



## EVALUATION INDICATORS

1. Alignment Competence
2. Context Competence
3. Content Competence
4. Language Competence
5. Introduction Competence
6. Structure - Presentation Competence
7. Conclusion Competence

Overall Macro Comments / feedback / suggestions on Answer Booklet:

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2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

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All the Best

## Section-A

- ③ India's experience with federalism :  
Evolution, achievements and challenges.

Going through the constitu-  
-ent Assembly debates on federalism,  
it seems a healthy debate took  
place between advocates of full  
autonomy to States and those  
who were for a strong federal  
government. The former gave the  
references of ancient and medieval  
Indian history where provinces  
enjoyed substantial autonomy while  
the latter pointed to the challenges  
to integrity and unity of India  
in the backdrop of two nation theory.

finally, the air was  
clear and constituent Assembly  
settled for a federal-polity

with a strong centre. K. C. Wheare called this model as 'quasi-federal' while as Dr. B. R. Ambedkar referred to Indian model as 'holding together' model as opposed to 'coming together' model of USA.

The evolution of this model is the culmination of long evolutionary march of State-structure in the Sub-continent - from Kabul valley in the west to Rangoon in the East. The earliest signs of federal polity was prevalent during the 2<sup>nd</sup> urbanisation period in and around Indo-Gangetic-plains. Also called as 'Mahajan-padas', these separate provinces were either republics or mona-

-archies. Although an over-arching central authority was missing, yet the federal-nature was clearly manifested.

Coming down the time-line, during Sangam-age in the south, we had 'Nadus' (group of villages) and 'purams' that laid stress on 'Sabha-led' bottom-up governance system. Even during mughal-era, Parganas and mughal provinces (Ajmer, Agra, Awadh, Punjab) acknowledged the federal necessity in the sub-continent.

The Coming of British was also through control over one province (Bengal) after the battle of Buxar (1784). The approach of British towards pro-

- Vinces shaped the federalism in the sub-continent. British adopted centralizing policies from Pitt's India Act 1784 till Charter Act 1853 probably first time in the history of Indian Subcontinent. However, after the Revolt of 1857, British also understood the necessity of devolution and embarked on the devolution path that culminated in GoI-Act 1935.

All these evolutionary facets became part of Constitutional making process and we settled with a 'federal constitution' with features like written Constitution, division of powers (VII Schedule) & Independent Judiciary among others.

The evolutionary process did not stop here, State Reorganisation Act-1956 provided for State formation on lingual basis. Although fears were raised by even the then pm. Jawahar Lal Nehru, yet the re-organisation gave a new lease of life to federal-polity in India. 73rd and 74th amendments that gave <sup>voice</sup> ~~birth~~ to Granddian-decen-tralization in remains the land-mark event in federal jour-ney of Indian body politic.

Not to forget Institutional Set-ups like finance Commission and the latest NITI Aayog and Inter-States Council, the evolution of Indian model of federalism has been phenomenon. Acknowled-

-ged by even western scholars who were sceptical of existence of such a diverse country.

Talking about the achievements, as mentioned earlier the culmination of a diverse country into a one coherent political unit embodying the conception of 'Bharatvarsha' is in itself a big achievement. credit for this gone to not only the visionary approach of constituent makers but also statesmen like qualities shown by leaders and other stakeholders.

The economic achievements of India are well-recognised world-over and that would not have been possible without a stable federal political order.

The role of finance Commission as a 'balancing wheel of fiscal federalism' is worth mentioning. The latest GST-Council is the hallmark of federal accomodation and Consensus and remains as the sign of successful federal-model.

Secessionism as a threat to unity and integrity was also resolved by federal devolution to a large extent. The examples of Punjab and some North-Eastern States are a case in point where separatism was curbed by giving more autonomy - as held by the 2nd ARC-report.

In political terms, federalism in India has achieved what scholars call as 'political

accommodation'. The growing importance of coalition governments especially at the centre (NDA & UPA) is a sign of broad-based political consensus in running the affairs of the Country. This has brought federal concerns upto the Union level, thus ensuring democratic functioning.

However, the march of federalism in India has not been bereft of challenges. The structural reasons of ~~an~~ centre-State conflict are embedded in administrative, legislative and financial relations as laid down by the Constitution.

A-356 that provides for Presidents' Rule has been misused at least 100 times since independence. Here, we have let-down the Constitution-makers. DR. B.R. Ambedkar expe-

-ted A-356 to become a dead-letter  
but it has become a deadly-  
-weapon.

The role of Governor as  
a non-partisan constitutional head  
at State level has been diluted  
by office-bearers. Politicisation of  
the office has undermined the  
representative democracy at the  
State level according to Punchhi-  
Committee Report (2007).

In terms of financial  
relations, the 15th finance Commi-  
-sions terms of Reference (ToR) have  
become controversial due to the  
encroachment in State-affairs.

It is said that 15th F.C. under-  
-mined & rolled back the  
achievements of previous fina-  
-commissions & even of GST-council.

