

POLITICAL SCIENCE & INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS

Crash Course & Test Series 2020  
Test : 02

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S. No.	a	b	c	d	e	Total
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						

Grand Total :

	Poor	Average	Good	V. Good
Understanding of Question				
Structure & flow				
Subject Knowledge				
Presentation				

**OVERALL REMARKS**

Q-1 (a) "The role of Prime Minister in India is wide & varied." (10)

India has adopted Westminster model of government, where two executive - real & nominal - exists. The Prime Minister plays a vital role in anchoring both the segments.

Constitution designates the PM as the chief link of communication b/w the President (the nominal executive) & the Cabinet (the real executive) through Articles 74, 75 & 78. He advises president on all the legislative matters, and also leads his party on the floor of the legislature. He is the chief spokesperson of his ~~party~~ government's policies on the floor of the House.

Apart from managing all the affairs at the union level, he also engages with states through various mechanisms of National Integration Council, National Development Council, etc.

He is the chief architect of the nation's policies, in spirit of Competitive & cooperative federalism, as the Chairman of NITI Aayog. He anchors his Cabinet together,

and his resignation/demise brings the resignation of entire cabinet.

Thus, Indian PM can properly be called as the 'Primus Inter pares', i.e., The first among Equals. It is he who steers the government right from ~~his~~<sup>its</sup> conception to its collective responsibility to the people of India.

Q-1(b)

The causes of internal migration

(10)

The COVID-19 crisis brought entire world to a standstill, but the stagnancy was even more visible in India due to long queues of internal migrants returning home on foot.

But internal migration has always been the face of our country, <sup>though</sup> hidden but not lost. The MNS driving out immigrants out of Mumbai wasn't long forgotten. The factors driving internal migration can be classified into 2 categories:

- ① Push factors : Rural poverty, lack of opportunity, poor living conditions, low or subsistence wages, etc.
- ② Pull factors : Better standards of living in urban areas, more employment opportunities, provision of social services, very low social discrimination, etc.

However, equally responsible are government policies which led to lopsided patterns of development, which are both exclusive & unsustainable. There is an immediate need to correct regional imbalances in

the country's development patterns, by investing more in capacity building, infrastructure, gainful employment, etc.

Otherwise, the divide between 'India' & 'Bharat' is only going to get worsened

Q-1(c)

Economic reforms &amp; working class.

(10)

When India made a transition from 'Command & Control Economy' to an open & liberal economy in 1991, it unleashed a new wave of economic reforms in India.

Though it impacted all sections of the society, workers were the most closely exposed to the new economic realities. However, it has proved to be a mixed bag of opportunities for the working class.

On one hand, they got more employment opportunities due to more industries coming up, on the other hand their working conditions take a hit due to privatization. While the higher-level management got higher pays in-line with their capabilities, the new workers were often moved to informal sectors due to labour-saving machinery being employed in core industries.

The advent of globalisation brought new kinds of jobs into the economy, rendering the conventional job roles redundant. These

reforms could have proved to be a boon had the Indian government invested in human resource development. But in the absence of any such proactive steps, the conventional working class was sidelined to the margins, and instead emerged a new service-sector class, working in compact offices, dealing in sophisticated techniques & handling global operations.



Q-1(d)

Language & politics in India.

(10)

The history of linguistic mobilisation in India dates back to Nagpur Session of Congress (1920), when it organised its branches on linguistic basis. The same principle were to be followed after independence.

However, the partition of country on communal basis raised apprehensions in the minds of national leaders, & this issue was put on a back-burner. However, the Telugu agitation wasn't easy to be suppressed, and ultimately led to creation of Andhra Pradesh (1953) out of the Madras province.

This led to constitution of State Reorganisation Commission & the era of linguistic politics formally began. Later on, language began to overlap with ethnicity, which leads to a II round of state reorganisation in the North-East during 1970s-80s.

But the case where language even stroked Secessionist tendencies was the demand for 'Dravida Nadu' coming from the

four southern states ( AP, Karnataka, TN & Kerala). Indian government had to take extreme measures as well as political accommodation to placate these states.

There are various perspectives on language as the basis of mobilisation in politics, but Indian scenario is very aptly summed up by Christophe Jaffrelot :

" Indians don't have as much affinity for language as they have for political power ; Language, thus, just becomes another means for this end".

