative lists were too biased and had an inclination towards the increased role of the Centre which reduced their role and powers. They contended that the lists need to be revisited so that powers could be decentralized. This was also rejected by the Commission which held that such division to be correct.

- **Abolition of concurrent list-** Some states contended that List III should be banned and matters should exclusively be given to the Union or the states since it often leads to conflict and it is the act of the Union that prevails. Yet again, the argument was rejected by the Commission since abolishing List III would serve no good and makers of the Constitution had intentionally created it so that the Union and states can harmoniously work with one another for the development of the country.

- **Transfer from List III to List II-** Certain states argued that some matters should exclusively lie in their jurisdiction and the Center should not meddle in the affairs of the states. Consequently, they argued that certain subject matters should thus be transferred from List III to List II.

Debates giving rise to Punchhi Commission

The issue of center-state relations rose again and as a result, the Punchhi Commission was formed in 2007 to review their relations. Volume II of the Report of Punchhi Commission relates to legislative relations. Major problems of distribution of powers have been stated were:

- Most of the states believed that centralisation, required at the time of independence, is not needed anymore and thus, decentralization should take place. They argued that the federal system should be made more prevalent to satisfy the needs of the present time. Lastly, they emphasized the 'principle of subsidiarity'.

- **Exercise of power by states-** As also contended by the Sarkaria Commission, most of the states were unsatisfied by the way in which the Union exercised its legislative powers to the prejudice of states. There were lesser issues with the distribution of powers and more issues with the exercise of such distributed powers. Moreover, the residuary power by the Union had also been the root of many problems.

- **State autonomy-** State autonomy or provincial autonomy has been an issue since the independence of India. Even at that time, many leaders of different states and provinces raised issues for provincial autonomy and it seems that the issue is still prevalent today.

- **Consultation of states-** Another important contention made by the states was that whenever the Center enacts a statute on any subject matter of Concurrent List, it should take consultation of the states. They felt this was necessary so that their population could be adequately represented and the law could suit the conditions of their territory. Even the Commission agreed on the same and recommended it in its report.

Judicial pronouncements relating to legislative Lists

- **State of West Bengal v. Union of India (1962)-** In this case, West Bengal contended that an act of Parliament was beyond its legislative powers and should be held ultra vires of the Constitution. The Supreme Court held that the Indian Constitution is 'not truly federal in character'. Further, the Union had residuary powers and powers related to industrial, commercial and economic unity lies with the Union.

- **International Tourist Corporation v. State of Haryana (1980)-** The case related to the interpretation of Entry 97 of List I. the Supreme Court held that though the Union has residuary powers yet, it cannot 'encroach into the legislative powers of states' and use it so expansively that defeats the very purpose of a federation. It should not destroy the provincial autonomy of the states. Lastly, the residuary power should be used only when it is not enumerated in List II and List III and not in any other situation

- **Federation of Hotel and Restaurant v. Union of India (1988)-** In this case, the Supreme Court, while dealing with the overlapping of subjects in the three lists, held that *"It is the duty of the Courts, however difficult it may be, to ascertain to what degree and to what extent, the authority to deal with matters falling within these classes of subjects exists in each legislature and to define, in the particular case before them, the limits of the respective powers. It could not have been the intention that a conflict should exist; and, to prevent such a result, the two provisions must be read together, and the language of one interpreted, and, where necessary*

modified by that of the other." Thus, in such cases, the courts should always try to adopt a harmonious construction that does not result in the nullity of any of the statutes.

- **Forum for People's Collective Efforts v. State of West Bengal (2021)-** This is a recent judgment of the Supreme Court which struck down the real estate laws formulated by the West Bengal legislature since it was not in accordance with the centrally enacted RERA law. It held that *"In such cases where the competent legislation has been enacted by the same legislature, techniques such as a harmonious construction can be resorted to, to ensure that the operation of both the statutes can co-exist. Where, however, the competing statutes are not of the same legislature, it then becomes necessary to apply the concept of repugnancy, bearing in mind the intent of Parliament."* **Therefore, though the Court always tries to adopt a harmonious construction, if not possible, then the Central Act prevails.**

Inferred reasons for the rift between center and states

- **Historical reasons-** Ever since the beginning, the kings and the rulers had their kingdom and inclusion in the Indian Territory would mean reduced powers. Thus, the leaders were earlier reluctant to be a part of the nation.
- **Promise for a federal structure-** At the initial point, the states and provinces were told that the country would remain federal and it was only in situations of exigency that the Union would take over the states, as also stated by Sardar Hukum Singh. However, gradually, most of the powers were given to the Center to strengthen it which has been a great issue.
- **Exercise of powers-** The most common reason was the exercise of powers by the Union. It was believed that the Union abused its position and took undue advantage of the powers provided under the Union List. To exemplify, it exercised its residuary powers which were detrimental to the interests of certain states.
- **The reduced role of states-** As stated by many leaders, when the Indian Constitution was being framed, a lot of powers were transferred to the Union, on which they earlier exercised exclusive power. This reduced role and power of states have been one of the reasons for criticism of the distribution of powers between centers and states.

ISSUES OF CENTRE-STATE RELATIONS: ROLE OF GOVERNOR

Views of Rakhahari Chatterji: Recurring controversy about Governor's role in state politics

(The negative image of the state governors as above all "an agent of the center" has proved difficult to erase.)

- *During the last few years, the governors of Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Kerala, Maharashtra and, of course, West Bengal have played their roles in such a way as to make them highly controversial without necessarily adding to the glory of the office.*

- *If we had thought that the sharp controversies around the constitutionality of governors' actions on many occasions during the 1960s and 1970s had unobtrusively created certain healthy conventions for governors in later decades to follow, we have been proved wrong.*

- *The negative image of the state governors as above all "**an agent of the center**" has proved difficult to erase. The present controversies have been around the issues of selecting the chief minister, determining the timing for proving legislative majority, demanding information about day-to-day administration, taking apparently long time in giving assent to bills or reserving bills for the President, commenting adversely on specific policies of the state government and exercising powers of the governor as the chancellor of state universities.*

- *Governor's role and functions had been widely debated by some of the best minds in the Constituent Assembly like Dr. P.S. Deshmukh, T.T. Krishnamachari, H.V. Kamath, Pt. H.N. Kunzru, Alladi Krishnaswamy Ayyar, Rohini Kumar Chaudhury, Shibban Lal Sakshena, K.M. Munshi and of course, Dr. Ambedkar.*

- *Their understanding was that the proposed constitution was creating 'responsible government' in the states as much as at the center — that is, responsible alone to the respective legislatures, that the states were indeed sovereign within their own domain, that the discretionary power, beyond the specific situations mentioned in the constitution, does not enable a governor to override the state government.*

- *To this Dr. Ambedkar stated, "**I have no doubt in my mind that discretionary power is in no sense a negation of responsible government. It is not a general clause giving the governor power to disregard the advice of his ministers in any matter in which he finds he ought to disregard.**"*

- *Many undesirable actions, from the standpoint of the federal and democratic constitutional system that governors often at times engage in, could be the result of uncertainty of tenure that they suffer from. That is why many of the committees and commissions examining the institution of the governor suggested fixed tenure in office. They also recommended that chief ministers of concerned states should be consulted before appointing a governor.*

- *To end the monopoly of the center in selecting its 'own man' as governor, the BJP, along with the left front government of West Bengal, had in the 1980s, even gone forward to suggest that the appointment should be made from a panel prepared by the state legislature and actual appointing authority should be the Inter-state Council, not the central government.*

- *It is indeed true that the insightful and responsible recommendations made by the committees and commissions examining center-state relations have created widespread public sensitivity and opinion regarding various wrong doings of the center through the office of the governor which have proved to be damaging for the essential federal structure in India.*

Other's Views

- **Dr. B.R. Ambedkar** described the Governor should use his discretion not as "representative of a party" but as "the representative of the people as a whole.
- **Sarkaria Commission:** The Governor must be a person from outside the State.
- **Punchhi Commission:** Recommended that Appointment of the governor should be entrusted to a committee comprising the Prime Minister, Home Minister, Speaker of the Lok Sabha and chief minister of the concerned state.
- The Supreme Court in the **Nabam Rebia judgment of 2016** ruled that Article 163 does not give Governors a "general discretionary power" as is often misunderstood. "***The area for the exercise of his (Governor) discretion is limited. Even in this limited area, his choice of action should not be arbitrary or fanciful***.

Recent issues happened with respect to Governor

- **West Bengal:-** Between Mamta govt and Mr Dhanker on the issue of post poll violence where the govt has indirectly instructed police not to bide by Governor order.
- **Maharashtra:-** Governor not agreeing to the amendment in Rule for election of Speaker, resulting in assembly without speaker.
- **Kerala:-** The Governor confessed in Public that under the pressure of the govt, he has reappointed vice chancellor of Kannur university. Actually, The Kannur University Act says no person above the age of 60 shall be appointed as Vice-Chancellor. The re-appointment of Prof Ravindran as VC is a violation of the law as he has crossed the age of 60 years. Governor says he has appointed him because of pressure.
- **Kerala HC:** The Governor of Kerala needs to apply his mind independently to the case of reappointment, evaluate the performance of the Vice Chancellor and fully satisfy himself about the merit of the appointee before signing the appointment order.