Security as a national  
issue has been over-emphasised

in the process the role of CAPF under Home-ministry is bypassing the <sup>otherwise</sup> Competent State-police. This is a major contention raised by CMs of various States during ISC-meets with the PM.

Developmental-disparity has emerged as a major challenge. Inter-State and intra-State disparities have given rise to the demands like Vidharbha, Bundelkhand, Gorkhaland among others which has at times ~~too~~ taken a violent-turn. In fact left-wing extremism has also been linked to developmental disparities in the eastern region of the country.

Asymmetrical federalism as in India where some States

enjoy special privileges over others like J&K (A-370 & A-35A) along with some North-Eastern States (A-371) has also emerged as points of contestation. The recent Supreme-court hearing on A-35(A) and the violence in J&K is a major challenge to be tackled by the leaders and policy-makers.

In terms of environmental issues also, there seems to be challenges propping-up. The recent floods in Kerala and the ensuing war of words between Tamil-Nadu and Kerala over Mullaperiyar-dam does not bode well for federalism (Horizontal). This brings us to other major issue of Inter-State water-disputes - given that India has 20-major

water-basins across various States.

These issues are but few among the plethora of challenges that 21st century Indian federal polity faces. Structural flaws in Constitutional provisions has been rejected by Sarkaria Commission in 1987. The Commission held that existing mechanism is basically 'sound' and the only problem is the way we are implementing the provisions. It recommended the measures to Reduce friction over All India Services, use of A-356 and the office of Governor among other things.

Even 2nd ARC report highlights the importance of consulting <sup>the</sup> CM and the State governments <sup>while</sup> ~~in~~ the appoin-

-ting the Governor. Supreme court in S.R. Bommai Case (1993) also laid down the guidelines of proper use of A-356 among other things. The Institutional set-ups like Constitutionally backed Inter State Council (ISC) (A-263) - must be utilized to resolve the politically negotiable issues like water-issues.

Punchhi Commission has advocated for regular meets under Zonal Councils to enhance Cooperative federal spirit. The role of Rajya Sabha in resolving Centre-State disputes can be quite helpful.

In economic terms, GST-Council is a success-story

that must be emulated by other mechanisms like finance Commission and NITI Aayog. The conception of cooperative federalism as propounded by NITI Aayog needs to be reinforced through the spirit of 'collaborative federalism' as enumerated by Supreme-Court in Delhi NCR vs UOI -2018. Such a Consensus-based, broad-based, inclusive and sustainable approach will be a fitting tribute to the vision of constitution makers.

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## 'Section-B'

③ ASEAN-India: Emerging challenges to shared values and Common destiny.

on 26<sup>th</sup> January 2018, both values and destiny shared by ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) and India were on full-display - during Independence day Celebrations in New-Delhi. In the presence of all the ASEAN leaders, the respective Tableaux of the countries showcased Buddhist, Sufi, Hindu and Cultural linkages that defined our partnership. The values of democracy, diversity, toleration and mutual respect were on full-display.

on the Common destiny front, leaders of both ASEAN and India inked agreements on trade, Connectivity, Security and envi-ronment to be achieved jointly.

The famous 'vision-2025' document that was finalised defines the Common destiny that awaits India and ASEAN.

As scholars and analysts wrote, India-ASEAN relations are moving ahead with leaps and bounds. From being sectoral partner in 1992, India became a strategic partner of ASEAN in 2012 - thus cementing the relationship. This embrace is rooted in history of the two regions. Cholas and Guptas of India initially made contacts with South-East Asian countries. The land was referred to as 'Swarnabhumi' (land of gold) by ancient rulers.

These relations laid the foundation of cultural and commercial linkages. famous

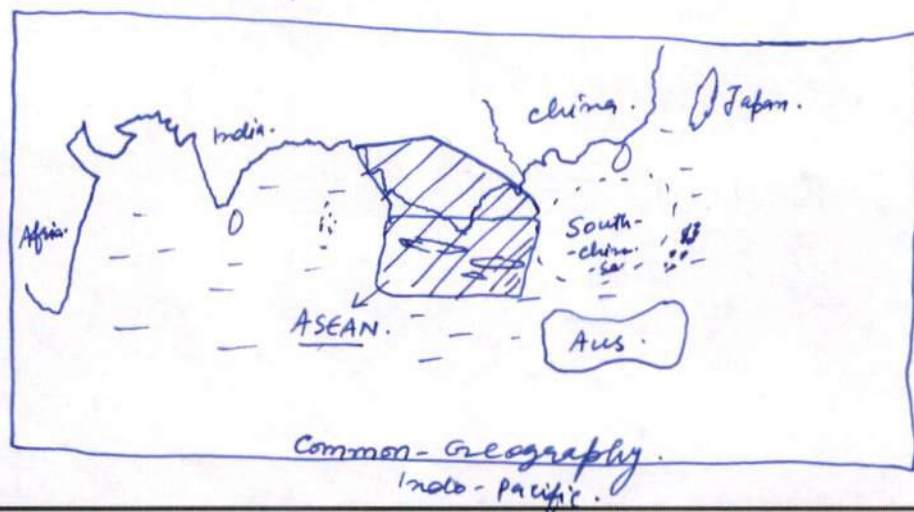
Barobodus temple and Angkorwat-temple are testimony to the shared culture and ethos. Mughals and South-Indian muslim dynasties contributed in the spread of Sufi-Islam in the region especially Indonesia and Malaysia.