Q-1(c) Role of civil society in Indian democracy. (10)

Civil Society has been playing a pivotal role in founding as well as sustaining democracy right from the time of Britishers.

When the Indian ~~box~~ <sup>identity</sup> was fragmented across parochial notions of states like Mysore, Bengal, etc. the civil society took lead in resisting the British occupation through social reformers, moderate leaders, industrialists, in 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Post-independence civil society focused on marginalized issues, like environmental movements (Silent Valley) or the social reform (Anti-Aarak Movement). But the Emergency of 1975 proved to be a turning point, when the entire nation stood upto authoritarian rule of Indira Gandhi.

Since then, the civil society has played an active role in preserving democracy in all its aspects.

- ① Electoral → ADR bringing out reports about crime & assets of politicians

- ② Governance : Right to Information movement enforced executive accountability to the people
- ③ Autonomy & dignity : Multiple PILs led to widening of scope of Art. 21 (Right to life & dignity)

Thus, Indian civil society, rather than just being a passive recipient of state's dols, has played an active role in legitimising & an accountable & responsive state  
democratic

Q.3(a)

(20)

Non-cooperation movement has been a turning point in Indian National Movement. Elucidate. Critically evaluate achievements & failure of the movement.

Bipin Chandra calls Indian National Movement as the 'Most Spectacular mass movement in the history of the world'.

But it always was not a mass movement; the credit for making it so goes to the Non-cooperation movement (NCM).

Initially, the resistance against Britishers were carried out through fragmented groups like Moderates & Extremists of Congress, the Muslim League, the Revolutionaries & many other caste/class organisations. These movements were neither national, nor mass. They only sought resolution of their specific grievances in parochial ways.

But with the coming of Gandhi, the era of mass movements began. He had huge trust in the capacity of masses, from his experience in South Africa. In India, the Khilafat Issue gave him a banner to

rally masses under as this issue brought Hindus & Muslims together. The regional unity was forged by his insistence on English rule as the foreign yoke to be overthrown. Thus <sup>was</sup> born the NCM, the movement that permanently deflected the course of Indian National Movement in following ways:

- ① It brought the masses to the fore of Indian National Movement
- ② All sections of the society participated, irrespective of caste, class or gender divide
- ③ Congress, organised on linguistic basis after Nagpur Session (1920), was organizationally more strong than ever.
- ④ The techniques of non-violence & Satyagraha were followed & perpetuated in the process

Thus the movement achieved a non-reversible position in the history of Indian National Movement. However, the achievements were more on the surface than being substantial. Soon, the weaknesses of the movement was out in the open.

The first <sup>crisis</sup> ~~fall~~ came with Malabar Rebellion by the Moplahs (1921), which started as a resistance against Britishers but took a communal colour soon. Also, the cause of Khilafat was soon discredited as Turkey adopted a secular constitution itself. The constant bickering between Congress leaders ultimately led Maulana Mohd. Ali accusing Congress of being a party of Brahmins. Further, the unity was more apparent than substantive as large parts of the country, including princely states, remained aloof.

The last straw came with the Chauri - Chaura incident where the crowd got violent & burnt a police - station down. This ultimately precipitated the calling off of the NCM by Gandhiji. He realised that Indian masses need to be first trained in the virtues of

non-violence, communal harmony, unity  
of devoted discipline before a new mass  
movement could be launched.

Thus, NCM was a mixed success;  
though it didn't achieve anything  
substantial in terms of Indian independence,  
its impact was to be felt for long  
in the form of Revolutionary terrorist  
activities in the decade of 1920s.



Q-3(b):

(15)

Discuss in brief the role of National Commission of Scheduled Caste. Do you agree to the view that it is a 'toothless' organisation ?

The recent Methras incident, where a Dalit girl died after being raped & brutally assaulted by <sup>some</sup> upper-caste men, has raised serious doubts on the prowess of functioning of the National Commission of Scheduled Caste (NCSC).

Enshrined in the Constitution in Art. 338, NCSC was originally envisaged to be a special officer for watching <sup>over</sup> the safeguards provided to SCs & STs in India. Later, it was upgraded to a full-fledged commission, consisting of 5 members elected for a term of 3 years. Later on, NCST was created in 2003 by taking the ST-related functions out of the NCSC.