Recently Kerala Govt asked for removal of Governor

The Kerala government has put forward a recommendation before the Center seeking powers for the states to remove the Governor. Kerala is demanding that the state legislature must be empowered to remove the governor in case of violation of the constitution, lapses in the duty of the Chancellor or in taking criminal prosecution procedures.

A set of recommendations has been prepared by the Kerala government in response to the letter sent by the Center asking for feedback on the Punchhi Report.

Punchi Commision Recommendation	State Government's Response
Anyone who has attained the age of 35 years can be appointed as the Governor.	A person, who has a high level of dignity, should be appointed as the Governor. The tag of being an active politician should not be construed as a disqualification for the appointment.
A piece of legislation should be brought in to give discretionary power to the President of India for removing the Governor. But the Governor should be given the opportunity to defend his or her case.	Provision for recalling the Governor should be introduced. The State Government should be consulted on the appointment of the Governor. The Constitution should be amended for this purpose.
There should be a provision for the impeachment of the Governor if the person holding the post violates constitutional provisions.	The State Government should be given powers to remove the Governor if it was found that the latter violated constitutional provisions or committed serious lapses while performing the job of the Chancellor or failed in dealing with matters of criminal prosecution.
In areas other than the performance of constitutional duties, the Governor should act as per the advice of the State Cabinet. The Governor doesn't have discriminatory powers on many areas. In certain matters, the Governor should use discretionary power without entering into conflict with the State government.	Discretionary powers of the Governor should be curbed. A new mechanism be framed by which the Governor should be made to send back the Bills to the State Government as quickly as possible after affixing the signature.

The importance of the Governor's position arises not from the exceptional circumstances that necessitate the use of his discretion, but as a crucial link within this federal structure in maintaining effective communication between the Center and a State.

Conclusion

India has a federal structure but also has huge regional disparities. In this sense, different authority at center and state was necessary to cater to the needs of the country which would have not been possible if it had been a unitary government. Accordingly, certain provisions of the Indian Constitution provide for center-state relations. These center-state relations have been instrumental in developing the country. It has helped in better governance of the country, a better mechanism for administration and inclusion of different groups into the mainstream society.

Moreover, in contemporary times, an active role is played by the state which further leads to better administration. The different provisions of the Constitution have also played an important role since, without these provisions; there would have been a lot of chaos in relation to the distribution of powers between the Center and states. It is hopeful that the center-state relations strengthen with time and there is enhanced cooperative federalism since it is an important factor for determining the governance of the country.

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On UNACADEMY

DR. PIYUSH CHAUBEY

SCHOLARLY ANALYSIS OF RECENT ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS

(The opinions expressed within the content are solely the individual's and do not reflect the opinions and beliefs of the Editorial Team/Website/Institute)

(This article is the continuation of the two articles published in last edition-political parties and role of cast in politics. Students are advised to focus on the role of caste, religion, leadership, ideology, and coalition in Indian politics.)

Pratap Bhanu -The BJP has transformed the nature of politics in ways to which the Opposition has no answer.

- The results of the five assembly elections are a further consolidation of the momentous changes in Indian politics over the last decade. The results in UP are a spectacular win for the BJP, consolidating its power and ideological hegemony over Indian politics.
- It sends a plain and simple message: Politics, in the end, is a game of competitive credibility and the BJP simply has no competition. **The BJP has transformed the nature of politics in ways to which the Opposition has no answer.**
- The first is a commitment to a generative conception of politics. The sense that the BJP has a deep social base, especially amongst women and lower castes, and a spectacular geographic reach as Manipur has demonstrated, completely belies the identity determinism that has for so long characterised Indian politics. **The project of now opposing any national party based on a coalition of fragmented identities is dead.**
- **It is not an accident that since 2014, it was the BJP and AAP that were seen as possible alternatives — both taking India into a place that was not the tired entitlement of an old regime that had already imploded. Both spoke of a new ideology; both were not tainted with that "old regime" tag; both presented a politics that went beyond the social arithmetic.**
- The fourth is the importance of leadership. This vote reiterates trust, in most states, in the leadership of Narendra Modi. The point of a successful leader is that they create the conditions where there is no division in the party, and the final analysis is an ability to work together.
- The Opposition, in contrast, can scream all it wants that there is an existential crisis of democracy. But if its conduct, its internal battles convey no minimal ability to work together in a crisis, there is no ground to stand on.

Vinay Sahasrabuddhe

- There are four facts from the clear and loud message from the voters. First, the Uttar Pradesh results in particular have shown that voters have graduated and risen above caste and community considerations and voted resoundingly in favour of a welfare-plus-development combination.

- The second important message is that the days of dynastic demigods are over. Voters have rejected dynasties one after the other, from the Badals to the above all, the Gandhis.
- The third message is about the politics of performance. Parties that ensure that their government delivers in governance, ably convert anti-incumbency into pro-incumbency. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has proved this several times in Gujarat, in 2019 in Maharashtra, in 2020 in Bihar, in 2021 in Assam, and now in Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Manipur and Goa.
- The fact that the BJP has increased its vote share in most States also underscores what the Prime Minister has described as 'an endorsement of the BJP's pro-poor, pro-active governance'.
- Lastly, the verdicts in 2022 also underscore that national leadership always matters no matter how small or big a State is. There have been many times when the past when political pundits have said that verdict in national elections mirror the aggregation of State politics.
- Today, the verdicts in 2022 remind us that State verdicts too reflect national aspirations. These elections happened under the shadow of COVID-19. Also, when voting had begun, the shadow of the Ukraine crisis was looming large as thousands of Indian students were stranded there.
- Whether it was the novel corona virus pandemic or Ukraine, the way the Government faced these challenges seems to have gone down well with the people across the country.
- **These election results are also important for democracy. As mentioned in the latest Pew Research Center survey report on satisfaction with democracy, 'the global pandemic has, if anything, intensified perceived political and social divisions.**
- Across the 17 advanced economies we surveyed in 2021, a median of 61% say that their country is more divided than before the outbreak'. And in India, in the first major elections held after three waves of COVID-19, people from diverse regions and far-off States seem to be speaking in one voice.

Indrajit Roy - Caste politics does not undermine development

- UP is a case in point. The state's progress in overcoming decades, if not centuries, of social exclusion, is noteworthy. NFHS data on human development since 2004 suggests quite the opposite: UP fared as well as, if not better than, its neighbours among the BIMARU states.
- Political instability has marred UP since India's independence in 1947. It was only as late as 2012 that Mayawati became the first chief minister to complete a full term in office.

- With an eye on improving life for Dalits, BSP took development very seriously. Its inclusive vision was outlined by the party's campaign slogan **"sarvajan history, sarvajan sukhay",** which in English translates into "may everyone benefit, may everyone be prosperous".

- Almost 25,000 villages across the state saw improvements within their jurisdictions, and even her worst critics admitted there had been some development compared to previous regimes.

- Even though the BSP government was unable to introduce structural reforms that would transfer more productive assets to Dalits, its development programmes did reach populations that had hitherto been largely marginalised. The new government in 2012, formed by the SP, borrowed a page from the BSP's success at forging social coalitions.

- It cemented its own Yadav- Muslim coalition that lay at the foundation of the party's ideology with support from the "upper castes". Muslim representation in the UP Vidhan Sabha was at the highest since Independence and more closely reflected the community's population than ever before.

- By 2013, and undoubtedly building on the success of Mayawati's regime, the state had not reported a single case of polio, a major milestone in global health improvement. The involvement of Muslims in the SP's social coalition helped to overcome worries from community members that the polio vaccine was aimed against them.

- The human development outcomes of social coalitions that governed UP between 2007 and 2017 are discernible. It is instructive to compare the National Family Health Surveys 3 and 4. NFHS-3 pertains to data collected in 2005-6, just a year before the BSP came to power in UP. NFHS-4 data pertains to the period 2015-6, or a year before the SP lost power in UP.

- Both sets of data offer a useful insight into the changes in human development in the state through the governments of the BSP and SP. Between 2005 and 2016, UP reduced the incidence of multidimensional poverty by almost 28 percentage points, from 68.8 percent to 40.8 percent.

- Given the size of the state and its enormous social heterogeneity, this was no mean achievement. Not only did UP decrease the incidence of multidimensional poverty during this period, but it also reduced its intensity. Alongside Jharkhand, the state reported the lowest intensity of multidimensional poverty among the BIMARU states.

- **The evidence from Uttar Pradesh is clear. Caste politics, of which the SP and BSP are accused, did not undermine the state's human development indicators. If anything, the state's progress in overcoming decades, if not centuries, of social exclusion, is noteworthy. It is time our commentariat give credit where it is due.**

Ashutosh Varshney

- The recently concluded assembly elections have some larger implications that we need to take note of. The consequences are not confined to the five states where the electoral battle was fought.

- In much of the world, the electoral aspects of democracy are now being used to undermine the non-electoral dimensions of democracy. This process can be called the **battle between electoral democracy and constitutional democracy.**

- In this day and age, democracies don't normally die as a result of military or executive coups. Processes internal to the democratic system can severely weaken democracy itself, even causing its collapse. Today, such contradictions exist in Turkey, Poland, Hungary and Russia, to name just a few countries. Donald Trump also attempted something similar in the US.

- Differently labelled as right-wing populism, majoritarianism or illiberal democracy, the core of this politics consists of the following proposition: If we can get elections to legitimate our platform on behalf of a racial/ethnic/religious majority, we can use electoral power to attack – via legislation — the idea of minority rights and undermine – also via legislation — standard democratic freedoms such as the freedom of expression, freedom of association and freedom of religious or cultural practice.