These linkages were always acknowledged by the regional leaders like Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore and Mahatma Mohammod of Malaysia. Lee even suggested India to play the role of 'balancer to china' in the region. The shared values by both make Congruence on a variety of subjects quite natural. Both advocate freedom of navigation in the region and upholding the UNCLOS (UN-convention on the law of the sea).

Both talk about the

Concept of 'Asian century' where the region can act as 'engine of world-economy'. Given that both the regions enjoy demographic dividends, they are advocates of an open and fair global economy & trade. ASEAN being a successful example of regional integration is being looked-up to by India to emulate in South-Asia in the form of SAARC.

In the backdrop of these diplomatic and political niceties, India and ASEAN are faced with plethora of challenges as both are part of 'Indo-pacific' - region which straddles from East-Africa till East-Asia (Japan).



The biggest challenge is posed by rising china in the region in terms of economics, politics, strategy and geopolity. China is laying claims over open seas (South-China Sea) and islands & archipelagos (paracel islands etc) in the region. This poses challenge to both ASEAN and India to uphold UNCLOS and respect freedom of navigation.

In terms of economy, India-ASEAN trade is below \$75bn ~~to~~ whereas ASEAN-china trade exceeds \$450bn. In the backdrop of aggressive Chinese economic policies like 'debt diplomacy' as in Hambantota case with Sri-Lanka, India-ASEAN are concerned

about these non-market economic policies pursued by Chinese.

In terms of strategic concerns the China's maritime Silk Route (MSR) as sea-bound branch of BRI (Belt & Road Initiative) is seen with suspicion. China's 'String of Pearls' - policy in Indian Ocean region is bringing ASEAN and India together to protect their geo-strategic interests.

Apart from China, the economics between ASEAN and India is a point of contention. In the backdrop of lower bilateral trade, the slow-negotiations on RCEP (b/w ASEAN + 6) is a major bone of contention as India and ASEAN have divergent positions on a variety of subjects like agriculture, services & liberalisation.

As advocates of open and liberal trading order, growing protectionism in the west is a major challenge for both. As important economic poles of 3rd-world, both have enormous challenges in terms of poverty, pandemics and disasters - and hence need an open & fair International trading system.

As both share the choppy waters of Indian Ocean, both ASEAN and India are vulnerable to climate change phenomenon and recurring disasters like Cyclones. ~~and~~ As tropical and sub-tropical nations, Rising-sea-level and forest-fires are major challenges that both face.

on security front, ~~both~~

radicalisation and terrorism is a joint challenge that both need to tackle together. The recent Rohingya-crisis and the humanitarian-fall-out that ensued is a newer challenge the region is facing. Evolving an intra-regional refugee policy is long overdue to overcome such crisis in future.

The undemocratic composition of UNSC and other institutions like IMF and World Bank is a joint area of concern for both. ASEAN and India advocate for more representation to Global-South in these institutions.

Both the stakeholders have already started reaching to one another and <sup>they</sup> need to do a lot more. India's 'Act East Policy' is based on three facets of Cs or 3Cs - Connectivity,

Commerce and culture. The north-eastern region is supposed to be the gateway to South-East Asia. On ASEAN side, Thailand's 'look west policy' and Indonesia's 'maritime fulcrum'-policy are complementary to India's Connectivity policies.

More concrete steps like Kaladhar multi-modal Connectivity with Myanmar and India-Myanmar-Thailand -trilateral highway need to be completed on time to reap the benefits of trade & connectivity.

To contain the rise of china in the region, both ASEAN and India need to act together on platforms like EAS ARF (ASEAN regional -forum) and Shangri-la-dialogue.

US-led 'Quad'-grouping and India-led malabar exercises can also act as deterrents to Chinese aggression in the region.

To tackle climate change, India led ISA (Int'l. Solar alliance) is a good platform to act as harbingers of climate change negotiations in the backdrop of US's withdrawal from Paris-agreement. The joint disaster management exercises between India and Indonesia (SIMBEX) is a good start to tackle disasters jointly.

BIMSTEC can act as a bridge between India and ASEAN by inclusion of other ASEAN countries to further technological

and economic cooperation. Given that substantial numbers of diaspora is present in each other's countries, more people-to-people contacts can be worked out through 'Cultural-diplomacy'. India's bollywood has already made its mark in the region, giving filip to India's 'soft-power' in the region.

As Jawahar Lal Nehru once said that 'Indian Ocean is vital for India's freedom'. Since ASEAN is integral part of Indian Ocean, so ASEAN is critical to India's security, economy, policy and social-development. Hillary Clinton rightly advised

P.T.O.

India to 'not only look East  
but Act East and Stay East'.

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