Currently, NCSC performs following roles:

- ① Studying constitutional safeguards provided to SCs, and recommending the government

- if any further need arises
- ② Looking into implementation of legal safeguards for their effective execution
- ③ Entertaining representation from civil society organisations, commissioning studies on arising concerns & recommend policy-making to government for such concerns
- ④ Taking cognisance, even suo-moto, in any case of violation of constitutional safeguard provided to the SCs.

The NCSC submits its reports annually to the President, who causes it to be laid down before the House. It also involves explanations on decisions taken & non-implementation of recommendation.

The NCSC has been successful in securing many legal & constitutional safeguards for the SCs ?

- ① Law for prohibition of manual scavenging in 2013
- ② Social campaigns like 'Dalit Tales' for spreading awareness about manual scavenging

### ③ Securing the rights of Hajongs in Meghalaya

However, there still are a gamut of issues that immediately needs attention of NCSC like prevalence of atrocities on Dalits, their restrictions on entering public places, etc.

Even after 70 years of independence, if these issues exist, this points to the inefficiency of NCSC :

- ① Bureaucratic hijacking of appointments
- ② Prolonged vacancies
- ③ Recommendations not binding
- ④ Delayed tabling of reports

In a democratic country like India, it is not only in the spirit of Constitution that NCSC be given more teeth, but it is also necessary to achieve the long-cherished ideal of social justice. Government needs to lay-down proper guidelines for appointment of members, timelines for submission of reports & provision of adequate funds.

Q.3(c): India's federal experience already has a chequered history, the pandemic has added new stress & strains to it. Comment. (45)

The Supreme Court held in Beegbari Union case (1960) ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> federalism is the basic feature of constitution. However, India's federal experience has always had a chequered history.

Modelled on the lines of Canadian Constitution, Indian constitution falls in the category of HOLDING TOGETHER FEDERATION: where the states have no right to secede from the Union and the Centre acts as a big-brother to the constituents of the federation.

The centre-bias is visible in the constitutional scheme of division of legislative powers under Art. 246, where the Central list not only has more number of subjects but also the more important subjects. The same thing holds true for the financial powers, with centre controlling almost all the direct taxes & most of the indirect taxes also (through GST).

However, the misuse is not manifested so much in theory than in practice.

Starting from the sacking of democratically elected government of Kerala in 1957 to misuse of Act. 356 (President's rule) over 100 times since independence, all this has been starkly visible. Adding to it is the constantly pin-picking of state governments by the Governors acting as the agents of the Centre.

This situation got further exacerbated during COVID-19, when Centre & state clashed on a number of occasions.

- ① The states were implementing containment strategies as per Epidemics Act, 1897 when the Centre started issuing directions to them through NDMA, 2005, by including COVID-19 in the category of notified disasters
- ② The constant accusations of favoursitism in terms of testing, quarantine & other provisions
- ③ States couldn't even use their resources under SDRF over & above the limit

stipulated by the centre

- ④ The constant tussle over GST payment, with centre asking states to borrow from the market initially. It was only when the states were preparing to move to the SC that centre retreated, & promised to honour its commitments.

Thus, in a diverse polity like India, the divisions are too many, but the solution is only one : FEDERALISM. However, we need to implement the concept of 'Competitive & Cooperative Federalism' in spirit, so that the times of cooperation (like the COVID-19) don't give rise to conflicts instead.

Q-5(a)

The role of media in democracy.

(10)

Media is often referred to as the IV Pillar of government, for the vital role it plays in not only maintaining democracy, but also making it more vibrant & inclusive.

Media performs varied functions in the democracy. It helps in interest articulation, by bringing the aspirations of people to the government. Ex → Need for Lokpal during Anna Movement

Another complementary function it plays is policy outreach, where government broadcasts its policies to the wider public. The success of AASHAK, or the successful implementation of lockdown in the wake of COVID-19 are the examples of this.

But the most important function it plays is in grievance redressal. By providing a platform to people for airing their views, it acts as a safety valve against the

impending revolution. The exemplary role social media played in <sup>ongoing</sup> Thai resistance movement against Chan-ocha is the testimony to power of media in promoting democracy.

However, media itself is facing crisis of confidence in recent times, with the ~~near~~ menace of fake news, paid news, biased TV houses, etc. sharing it. Thus, there is a need for proper regulations & Code of Conducts so that the media retains its role as the 'Last Resort of the Democratic Voice'.



Q. 5(b) Gandhian principles in Indian constitution. (10)

No other personality holds as much prominence within Indian constitution as does Gandhi. Without <sup>him</sup> even being the member of Constituent Assembly, his ideals ~~define~~ <sup>forms</sup> the core of Indian constitution.