- A freely conducted vote can thus be used to cripple the other freedoms that modern democracies also value. The BJP's victory in Uttar Pradesh (UP) belongs to this genre of democratic politics. The BJP has won a majority as an incumbent, thus receiving legitimation both for how its government functioned for the last five years as well as for the principal tropes of the election campaign.

- The BJP has held on to its powerful social bloc, which has upper castes on one side and non-Yadav OBCs and non-Jatav SCs on the other. This coalition began to emerge in 2014 during Narendra Modi's first parliamentary victory, consolidated itself in 2017, and has continued ever since.

Governance

Indian medical education and student migration

INDIAN MEDICAL EDUCATION AND STUDENT MIGRATION

India's medical education system has attracted a lot of adverse attention due to the crisis in Ukraine and the resultant need for evacuating medical students, delay in post-graduate counseling because of reservation-related litigation and Tamil Nadu legislating to opt out of NEET.

Reasons for choosing Medical education abroad instead of India

Views of Anand Krishnan

- *Mismatch of Demand -Supply:* *There is a serious demand-supply mismatch as well as inadequate seats in terms of population norms. In private colleges, these seats are priced between Rs 15-30 lakh per year (not including hostel expenses and study material). This is way more than what most Indians can afford. It is difficult to comment on quality as nobody measures it. However, from personal experience, I can say that it is highly variable and poor in most medical colleges, irrespective of the private-public divide.*

- *Return on Investment:* *The MBBS degree continues to be an attractive option. However, unlike in the past, a substantial section of the middle class no longer feels that this is a good return of investment. Students opting for a medical career, with some exceptions, are of two types: Those who see this as a path to social and economic mobility. The second category is that of children of doctors, especially in the private sector, whose parents want them to continue their legacy. The first group is highly price-sensitive while the second is not.*

- *Resource and quality crunch:* *The government's initiative to open new medical colleges has run into a serious faculty crunch. Except at the lowest level, where new entrants come, all that the new colleges have done is poach faculty from a current medical college. Academic quality continues to be a serious concern. The Medical Council of India (MCI) did try to address many of the earlier loopholes of ghost faculty and corruption. It introduced the requirement of publications for promotions to improve the academic rigor of faculty. But this has resulted in the mushrooming of journals of dubious quality. Faculty salaries in many state government-run and private colleges are low and private practice is common. This ruins the academic atmosphere.*

- *Preference to rich families especially in Private institutions:* *Another distinct feature of the medical education system in India is its complete disregard for students' welfare. Only the top 0.25 per cent of the applicants gets a seat in a decent government medical college. In times of scarcity, social justice takes a backseat. The counselling process is very complicated to negotiate. The system is designed for non-resident and other wealthy Indians to capture the seats left unfilled due to their high prices.*

- *Corporatisation of the health sector:* *the increasing need for specialization in medical education. If the health sector is treated like a service industry with a profit motive, medical*

education provides human resources — like business managers. Universal need and information asymmetry are among the many reasons often cited to make the case for the exclusion of market forces in health services and medical education. The increasing need for specialization, with students having to prove their worth at every level or pay through their noses, is becoming a scourge for the new entrants to the system. This explains the decline in attraction for the MBBS among a section of students.

Quality assessments of medical colleges should be regularly conducted, and reports should be available in the public domain.

Views of K Srinath Reddy

- *Need to offer more opportunities to students who seek a medical career since our health system is woefully short of both basic doctors and specialists. This is partly a legacy of the MCI boards imposing rigid conditions to restrict the number of medical colleges, and partly due to limited government investment in the health sector.*

- *A recent analysis estimates that India has only 4.8 fully qualified and actively serving doctors per 10,000 population. Those too are inequitably distributed across the states, with a further tilt towards urban centers.*

- *It is essential to increase the number of medical colleges, especially in states that have a low number of such seats. The critical needs for a medical college are a general hospital with different specialities needed for the MBBS course, classrooms, laboratories, community engagement and adequate faculty. The availability of suitable faculty is a critical barrier at present.*

- *State governments must be supported to invest in the upgradation of district hospitals. Specialist posts in many clinical disciplines that are needed for the MBBS programme already exist in the district hospitals. These specialists can be designated as faculty for a new medical college attached to the district hospital.*

- *State governments must be financially assisted to undertake this transformation of district hospitals. A centrally sponsored scheme aims to set up 157 new medical colleges attached to existing district/referral hospitals in areas that do not have any medical colleges. This will reduce urban-rural disparities in healthcare and also help to scale-up training in the much needed but greatly neglected discipline of family medicine. Nursing colleges and allied health professional training centers (for paramedical courses) may also be added to district hospitals to create a multi-layered, multi-skilled health workforce.*

Views of Soumitra Ghosh on Reforming Indian Medical Education

- *An unfettered market approach or a regulated market with medical colleges that are publicly funded but privately operated, providing competition for traditional government medical colleges, is not the answer to the health workforce crisis. Medical education is a public good as its purpose is to improve the population's health and decrease disease burden.*

- *The pandemic had provided us an opportunity to make medical education a public good once again. There should be a substantial step-up in public investment in medical education. By*

establishing new medical colleges, the government can increase student intake as well as enhance equitable access to medical education. Besides, it must allocate adequate financial resources to strengthen the overall capacity of existing medical colleges to enrich student learning and improve output.

- *Solving doctor shortage, therefore, needs long-term thinking and commitment from the political leadership. The government should learn from previous cases of public-private partnerships (PPPs).*

- *In the past, contrary to the expectation that markets would help increase access to primary and tertiary care for the poor through private players, the evidence supporting their effectiveness is very limited. In fact, many PPPs had to be shelved owing to the non-compliance of the agreement conditions by the private sector under which they were also supposed to cater to the non-paying patients.*

Views of Ambarish Datta on Student Migration

(Migration is not a problem, it is a process.)

- *In a globalized world, university education in another country is a real option. Employers also look for people who have global experience, cross-cultural competence and language skills. Among the reasons students go abroad, other than access to quality education, is the need for a better lifestyle and the belief that studying abroad is a passport to a good life.*

- *For Indians, one of the reasons is the abysmal quality of home universities—poor infrastructure, shortage of good teachers, jaded curriculum, industry disconnect.*

- *Despite strong ambitions, the higher education system in India lags behind—in a popular ranking, only three Indian universities featured in top 200, and 10 in top 700. Compare this with New Zealand, a small country with just eight universities, and all in the top 100!*

- *Indians who study abroad often stay back—most look at a country that allows staying back options, has liberal visa rules, low fees, before deciding on the course.*

- *Also, this comes at a cost. In 2016-17, Indians spent $3.7 billion towards 'maintenance of close relatives' and 'studies abroad', with these two items accounting for 45% of all outward remittances. Worryingly, for a country that runs a perpetual trade deficit, these outflows have grown 13-fold since FY12, from $279 million. This is a huge drain on our resources. The amount sent out is more than many of our mega federal social support programmes.*

- *While we may want to encourage students to study abroad and participate in the global labour force, we must also develop our own institutions to world-class standards. As someone said, we should not stop people from migrating. We have to give them a better life at home. Migration is not a problem, it is a process.*

Views of Dr. Amba Pande

Several factors appear to be at work propelling the massive flow of students beyond the Indian borders. These can be largely divided into two broad groups:

- *International Developments:* include factors such as the technological revolution; globalization of education; global demographic trend; and most importantly policy changes to aggressively recruit foreign students who are preferred over the immigration of already skilled labour force because the additional revenue earned in terms of fees that significantly contributes to the cross-subsidization of education of domestic students in the developed countries.

- *Domestic Conditions:* include factors such as widening gap in the demand for and supply of higher education; regulatory framework of the country; rising income levels; availability of education loans, the desire of the Indian middle class to migrate to developed countries; the desperation to gain access to quality education to climb up the socio-ladder.

- There appears to be a complex interplay of factors at the international and domestic levels which have opened the floodgates of the student migration from India. However, a right mix of policies and initiatives can not only curtail the flow of students but also transform India into an education hub attracting foreign students. Opening up of the education sector and thereby making it more competitive has encouraged trends across the world.

Views of Namita Mehta, president of The Red Pen, a global independent education consultancy

- *"Indian students choose to study abroad due to four key reasons in our experience. One, the unmatched infrastructure; two, a diverse international community that fosters more innovation and learning; three, the flexibility of the system, [such as] options to switch majors and still graduate on time; and four, the ample opportunity for research and practical experience that is integrated into most university curricula."*

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Dr. Piyush Chaubey

Social Justice

Food Security

FOOD SECURITY

Hunger is not an issue of charity. It is an issue of justice. ~ Jacques Diouf

What is food security?

Food security is defined by the Food and Agriculture Organization as when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life.

FOOD SECURITY IN INDIA

Food is as essential for living as air is for breathing

What are the Elements of food security?

Food security has four interrelated elements: **availability**, **access, utilisation** and **stability**.

- **Availability** is about food supply and trade, not just quantity but also the quality and diversity of food. Improving availability requires sustainable productive farming systems, well managed natural resources, and policies to enhance productivity.
- **Access** covers economic and physical access to food. Improving access requires better market access for smallholders allowing them to generate more income from cash crops, livestock products and other enterprises.
- **Utilisation** is about how the body uses the various nutrients in food. A person's health, feeding practices, food preparation, and diversity of their diet and intra-household distribution of food all affect a person's nutrition status. Improving utilisation requires improving nutrition and food safety, increasing diversity in diets, reducing post-harvest loss and adding value to food.

Stability is about being food secure at all times. Food insecurity can be transitory with short term shocks as the result of a bad season, a change in employment status, conflict or a rise in food prices. When prices rise, it is the poor who are most at risk because they spend a much higher portion of their income on food. Poor people in Malawi spend nearly 78% of their income on food, while poor in the US, spend just 21% (CCAFS 2014). Social nets can play an important role in supporting people through transitory food insecurity.

Why does it matter?

- Food is a fundamental human right. And yet one in nine people around the world (805 million) go hungry every day (FAO, IFAD and WFP 2014). While this is still 805 million too many, we are making progress toward eliminating hunger.
- The world committed to halving the proportion of hungry people between 1990 and 2015 through the Millennium Development Goals (MDG). There are 209 million fewer hungry people now than in 1990. Already 63 countries have met the MDG target. Some regions such as Latin America and the Caribbean have made impressive progress in increasing food security.

However, there has been only modest progress in Sub-Saharan Africa and Western Asia, where natural disasters and conflict continue to trap people in hunger (FAO, IFAD and WFP 2014).

- There is also a more insidious type of hunger, hidden hunger caused by deficiencies in micronutrients such as iron, Vitamin A and Zinc affecting two billion people. For the individual, the effects of micronutrient deficiencies can be devastating. If a child does not receive sufficient nutrition in the first 1,000 days of life they are at risk of mental impairment, poor health, low productivity and even death.

- The economic costs of micronutrient deficiencies are also considerable, reducing gross domestic product (GDP) by 0.7-2% in most developing countries. Global losses in economic productivity due to macronutrient and micronutrient deficiencies reach more than 2-3% of GDP (Global Hunger Index 2014).

Food insecurity in India

- India currently has the largest number of undernourished people in the world i.e. around 195 million.

- Nearly 47 million or 4 out of 10 children in India do not meet their full human potential because of chronic undernutrition or stunting.

- Agricultural productivity in India is extremely low. According to World Bank figures, cereal yield in India is estimated to be 2,992 kg per hectare as against 7,318.4 kg per hectare in North America.

- The composition of the food basket is increasingly shifting away from cereals to high-value agricultural commodities like fish, eggs, milk and meat. As incomes continue to rise, this trend will continue and the indirect demand for food from feed will grow rapidly in India.

- According to FAO estimates in the 'The State of Food Security and Nutrition in the World, 2018" report, about 14.8% of the population is undernourished in India. Also, 51.4% of women of reproductive age between 15 to 49 years are anaemic. Further according to the report 38.4% of children aged under five in India are stunted (too short for their age), while 21% suffer from wasting, meaning their weight is too low for their height.

- India ranked 76th in 113 countries assessed by The Global Food Security Index (GFSI) in the year 2018, based on four parameters—affordability, availability and quality and safety.

- As per the Global Hunger Index 2018, India was ranked 103rd out of 119 qualifying countries.

Indian Constitution and food security

- **Right to Food and Preamble of the Constitution-**Socialism is one of the signature tunes of the Constitution. The concept of democratic socialism aims to put an end to poverty in India. The principle of socialism is also embodied in the various provisions of the Part III and Part IV of the Constitution. The concept of socialism empowers the Government to adopt measures to diminish the difference between the rich and the poor. Such measures will end poverty in

India to a large extent. The reduction of poverty shall lead to a reduction in hunger and malnourishment and help the realization of the right to food for the people. The Indian Constitution promotes social engineering.

- **Right to Food as a Fundamental Right-**The Constitution guarantees the fundamental right to a dignified life. The right to life under the Constitution does not merely mean animal existence. Life guaranteed under this Constitution does not only include physical existence. It includes the right to live with human dignity. Since the need for food to satisfy hunger is the basic necessity of life and without food, life becomes impossible; the right to food is thus protected under the right to life.

- In several judgments, the judiciary has recognised the right to food as a right flowing from the right to life guaranteed under the Constitution of India. The right to life imposes upon the Nation-State the Constitutional obligation to ensure that there is no violation of the right to food.

- **Right to Food as Integral Component of Basic Structure of the Constitution-**The essential elements of individual freedom like immunity from starvation constitute the basic structure of the Constitution. Freedom from hunger is one of the most elementary needs for human existence, therefore the right to food is an integral part of the basic feature of the Constitution and is protected from all legislative interference that aims to dilute or abrogate the right.

- The mandate of the Constitution to build a welfare state and an egalitarian society is another basic feature of the Constitution. An egalitarian society ensures equality in the distribution of the food produced in the country as well as the equal distribution of the wealth of the country therefore, its mandate protects the right to food of the people.

- **Right to Food and Directive Principles-** Welfare State promotes a just socio-economic order and thereby aids the realization of the right to food of the people. The directive principles of state policy direct the Nation-State to ensure to its people in course of time a social order based on justice, social, economic and political. To provide economic justice, the directive principle calls upon the Nation-State to minimize the inequalities of income, status, and facilities opportunities amongst individuals and groups.

Challenges to Food Security in India

- The poorest section of the society might be food insecure most of the time while persons above the poverty line might also be food insecure when the country faces a national disaster/calamity like an earthquake, drought, flood, tsunami, widespread failure of crops causing famine, etc.

- Due to a natural calamity, say drought, the total production of foodgrains decreases. It creates a shortage of food in the affected areas. Due to a shortage of food, the prices go up. At the high prices, some people cannot afford to buy food. If such calamity happens in a very wide area or is stretched over a longer period, it may cause a situation of starvation.

- Massive starvation might take a turn to famine. The most devastating famine that occurred in India was the FAMINE OF BENGAL in 1943. This famine killed thirty lakh people in the province of Bengal Nothing like the Bengal famine has happened in India again.
- It is, however, disturbing to note that even today, famine-like conditions exist in many parts of the country, leading to starvation deaths at times. Natural calamities and pandemics may also lead to food shortages. For example, the Covid-19 pandemic harmed food security.
- Restriction on the movement of people and goods and services impacted economic activity. Therefore food security is needed in a country to ensure the food at all times, including during calamities and pandemics.

Who is food-insecure?

- Although a large section of people suffers from food and nutrition insecurity in India, the worst affected groups are landless people with little or no land to depend upon, traditional artisans, providers of traditional services, petty self-employed workers and the destitute including beggars.
- In the urban areas, the food-insecure families are those whose working members are generally employed in ill-paid occupations and the casual labour market. These workers are largely engaged in seasonal activities and are paid very low wages to run their family even with small earnings from rickshaw-pulling?
- The social composition along with the inability to buy food also plays a role in food insecurity. The SCs, STs and some sections of the OBCs (lower castes among them) who have either poor land-base or very low land productivity are prone to food insecurity.
- The people affected by natural disasters, who have to migrate to other areas in search of work, are also among the most food-insecure people. A high incidence of malnutrition prevails among women. This is a matter of serious concern as it puts even the unborn baby at risk of malnutrition.
- A large proportion of pregnant and nursing mothers and children under the age of 5 years constitute an important segment of the food insecure population. According to the National Health and Family Survey (NHFS) 1998–99, the number of such women and children is approximately 11 crore.
- The food insecure people are disproportionately large in some regions of the country, such as economically backward states with high incidence of poverty, tribal and remote areas, regions more prone to natural disasters etc.
- The states of Uttar Pradesh (eastern and south-eastern parts), Bihar, Jharkhand, Orissa, West Bengal, Chhattisgarh, parts of Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra account for the largest number of food-insecure people in the country. Hunger is another aspect indicating food insecurity. Hunger is not just an expression of poverty, it brings about poverty.

- The attainment of food security, therefore, involves eliminating current hunger and reducing the risks of future hunger. Hunger has chronic and seasonal dimensions. Chronic hunger is a consequence of diets persistently inadequate in terms of quantity and/or quality.

Poor people suffer from chronic hunger because of their very low income and in turn inability to buy food even for survival. Seasonal hunger is related to cycles of food growing and harvesting. This is prevalent in rural areas because of the seasonal nature of agricultural activities and in urban areas because of casual labourers, e.g., there is less work for casual construction labourers during the rainy season. This type of hunger exists when a person is unable to get work for the entire year.

What has India done to achieve food security?

- India has been aiming at Self-sufficiency in Food Grains since Independence. After Independence, Indian policymakers adopted all measures to achieve self-sufficiency in food grains.
- India adopted a new strategy in agriculture, which resulted in the 'Green Revolution, especially in the production of wheat and rice. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, officially recorded the impressive strides of the Green Revolution in agriculture by releasing a special stamp entitled 'Wheat Revolution' in July 1968. The success of wheat was later replicated in rice.
- The increase in food grains was, however, disproportionate. The highest rate of growth was achieved in Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh, which were 44.01 and 30.21 million tonnes in 2015–16. The total foodgrain production was 252.22 Million tonnes in 2015–16 and it has changed.
- Food Security in India Since the advent of the Green Revolution in the early-1970s, the country has avoided famine even during adverse weather conditions. India has become self-sufficient in food grains during the last 30 years because of a variety of crops grown all over the country.
- The availability of foodgrains (even in adverse weather conditions or otherwise) at the country level has further been ensured with a carefully designed food security system by the government. This system has two components: (a) buffer stock, and (b) public distribution system.
- **Buffer Stock-** is the stock of foodgrains, namely wheat and rice, procured by the government through the Food Corporation of India (FCI). The FCI purchases wheat and rice from the farmers in states where there is surplus production. The farmers are paid a pre-announced price for their crops. This price is called Minimum Support Price (MSP).
- The purchased food grains are stored in granaries. This is done to distribute foodgrains in the deficit areas and among the poorer strata of the society at a price lower than the market price also known as the Issue Price. This also helps resolve the problem of shortage of food during adverse weather conditions or periods of calamity.