His most cherished principles of equality, untouchability & religious freedom finds place in Part - III of the constitution, and are enforceable by court writs even.

The ideals of village republics & local self-government led to 73<sup>rd</sup> & 74<sup>th</sup> constitutional amendments, thus making them binding (while earlier they were included in non-enforceable part of the constitution ~~in~~ in Art. 40)

His another contribution is in the field of cooperatives, which he projected as an alternative to western model of economic development. The constitution devotes a

complete part (Part IX - b) to Gandhian ideals of cooperative societies.

~~He~~ The ideals of non-violence against animals, prohibition on use of liquor, etc. are included in Directive Principles of State Policy, making them obligatory for state governments to implement.

The biggest testimony to his ideals being included in Indian constitution is the Parliamentary form of government, which according to him was the best possible alternative to balance individual's autonomy & nation's unity.

Q-5(c)

Different theoretical perspectives on regionalism in India.

(10)

~~There are three theoretical perspectives~~

In the words of Christophe Jaffrelot, "Regionalism is a long-term trend in India while nationalism is only occasional".

Thus, like many other ethnic factors, regionalism is also an exclusive concept, grouping people together in terms of their territorial regions.

Regionalism gained influence in 1970s, when the demands for new states began to be raised on account of ~~it~~ belonging to different regions. This led to reorganisation of the Northeast in 1970s-80s as well as the Hindi Heartland in 2000s.

The following theoretical perspectives can provide insight into the process of regionalism:

- ① Modernisation: As democracy entrenches itself deeper, people become conscious of their rights & want political power for themselves (Rudolph & Rudolph)

- ② Culture of Affluence : Affluent regions want to retain their privileges & hence fiercely depends regionalism (T. Januzzi)
- ③ Culture of Scarcity : The poor regions often scramble for scarce resources & thus wants to carve out their region of influence (M. Smear)
- ④ Political Opposition : The reason behind regionalism is pure power politics, with opposition parties aiming to get a hold over power (Iqbal Narsain)
- ⑤ Identity Politics : People crave to establish their identities, and this ultimately leads them to define their regions of influence (M. Weiner)

Thus, regionalism is a deeply entrenched phenomenon of Indian politics, which often overlaps with other ethnic factors to play an important role in people's aspirations.

Q. 5 (d)

Interaction of ethnicity &amp; politics in India. (10)

James Manor brings out 4 ethnic factors at play in Indian politics: language, race, region & religion. Paul Brass further explains the role of ethnicity in terms of its interactions ~~but~~ with politics in 3 ways:

- ① ~~between~~ <sup>Role of</sup> ethnicity within the group conflicts
- ② Role of ethnicity in conflict between groups
- ③ Role of ethnicity in conflict of a group with the state

Thus, ethnicity influences every domain of politics, right from the level of the individual to the state. It makes individual demand customised rights for his/her group, while it creates space for the political parties to play one group against the another. The state, ultimately, has to accommodate diverse expectations within constitutional framework.

The reasons for growing role of ethnicity in politics can be grouped under:

- ① Homogenization & Ethnic mapping (Neera Chandoke)
- ② Modernization of ethnicity (Rajni Kothari)
- ③ Lack of ideology leading to ethnicity on the centre-stage (S.D. Muni)

However, there are diametrically opposite reactions to this phenomenon. On one hand scholars like Yogendra Yadav support this by calling it 'Democratic upsurge'; on the other, scholars like C.P. Bhambhani call them detrimental for the long-term interest of the country.

Q. 5(c)

Pressure group politics in post-liberalisation era. (10)

Pressure groups refer to informal associations which work outside the conventional field of politics. Though often performing functions similar in nature to political parties, they don't aspire to control power.

Earlier, pressure groups were mostly limited to the arena of socio-cultural & environmental movements. The Command & Control economy didn't provide much space for economic pressure groups.

But post-liberalisation, things took a decisive turn. First of all, the economic groups gained salience. Many business organisations even accompanied the government delegations on foreign trips. Secondly, early associational pressure groups like those of bureaucracy became less ~~import~~ numerous than those formed by workers in informal sectors due to increasing ~~import~~ casualization of labour.

Global inter-connectedness also gave wings to feminist, multiculturalist, HR, democratic advocacy groups, etc. due to improvement in ICT leading to global exposure.