- **Public Distribution System-**The food procured by the FCI is distributed through government-regulated ration shops among the poorer section of the society. This is called the Public Distribution System (PDS). Ration shops are now present in most localities, villages, towns and cities. There are about 5.5 lakh ration shops all over the country. Ration shops also, known as Fair Price Shops, keep stock of foodgrains, sugar, and kerosene for cooking. These items are sold to people at a price lower than the market price.

- The public Distribution System (PDS) is the most important step taken by the Government of India (GoI) toward ensuring food security. In the beginning, the coverage of PDS was universal with no discrimination between the poor and the non-poor. Over the years, the policy related to PDS has been revised to make it more efficient and targeted.

- Further, in 2000, two special schemes were launched viz., **Antyodaya Anna Yojana (AAY)** and **Annapurna Scheme (APS)** with special target groups of 'poorest of the poor and 'indigent senior citizens, respectively. The functioning of these two schemes was linked with the existing network of the PDS.

- The PDS has proved to be the most effective instrument of government policy over the years in stabilising prices and making food available to consumers at affordable prices.

- In 2016, the government launched several programmes to double farmers' incomes by 2022. These seek to remove bottlenecks for greater agricultural productivity, especially in rain-fed areas. They include the National Security Mission, Rashtriya Krishi Vikas Yojana (RKVY), the Integrated Schemes on Oilseeds, Pulses, Palm oil and Maize (ISOPOM), (Pradhan Mantri Fasal Bima Yojana), the e-marketplace, as well as a massive irrigation and soil and water harvesting programme to increase the country's gross irrigated area from 90 million hectares to 103 million hectares by 2017.

- The government has also taken significant steps to combat under- and malnutrition over the past two decades, such as through the introduction of mid day meals at schools Anganwadi systems to provide rations to pregnant and lactating mothers, and subsidised grain for those living below the poverty line through a public distribution system. **The National Food Security Act (NFSA) 2013** aims to ensure food and nutrition security for the most vulnerable through its associated schemes and programmes, making access to food a legal right.

Issues in the implementation

- **Faulty food distribution system:** Inadequate distribution of food through public distribution mechanisms (PDS i.e. Public Distribution System) is also a reason for growing food insecurity in the country. The Targeted Public Distribution System (TPDS) has the disadvantage in the sense that those people who are the right candidates for deserving the subsidy are excluded based ownership of below poverty line (BPL) status, as the criterion for identifying a household as BPL is arbitrary and varies from state to state. The often inaccurate classification as above poverty line (APL) and below poverty line (BPL) categories had resulted in a big decline in the off-take grains. Besides this, the low quality of grains and the poor service at PDS shops have further added to the problem.

- Instances of hunger are prevalent despite overflowing granaries. FCI godowns are overflowing with grains, with some rotting away and some being eaten by rats. PDS dealers are sometimes found resorting to malpractices like diverting the grains to the open market to get a better margin, selling poor quality grains at ration shops, the irregular opening of the shops, etc. It is common to find that ration shops regularly have unsold stocks of poor quality grains left. This has proved to be a big problem.

- In recent years, there is another factor that has led to the decline of the PDS. Earlier every family, poor and non-poor had a ration card with a fixed quota of items such as rice, wheat, sugar etc. These were sold at the same low price to every family.

- **Unmonitored nutrition programmes: A**lthough several programmes with improving nutrition as their main component are planned in the country these are not properly implemented. For instance, several states have yet to introduce the Mid Day Meal Scheme (MDMS). In states such as Bihar and Orissa where the poverty ratio is very high, poor implementation of nutritional programmes that have proven effective has a significant impact on food security.

- **Lack of intersectoral coordination :**lack of coherent food and nutrition policies along with the absence of intersectoral coordination between various ministries of government such as the Ministry of Women and Child Health, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Finance etc have added to the problem.

- **Climate Change:** Higher temperatures and unreliable rainfall make farming difficult. Climate change not only impacts crops but also livestock, forestry, fisheries and aquaculture, and can cause grave social and economic consequences in the form of reduced incomes, eroded livelihoods, trade disruption and adverse health impacts.

- **Lack of access to remote areas:** For the tribal communities, habitation in remote difficult terrains and the practice of subsistence farming have led to significant economic backwardness. With an increase in **rural-to-urban migration,** a large proportion of the informal workforce results in unplanned growth of that which lacks the basic health and hygiene facilities, insufficient housing and increased food insecurity.

Food security and covid-19

- Covid-19 and the ensuing global economic crisis have demonstrated that the world is unprepared for food security. The UN's recent report 'The State of Food Security and Nutrition in the World 2020' projected that the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) of Zero Hunger by 2030 will not be met. While India's public health challenge is by far the biggest in these times, the food insecurity hurdle has also been looming in the background, threatening to become much bigger. Impact of Covid-19 Pandemic on Food Security.

- The food security and nutritional status of the most vulnerable population groups are likely to deteriorate further due to the pandemic. A disruption in accessing foodgrains might also mean that the gains India has had in its fight against malnutrition among vulnerable groups like women and children might be lost. Almost 194.4 million people in India are undernourished, according to the State of Food Security and Nutrition in the World 2019 report by the FAO.

- India was home to the largest number of undernourished people in the world even before the Covid-19 pandemic. The latest edition of the State of Food Security and Nutrition in the World (SOFI) report, released jointly by five UN organisations in July, reveals that the pandemic and failure on the part of states to combat its effects, has led to a significant increase in the prevalence of hunger and food insecurity in the country according to the data presented in the report, the prevalence of moderate to severe food insecurity in India rose by about 6.8 percentage points in 2018-20.

- In absolute terms, the number of persons facing moderate to severe food insecurity has increased by about 9.7 crores since the outbreak of Covid. The irony is that this happened when the government had an unprecedented 100 million tonnes of food grains in its godowns — larger than the food stocks of any country. The country with the largest stock of grain in the world — 120 million tonnes as of July 1, 2021 — accounts for a quarter of the world's food-insecure population. Estimates show that, in 2020, over 237 crore people were grappling with food insecurity globally, an increase of about 32 crores from 2019. South Asia alone accounts for 36 per cent of global food insecurity.

Steps taken

- The Central Government recently announced the Pradhan Mantri Garib Kalyan Anna Yojana (PMGKY) will be extended till November. Free grain is being distributed to ensure the poorest of the poor are not left hungry. This scheme was touted as a response to the pandemic and was supposed to cost Rs 1.7 lakh crore to the exchequer. Even though it is one of the biggest food security schemes in the world in terms of scale, a lot of hurdles appeared in its implementation.

- While the government has claimed that many states had requested the Centre for the scheme's extension, data shows that 11 states have distributed less than 1% of the foodgrains they lifted from the reserves. Almost 8 lakh tonnes of foodgrains had been allocated for distribution under the scheme in March, but the states were able to distribute only 1.07 lakh tonnes of that till May. The delay has been attributed to supply chain disruptions; states like Goa and Telangana have claimed there is no one eligible to receive the foodgrains since migrant workers have moved out.

Way Forward

- **In implementing measures to improve agricultural productivity and food storage-**The government policy needs to adopt an integrated policy framework to facilitate the increased use of irrigation and newer farming techniques. The measures should focus mainly on rationale distribution of cultivable land, improving the size of the farms and providing security to the tenant cultivators apart from providing the farmers with improved technology for cultivation and improved inputs like irrigation facilities, availability of better quality seeds, fertilizers and credits at lower interest rates.

- **Ensuring food availability and accessibility to below poverty line (BPL) candidates-**It is essential to ensure the availability of food grains to the common people at an affordable price.

This can be done by more accurately targeting the BPL population so that they get food at substantially low prices. There is a problem associated with the BPL listing. There is a debate about the exact number of people falling under this category. The estimates of the government are around 30 per cent of the population. Besides helping out the BPL population, there should be a provision for subsidy on the sale of food grains to above poverty line (APL) customers too. Also, all restrictions on food grains regarding inter-State movement, stocking, exports and trade financing should be removed. This will reduce food prices and increase affordability. The Public Distribution System must be made transparent and reliable.

- **Improving purchasing power through employment-generating schemes-**The government should come up with more holistic schemes like Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA). Poverty alleviation programmes like the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) and employment generation schemes like Jawahar Rozgar Yojana, Nehru Rozgar Yojana etc need to be re-oriented and upscaled to make a positive impact on the purchasing power of the lower socio-economic segment of the population. Also, it is equally important to enhance the quantity and quality of wage-paid employment.

- **Crop diversification, establishing food grain banks and promoting household gardening-**Another area which needs to be explored is 'crop diversification. Higher profitability and stability in production highlight the importance of crop diversification, e.g. legumes alternative to rice and wheat. The growing of non-cereal crops such as oilseeds, fruits and vegetables etc need to be encouraged.

- **Monitoring and timely evaluation of nutritional programmes-**A complete community-based approach needs to be adopted. Focus on even simple interventions like promoting exclusive breastfeeding, proper complementary feeding and growth monitoring and promotion (GMP) can be expected to give outstanding results. Efforts should be made by the concerned health departments and authorities to initiate and supervise the functioning of the nutrition-related schemes efficiently. Annual surveys and rapid assessments surveys could be some of the ways through which program outcomes can be measured.

- **Community participation and intersectoral coordination-**Revamping of existing direct nutrition programmes to enable management by women's Self Help Groups (SHGs) and /or local bodies along with orientation and training of community health workers, Panchayati Raj Institution (PRI) members, other opinion leaders, caregivers and other stakeholders can be another area, if addressed, can give positive results. Delivering a very basic, well-targeted package of nutrition services through a multi-sectoral approach will improve the nutrition level of people.

The report recommendations: Swaminathan Report- National Commission on Farmers

- Implement a universal public distribution system. The NCF pointed out that the total subsidy required for this would be one per cent of the Gross Domestic Product.
- Reorganise the delivery of nutrition support programmes on a life-cycle basis with the participation of Panchayats and local bodies.
- Eliminate micronutrient deficiency-induced hidden hunger through an integrated food cum fortification approach.

- Promote the establishment of Community Food and Water Banks operated by Women Self-help Groups (SHG), based on the principle 'Store Grain and Water everywhere'.
- Help small and marginal farmers to improve the productivity, quality and profitability of farm enterprises and organize a Rural Non-Farm Livelihood Initiative.
- Formulate a National Food Guarantee Act continuing the useful features of the Food for Work and Employment Guarantee programmes. By increasing demand for foodgrains as a result of increased consumption by the poor, the economic conditions essential for further agricultural progress can be created.

Important recommendations: Shanta Kumar Committee

- Reduce the number of beneficiaries under the Food Security Act—from the current 67 per cent to 40 per cent.
- Allow private players to procure and store food grains.
- Stop bonuses on minimum support price (MSP) paid by states to farmers, and adopt a cash transfer system so that MSP and food subsidy amounts can be directly transferred to the accounts of farmers and food security beneficiaries.
- FCI should involve itself in full-fledged grain procurement only in those states which are poor in procurement. In the case of those states which are performing well, like Haryana, Punjab, Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh and Odisha, the states should do the procurement.
- Abolishing levy rice: Under the levy rice policy, the government buys a certain percentage of rice (varies from 25 to 75 per cent in states) from the mills compulsorily, which is called levy rice. Mills are allowed to sell only the remainder in the open market.
- Deregulate the fertiliser sector and provide a cash fertiliser subsidy of Rs 7,000 per hectare to farmers.
  - Outsource of stocking of grains: The committee calls for setting up of negotiable warehouse receipt (NWR) system. In the new system, farmers can deposit their produce in these registered warehouses and get 80 per cent of the advance from the bank against their produce based on MSP.
  - Clear and transparent liquidation policy for buffer stock: FCI should be given greater flexibility in doing business; it should offload surplus stock in the open market or export, as per need.

Cases Related To Right to Food

- **Kishan Patnaik v. the State of Odisha** -In this case, the petitioner wrote a letter to the Supreme Court of India highlighting the status of starving people in the Kalahandi part of Odisha who even sold their children to fulfill the demand of hunger, though the apex court did not mention the right to food as a fundamental right but took cognizance into it and directed the state government to address the serious issue of starvation.

- **Chameli Devi v. The State of U.P**- It was held that everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family including food, clothing, housing, medical care and necessary social services.

- **People united for civil liberties(PUCL)**- Union of India This writ petition was filed on behalf of the people living in the territory of Rajasthan, the people were too poor and had not been getting any kind any required food relief or any other kind of relief obligatory by the Rajasthan famine Code of 1962, and due to the absence of adequate food for all the people were eating on a rotation basis which in general is also known as Rotation eating which means some people of the family will eat on one day and the remaining others on the other day. PUCL went to the court on the issue of the RIGHT TO FOOD and the apex court passed an interim order that said that the Right to food is enshrined under article 21 and the state cannot escape its duty to fulfill it.

- **Supreme Court in June 2021**- "The Constitution of India does not have any explicit provision regarding the right to food. The fundamental right to life enshrined in Article 21 of the Constitution may be interpreted to include the right to live with human dignity, which may include the right to food and other necessities, held by a bench of justices Ashok Bhushan and M R Shah.

Plato

Aristo

1A: Political Theory & Thought

Plato's Theory of Justice

Kautilya's Saptang Theory

PLATO'S THEORY OF JUSTICS

- The state comes into existence due to the necessities of human life. While animals only seek the means of survival, human beings seek the means of the good life. Justice is an integral part of the idea of the good life in any society and without it, life cannot be good. The state comes into existence for the sake of life and continues for the sake of good life. Therefore determining what is justice is the central concern of Plato in the Republic.

- The discussion on the issue takes place between Socrates, Cephalus, Polemarchus, Thrasymachus and Glaucon. Depending on the views expressed in the discussion, a few common ideas on justice emerge: **Justice is a duty, Justice is a virtue and it cannot be used to harm someone Justice cannot be based on 'Might is Right' since it will lead to continuous conflicts and chaos Justice should lead to peace harmony and excellence.**

- Plato in Republic describes how every form of government whether aristocracy, oligarchy or democracy eventually suffers a crisis due to incompetency, corruption and selfishness of those in power. The solution lies in selecting the best rulers for the state. He argues that statesmanship is a highly specialized function and only qualified and morally impeccable people should be chosen for the post of a ruler. But how do select the best rulers for the state? This is the question that Plato attempts to answer through his theory of justice.

How Plato's idea of justice is related to his division of society into three classes?

Human behavior flows from three sources and these are present in all human beings but to different degrees. **Desire (Appetite), Emotion or Passion (Spirit), Knowledge (Reason).** Plato divides the whole society into three classes based on which trait dominates the individual's personality.

- **Trader Class:** Some people who have a more dominant Desire in them are attracted to material things and productive activities. Such people are fit for trade and industry.
- **Soldier Class:** Some people are more driven by emotions and spirit and attracted to honour, pride and power. They are fit to work as soldiers and warriors.
- **Philosopher Class:** Some people desire knowledge and reason and are not attracted to either wealth or power. They seek the truth and wisdom above anything. Such people should be given leadership roles and be trained to become philosopher-kings.
- In an ideal state, the producing class should produce material goods, the military class would protect the state and the philosopher class equipped with both knowledge and reason would rule. If people who crave material wealth i.e. producer class and those who desire power i.e. soldier class come to power then the state is doomed. This is because to rule a state you need statesmanship which is a science as well as art. Only a philosopher who has devoted his life in search of knowledge and whose character is beyond question would be fit to be an ideal king. **Justice results from each class in society doing its appropriate task, doing it well and doing it only.** Both at the level of the individual and the state, Reason should dominate other traits like desire or spirit. So in a just or ideal state, the control of the government should remain in hands of a small group of Philosopher Kings who are endowed with supreme knowledge and reason, and material production and defence will be the responsibility of the producer class and warrior class respectively.

Criticism of Plato's Theory of Justice:

- Plato's justice is based on the principle of **'one man one job'**. It makes one's life monotonous and deprives the individual of all-around development. Plato separates the individual into three classes: based on the different elements of **soul-appetite, spirit and reason.**

- It is illogical to assume that an individual has only one element of soul. It appears that an average human being has all these elements in him. Plato concentrates the political power in the hands of one class. The monopoly of power may easily degenerate this class and no safeguards against the abuse of power have been provided. In the same way, economic power is also confined to the hands of the producing class. In this way, in the name of justice, Plato creates a system of privilege in society.

- Plato's conception of justice is moral and not legal. He provides no legal apparatus to resolve the clashes and crises if there is any between the members of one class and the other having different obligations and interests.

- Plato's justice is too subjective and hence cannot be taken as justice at all. It is based on a subjective notion of spirit. Moreover, Plato does not suggest any judicial organization. Plato's emphasis is mainly on the duties of the individuals and not on the rights. Justice needs equal emphasis on the system of rights which must be provided and protected. The system which he develops to affect the reconciliation between self-interest and public duty is not effective.

- It has been urged in certain quarters that Plato's theory is totalitarian; it leads to the complete subordination of the individual to the state; it ends by making the state an end in itself at whose alter the individual is required to sacrifice him. The members of the third and largest class, namely, the producing class, enjoy no political privileges; they are simply the cutters of wood and drawers of water for the upper classes. They have to live simply by the appetitive side of their nature; the spirited and rational elements in them are starved.

Previous Year Questions

Q1.Comment: Until philosophers are kings or kings and princes of this world have the spirit and power of philosophy, cities will never have rest from evil (Plato).