But the most striking feature is the emergence of digital activists, called as NETIZENS. The way social media movements made governments to sit up & take cognisance of <sup>their</sup> global image is worth - applauding.



Q-6(a)

“Over the time, SC of India has evolved from being a court of law to a major institutional actor in political arena.”

(20)

Comment. Suggest changes in the functioning of the Court.

SC of India is one of the strongest Courts in the world. The power of judicial review conferred over it by the Constitution is unparalleled in the world & rendered it as the protector of this country's constitution.

Indian constitution-makers have envisaged a polity with separation of powers, but with a system of checks-and-balances. Thus, SC is entitled to check over-reach by both the executive as well as the legislature.

This system of separation of powers worked harmoniously until 1973, with neither the court nor the other two branches meddling into affairs of each other. However, the propoundment of doctrine of basic structure in Kesavananda Bharti case (1973) opened the floodgates of confrontation. Government tried to do away with many provision through CAAs

24<sup>th</sup>, 31<sup>st</sup> & 42<sup>nd</sup>.

But maintaining the sanctity of the constitution, the SC struck many provisions, leading ultimately to Indira Gandhi imposing Emergency in 1975. However, the doom of democracy spelled down for the judiciary. It resulted into pro-active judiciary, whereby Justices P.N. Bhagwati & Justice Iyer institutionalised the concept of PIL. Through PILs, SC made many ~~acts~~ laws where there were none like the Vishakha judgement. It checked the ordinance-making power of executive through Cooper judgement by prohibiting repeated passing of same ordinance.

SC even checked the powers of constitutional political executives like President & Governors by subjecting some of their decisions to judicial review. For ex → President's rule proclamation, Capital punishment, etc.

Thus, SC reasserted its power as an institutional actor in the political arena, sharing equal responsibilities with the

legislature & executive. This is well-articulated in the words of Justice Bhagwati, "Judges should come out of their comfort zone & be pro-active towards popular grievances, since the constitution has <sup>not</sup> envisaged ~~a~~ passive judiciary".

However, political analysts have called it as a case of judicial overreach. In words of PB Mehta, "Judiciary has encroached upon the domain of other 2 branches, though it itself is least representative as well as accountable".

Hence, judiciary needs to tread a cautious path so that judicial activism doesn't turn into judicial adventurism. For this, judiciary first needs to put its own house in order. For the same, following measures can be undertaken

- ① Transparent & accountable system of judicial appointments, preferable on the line of Judicial Commission in UK.

Appointments

- ② Reducing huge pendency of cases (currently 3.3 Cr all across the judiciary) through innovative methods like electronic case management, plea bargaining, etc.
- ③ Infrastructure for more courts, even evening courts (II ALC recommendation)
- ④ Capacity building of judges
- ⑤ Promoting Alternative Disputes Resolution mechanisms
- ⑥ Constitution of All-India Judicial services
- ⑦ Criminal justice system reforms & police reforms (Malimath Committee report)

You can't imagine the extent of darkness when the lamp of justice goes out. Thus, there needs to be a reformed, pro-active & empathetic judiciary for maintaining the Indian democracy in its optimal state.

Q-6(b)

What historical forces shaped the vision of the constitution? Give a critical assessment of features of Indian Constitution.

(15)

Indian Constitution is the cornerstone on which Indian nation stands - independent, sovereign & a responsible power. It has been an ideal mix of flexibility & rigidity, changing with time as a 'living document' so as to remain relevant.

However, there are certain <sup>historical</sup> factors which have shaped our constitution in the present form?

① Legacy of British Rule? Our constitution owes its procedural part largely to the Government of India Act, 1935. GoI ~~to~~ Act 1935 itself was a culmination of 150 years of British rule, with policies evolving in Indian context, and not a mere replica of English laws.

② Freedom Struggle? The substantive part of the constitution is based upon ideals espoused during Indian National movement viz. sovereignty

(swaraj), fraternity (communal harmony) & social justice

③ Indian Culture : The philosophy of Sanatana Dharma can be found in presence of individual rights as well as the community-based rights in the ~~and~~ constitution, as 'it considers men to be a situated-self'. Also the ideals of Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam are present in Art. 51 which calls for international peace & fraternity, while Sarva Dharma Sama Bhava finds place in fundamental rights to religion (Art. 25-30)

④ International Experience : The American Revolution inspired our concept of fundamental rights through their Bill of Rights for the Men, while French Revolution led to ideals of Liberty, Equality & Fraternity in the Preamble. The concept of fundamental Duties is borrowed from the erstwhile USSR.