KAUTILYA: SAPTANGA THEORY OF STATE

The Saptanga Theory of Kautilya, is given in his book 'Arthashastra'. According to the theory, the State consists of seven elements. Kautilya adopts the seven limbs theory of the state of Indian tradition or Saptanga which are:

1. **Swami**
2. **Amatya**
3. Janpad
4. **Durg**
5. Kosha
6. **Sena**
7. **Mitra.**
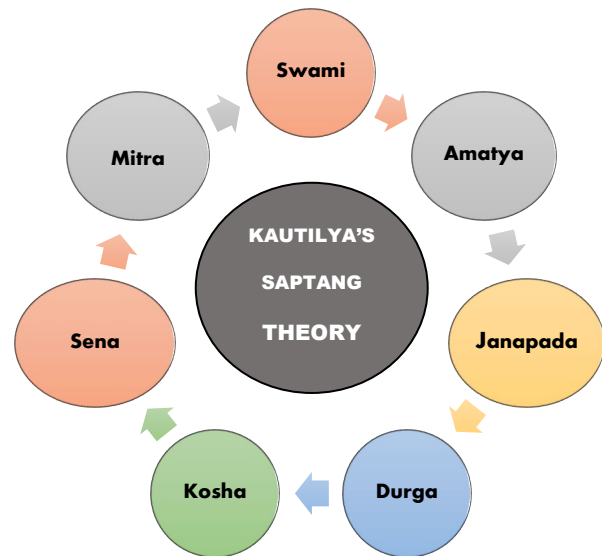
He suggests a state can only function when all these elements or limbs of a body politic are mutually integrated and cooperate well with each other.

Swami (The Sovereign King)

The king was referred to as the Lord or Swami and placed at the top of the body politics. Kautilya says a perfect king should have the following qualities:

- He should have an inviting nature.
- He should have qualities of intellect and intuition.
- He should have great enthusiasm.
- He should have qualities of self-restraint and spirit.
- He should be free of passion, anger, greed, and fickleness and capable of self-management, observing the customs taught by elderly people and have the capacity to make judgments like when to go to war and when to seek peace through a treaty.
- He should have a sense of sovereignty and owe allegiance to anybody and be the king of one whole political organization and not part of it.

Amatya (Ministers)

By Amatya Kautilya refers to higher officials of the state like ministers and not necessarily just ministers. The king should keep checking the integrity of the amatyas from time to time and he also advises the king to appoint 3 amatyas instead of two since two amatyas can easily join hands and conspire against the king. He says the qualities of a high official should be:

- he must be a *Janpad*, a native of the county that he is an official of, come from a good family
- be Adequately trained, have foresight,
- eloquence, dignity, enthusiasm
- have administrative Ability
- knowledge of scriptures and high character.

Janpad (Territory and People)

Territory and People constitute the third limb of the state in Kautilya's Arthashastra.Kautilya gives a clear cut description of what an ideal territory would be like. He says the territory should be free from muddy, rocky, saline, uneven and thorny areas and from wild beasts.There should be lands that are fertile with lots of timber and elephant forests. There should be plenty of arable land and richness of cattle and the land should be wholesome to cows and men.The territories should not be dependent on rains too much and have waterways.The people populating a state should have the qualities of being hostile to the foes, be powerful enough to control the neighboring kings and consist of people who are pure and devoted. The people should respect the rule of law and the government.

Durg (Fort)

Kautilya identifies forts as the fourth limb and mentions four kinds of forts that a king needs: water forts, hill forts, desert forts and forest fort.The water and hill forts are suitable for defending the population and the desert and forest forts and suitable as headquarters for wild regions and to serve as places to run away to in case of emergency. Kautilya says the power of a king depends on the forts which should be fit for fighting and to defend the state.

Kosha (Treasury)

Kautilya mentions that the success of a state depends upon its treasury size which should have enough gold and silver to see the king through long periods of calamity. The treasury should be legitimately acquired by the king or his predecessors. The treasury is easily increased when; (1) there is opulence of the industrial department run by the state, (2) there is a propensity for commerce and (3) abundance in harvest. In cases of emergency Kautilya finds no problem with the king raising revenue even through means such as a higher assessment on first class and fertile land and heavy taxes on merchandise etc. He also condones in emergencies for the king to exploit the superstitious and religious sentiments of the people.

Sena (Army)

Kautilya mentions the army or Sena as the limb that the king needs to control both his own people and his enemy's. **Kautilya talks about six types of army; (1)** hereditary forces, **(2)** hired troops, **(3)** soldiers of fighting corporations, **(4)** troops belonging to an ally, **(5)** troops belonging to the enemy **and (6)** soldiers of wild tribes.

Mitra (Ally)

Kautilya finally stresses on the need for political friends in the other states because no state functions in isolation. Kautilya classifies allies into **two kinds; *Sahaj* (natural) and *Kritrim* (acquired).**

The *sahaj* ally is one who is close by territorially and has been inherited as a friend from fathers and grandfathers and the *kritrim* ally is one who is resorted to temporarily for the protection of wealth and life.Kautilya prefers the *sahaj* ally over the *kritrim* one if the *sahaj* ally is

free from deceit and is capable of making large scale preparations for war quickly and on a large scale.

Previous Years Questions

Q1. Discuss the Kautilya's views on elements of state.(2019)

Q2. Analyze as per kautilya Saptanga theory of state(2013)

2A: Comparative Politics

Political Economy Approach

Political Sociology Approach

POLITICAL ECONOMY APPROACH

- Political economy refers to a specific approach to study social and political events where economics and politics are not seen as separate domains. It is based on the belief that the two disciplines have an intimate relationship and the hypothesis that this relationship unfolds in diverse ways. **Adam Smith, David Ricardo** and **Karl Marx** were some of the exponents of the political economy approach. In contemporary scholarship, the term 'Political Economy' indicates the amalgamation of two different disciplines- Political Science and Economics.

How Scholars explained the Political economy approach?

- The ancient Indian scholar **Kautilya** described statecraft in his famous work **Arthashastra** (Economics). On the other hand, Aristotle considered economic questions in his book Politics. Among classical political economists, Adam Smith considered political economy as '**a branch of the science of a statesman or legislator**'.

- **Karl Marx** often referred to the 'critique of political economy' in his writings; however, it was **Friedrich Engels**, the co-author of **The Communist Manifesto** along with Karl Marx, who defined the term Political economy.

- According to Engels, studies of '**the laws governing the production and exchange of the material means of subsistence**' are part of the political economy.

- Similarly, the Russian economist **I. I. Rubin**, who authored Essays on Marx's Theory of Value, stated that '**Political economy deals with human working activity, not from the standpoint of its technical methods and instruments of labor, but from the standpoint of its social form. It deals with production relations which are established among people in the process of production**'.

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LIBERAL PERSPECTIVE	MARXIST PERSPECTIVE
• The Liberal perspective emerged as a critique of the comprehensive political control and regulation of economic affairs which had dominated European nation building in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, i.e., the Mercantilist school of thought. • Liberals rejected theories and policies which subordinated economics to politics. The core ideas of the Liberal perspective stresses on the fact that the individual, being a rational individual actor, will find his or her way to progress through the process of free trade as there will be mutual exchange of goods and services.	• The Marxist perspective of political economy believes that economics forms the base of society and the political system. Marxist scholars hold that except in primitive communism, every other society has been divided along the classes of 'haves' and 'haves-not'. For Marxists, human history is a history of class struggle. They see the capitalist state as a tool to legitimize human exploitation and class inequality. The Marxist school of political economy has been led by Karl Marx, followed by other thinkers such as Engels, V.I. Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg, Trotsky, Kautsky, Bukharin and so on. Some common features of the Marxist perspective as follows:

- **Adam Smith, David Ricardo, Paul Samuelson, J.M Keynes,** etc. are often regarded as leading exponents of the liberal perspective of the political economy approach.
- The different views of how much the state should interfere have led to the development of the different strands of Economic Liberalism, namely— **Classical Laissez Faire doctrine, Keynesian concept and Neo-liberal Perspective.**

Classical Laissez Faire doctrine: Adam Smith became a major proponent of the theory. The rationale of the doctrine is that if everyone is left to their own economic devices instead of being controlled by the state, then the result would be a harmonious and more equal society of ever-increasing prosperity.

Keynesian concept: Keynesian concept is based on the idea that the market may not work according to the belief of efficiency and mutual gain and lead to instances of market failure.

John Maynard Keynes: argued that the market economy was a great benefit to people but it also entailed potential evils of 'risk, uncertainty and ignorance.'

Neo-liberal perspective: In the latter part of the twentieth century, especially since the late 1980s, occurrence of globalization, privatization and liberalization has brought back the classical laissez faire doctrine in the form of neoliberalism. It describes the political economy approach from the perspective of the market to economic as well as social policy, which is based on neo classical theories of economics. It stresses on the efficiency of private enterprise and the need to liberalize trade through open markets, in order to maximize the role of the private sector and determine the political and economic priorities of the state. The economy is a sphere of cooperation for mutual benefit among the states as well as individuals. Thus, the economy should be based on free trade.

1. States are driven by the ruling class and are not autonomous. Capitalist states are primarily driven by the interest of their respective bourgeoisie and the conflict between states should be essentially seen in its economic context of competition between capitalist classes of different states. In other words, class conflict is more fundamental than conflict between states.
2. The economic system of capitalism is expansive. As there is a never ending search for markets and profits, capitalism has expanded across the globe. It is led by the giant transnational corporations in the form of economic globalization.
3. According to **V.I. Lenin**, the process of capitalist expansion must always be unequal or uneven. He alluded to how Britain was ahead of Germany during the eighteenth and nineteenth century, while in the twentieth century, Germany wanted a revision of the international spheres of influence which led to war between Germany and England. This is the 'law of uneven development' which leads to disparities and causes conflict under capitalist conditions.

POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY APPROACH

Political sociology seeks to understand the process of interaction between government and society, decision making authorities and conflicting social forces and interests. It is the study of interactions and linkages between politics and society; between a political system and its social, economic and cultural environment. It believes in a two-way relationship between sociology and political science, giving equal emphasis on social and political variables.

- Since the Second World War there started a tendency among western scholars' especially American scholars, to undertake empirical research of various political phenomena with a touch of sociology in it. It was realized that these novel research findings were neither pure politics nor pure sociology and, therefore, they were eventually placed under the new rubric called Political sociology.

- Political Sociology, however, was not born by accident. Many factors worked behind its emergence, the most important among which was growing dissatisfaction with the nature of traditional Political science. There are two reasons for their dissatisfaction. Firstly, it was about the long tradition of political science being steeped in highly normative prescriptions. Secondly, traditional political science had always viewed the state as its star attraction. Traditional political science had refused to accept two-way relations between state and society.

- Both **Lipset and Runchimen** have fixed the timing of the birth of political sociology at about the middle of the 19th century when under the impact of the industrialized revolution the traditional European social order gave in to modern society.

- Political science starts with the state and examines how it affects society, while political sociology starts with society and examines how it affects the state. Political sociologists came to argue that the state is just one of many clusters of social institutions and clusters of institutions are the subject of sociology in general and that the relationship between political institutions and other institutions is the special province of political sociology.

- **Political sociologists like Lipset and Bendix argued two features of political sociology, first, that political sociology studies the relation between the social and the political, and second that the political cannot be understood unless it is related to the social the whole argument amounts to this definition of political sociology: political sociology is a discipline that tries to understand political phenomena by necessarily relating them to their social determinants.**

- Political sociology believes in a **two-way relationship** between sociology and political science, giving equal emphasis on both the social and political variables.

- **Essential features of political sociology:**
  o Political sociology is not political science since, unlike the latter; it is not a state discipline or a study of statecraft.
  o Political sociology is concerned not only with social but with the political as well.
  o Political sociology revolves around the belief that there exists an identity of form between the social process and the political process.

- The perspective of political sociology is distinguished from that of institutionalism and behaviouralism. The institutionalists have been concerned primarily with institutional types of political organisation, and their study has been characterized by legality and formality. The behaviourists have focused on the individual actor in the political arena, their primary concern namely, motives, attitudes, perceptions and the role of individuals.
- The task of a political sociologist is to study the political process as a continuum of interactions between society and its decision-makers and between the decision making institutions and social forces.
- However, the political scientist is primarily concerned with the dimension of power and factors affecting its distribution. The sociologist, on other hand, is more concerned with social control, with how the values and norms of society regulate relations. His emphasis is on social ties, rather than on formal structures and legal definitions.
- **According to A.K.Mukhopadhyaya "political sociology is the child from the marriage between sociology and political science and as in human issues, cannot be solely characterized by its parental qualities alone". According to Robert.E.Dowse and John.A.Hughes; "political sociology is the study of political behaviour within a sociological perspective of framework".**

Scope of political sociology

- Political sociology is concerned with how political arrangements depend on social organisations and cultural values. This subject is less concerned with the formal aspects of government and law than with the underlying support of these institutions. Political sociologists are also interested in studying the participation of individuals in politics.
- The discipline is concerned with why and how an individual's vote has a public opinion and belongs to political associations and groups that support political movements. The scope of the discipline also includes different types of organised groups in politics and the interactions among them, and the influence of parties and movements in changing or bringing about stability in the political system.
- An important concern of political sociology is the decision-making process through public means. This process takes into account not only the social forces but also includes the economic factors that are regulated by forces such as money, market and other resource scarcity. Political sociology also analyzes whether the person occupying the decision-making process has enough grip over the people on whom they are exercising authority.
- Political sociology also includes the concept of the political system, which introduces dynamism in political analysis. It not only stresses the study of the major structures of the government such as legislature, courts and administrative agencies but also embassies on all the structures in their political aspects such as caste groupings, kinship groups and formal organisations such as parties and interest groups.
- The discipline also concentrates on the patterns and styles of leadership exhibited by the elites, which are necessary to maintain their positions of power. The study of the political process is also the domain of political sociology. Political process refers to activities of those underlying propensities in society that give meaning and order to the political system.

- Another major concern of political sociology is to study the impact of political culture on the political system. The concepts of political culture refer to those underlying propensities that accelerate or retard the pace of performance of the political system. Political participation and political mobilization are also within the scope of political sociology.
- Another important aspect that is covered by political sociology is social stratification. It studies different social stratification systems, such as class, caste, gender and status, and analysis their impact on organized politics. Political sociology also analysis the political dynamics, which consists of the study of political parties, pressure groups, interest groups, public opinion and propaganda that influences and manipulates the attitude and political behaviour of individuals.

Previous year Question

Q1.Explain the political-sociological approach in the field of comparative politics and explain its limitations.

Q2.How does comparative political sociology help in understanding the socio-political process of different countries of the world?

Essay

ESSAY WRITING APPROACH

How to Write an Essay for UPSC?

UPSC CSE Mains is the first stepping stone for those who have cleared the initial filters of Prelims and somehow made it to the next zone. Congratulations to all! But, here the journey takes twists and turns in a heavy-weight manner as earlier you have tackled with merely 200 marks and 1750 marks coming from the several subjects standing tall apart. Considering that there are 9 subjective papers, 2 among which are qualifying, every paper will be no less than a toll over you. Among all these papers, the Essay paper is the one that allows an examiner to understand your thought process in a better way. It is because it breaks all chains and contours and lets you write over only two topics out of the eight. An Essay paper will somehow give a notion of **Tagore's poem - "Where the mind is without fear".**

But it also becomes necessary to understand how to tackle this paper in a better way to extract the maximum amount of marks. But before we move ahead, let's go through the disclaimers:

- This paper is not for those UPSC aspirants who feel that they have the sense of extreme English grammar in them.
- This paper is also not for those UPSC aspirants who feel that if not UPSC, writing books, and staging poems can be a good backup.

There is a reason lying regarding the above mentioned disclaimers as it does not allow you to deliver the right set of content and rather make your expressions hyperbolic from every viewed angle.

Give Time Get Marks

The first crucial takeaway that you need to have from this paper is that this paper would demand time from you. Remember that this paper carries the same amount of marks as other papers and you need to devote one-seventh of the time of your entire Mains-based preparation to it. However, precisely it will increase more. Why? See it in this way. Ever observed the Essay papers of previous years? If yes, you would understand the reason behind giving more time to it. Because UPSC will provide only those topics that are caricatured in a different manner but depicts the same thing about which you are preparing for a while. For example, something may be taken as an English quote of Buddha which will be provided and now it will be your responsibility to widen your horizon regarding the same to ensure that you have crystal-clear ready concepts.

Examplee Gratia

During your school days (not written childhood days to ensure that no wrong interpretation is taken as interpretation is a key facet while writing essays during this Mains paper), you might have read science. Those science books had some statements through which you understood any concept. But why did you accept those lines written in those books? How can you think that they bring legitimacy? Answer is instances and concrete examples. Whatever you state or write in as a part of the essay will simply glorify those statements if you have consolidated them with several

examples. And, it is known that every statement will give you a hell amount of instances that you can go for as a value-addition. Hence, have a keen mind to absorb examples from everywhere you can.

What is Expected and How to Prepare?

Whenever you get time, you need to go through the UPSC notification or place of information where it has written about the Essay paper. It states: "**Candidates may be required to write essays on multiple topics. They will be expected to keep closely to the subject of the essay, to arrange their ideas in an orderly fashion, and to write concisely. Credit will be given for effective and exact expression**." A clear indication of these lines is that when it comes to other Mains papers, content will be solely in the epicentre of awarding of marks. However, the entire scenario changes with this paper. Why? Because those lines are somewhere giving the directives that if someone wants to fetch more marks, it is the style of writing, tone of the content, order of the content, and its framework apart from the content will be the one on which an aspirant needs to work upon.

For this purpose, it becomes important that you go through book reading, be it fiction or non-fiction to understand the style of any writing and how an author is moving ahead with their narrative. Referring to magazines and other journals will be like an addition of writeup weapons as your arsenal to understand how documents need to be crafted. And, lastly, collection of quotes should be your daily habit that would help you to set the tone from time to time with enriched and top-notch lines.

Importance of Giving Regular or Periodic Tests

Tests are like the mirrors that narrate the entire storyline of your weakness and strength. Through tests, you are exposing yourself to practice nets where you are going through crafting and curating portions of your essays. Even if you score low in your initial days, you need to understand that you are somewhere in your "initial stages" and concrete feedback will help you inculcate those positive values that are MUST to get and fetch 150+ marks. Through tests, you will get an understanding of what to write, how to write, and where to write. These tests will give you a brief idea that writing exquisite and sophisticated words will only take your time. Rather, it is better to go with "KEEP IT SIMPLE".

Rough Drafts

Jumping into essay writing after seeing the topic is not the right way. But then, you will think that it is not wise to wait for a while and then move ahead with the subject as it can consume time. So, let it be. Why? It is wise to take a bit of time to draft a structure of your essay rather than stucking in the middle of an essay where you are trying to make a move further and specific ideas and components are not ready that fit in the best possible manner. Knitting a sweater without having an idea and developing it while starting will somewhere lead you to a felony in itself. At the end, you will yourself not be satisfied with what you have delivered. So, take out 10-15 minutes from your entire test time to ensure that you have the rough sketch of the entire essay.

Once done, you are set to feel the confidence after a few times to see the difference in you. Rome was not built in one day and so is the infrastructure. Hence, ensure that you have ample amount of time to give yourself and create an impact over the examiner through your words and sentences.

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