⑤ Personalities : Gandhian ideals find a place in DPSPs while Nehru's socialism is evident in ideals of social justice. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's <sup>thought</sup> is the golden thread running through entire constitution, be it equality or justice.

\* Critical Assessment of features of Indian Constitution :-> ① Federalism is a

basic feature, yet the constitution envisages a polity biased towards the centre.

- ② Model of Secularism is too subjective
- ③ Emergency powers are a blot on democratic constitution
- ④ Substantial part is non-enforceable in the form of DPSPs
- ⑤ Many unnecessary administrative clericalizations, making the constitution bulky & rigid.

The fact that US constitution has only been amended 27 times in about 300 years of its existence, while Indian constitution was first amended in its very first year, speaks a lot about the shortcomings of Indian constitution.

However, it was the best possible constitution in a diverse country like India, which led

Alyred Stephan to remark that "Indian constitution rather than the US constitution should be a model for multicultural & diverse countries".

Q-6(c)

(15)

It may be stated that Constl & procedural norms to ensure executive's accountability to Parliament have been adequately provided for in India. However, over the period of time there is substantial erosion in the powers of the Parliament. Discuss

Indian constitution envisages a separation of power, but with a system of checks - & - balances. In this context, the legislature enforces accountability for the executive.

The constitution provides for various means to enforce this accountability. Legislatively, there are various motions where the legislature can support or oppose the executive's resolution. It can even seek an authoritative statement from the concerned minister ~~over~~ any issue of public importance. Ex → Calling attention motion, short-duration discussion, etc.

In administrative field, there are departmental standing committees which look in the policies, reports & bills related to various ministries. They can call for answers from the relevant department or can even enforce the attendance of related authorities during their proceedings.



Further other committees deal with specific issues to ensure the executive's accountability in certain important fields. For ex → PAC examines the report of CAG and looks into the propriety of the expenditure incurred.

In the field of finance, executive is required to obtain approval from legislature ~~for~~ through the Annual Financial Statement (Art. 112)

The legislature can move cut-motions to express their views or air their grievances. Even the expenditure made ~~for~~ from 'Contingency Fund of India' needs post-approval by the legislature.

Overall, the legislature can even remove the executive for the want of confidence through Non-confidence Motion. Thus, the legislature has adequate powers to ensure executive's accountability, but in practice these powers are increasingly being eroded.

The meetings of the legislature are getting less frequent, and even when it meets, substantial amount of time gets lost in

maintaining order. This trend is continuously getting worse since 1950s (75% utilisation) to 2014 (58% utilisation).

Moreover, government often seeks to bypass the legislature by certifying controversial bills as money bills. Ex → AADHAR

This is further aggravated by the fact that elected representatives often lack political experience, unlike the I LS where most of the MPs were lawyers. Hence, no effective questioning takes place. The government compounds the folly by delayed tabling of reports, and hence the MPs are rarely prepared to ask questions

The most striking ex. of executive high-handedness have been the suspension of question hour altogether in the latest ~~so~~ parliamentary session due to COVID-19. Thus, there is a need for legislature to reclaim its lost space if the system of checks - & - balances has to work properly.

Q. 8(a)

(20)

"The idea of secularism is ever present in public debates & discussions, yet there is something quite perplexing about the state of secularism in India". Comment. Mention some of the recent controversies related to the secularism debate.

Secularism refers to the phenomenon where state & religion don't interfere into the affairs of each other. The I thinker to call for separation of state & church was Italian philosopher Machiavelli, and since then secularism has become a fact of the public life.

India, just like other Asian nations, has a bit different conception of the religion. Here, the religion is not just one's conviction, but also a way of life. Naturally, India took to a different course of secularism. Rajiv Bhargava gave following features of Indian secularism.

- ① State doesn't support any religion actively, but it isn't hostile towards any religion either.
- ② Indian state isn't indifferent towards

religion, rather different religions are in the foundation of the state

③ State intervenes in religious matters as per the exigencies of the time, and ensures that constitutional values are in-line with religious doctrines being propounded.

He calls it as the 'principled distance' model where state maintains different stances towards different religions. However, Indian model of secularism has always been a part of the debate.

PB Mehta calls it as 'asymmetrical state intervention in different religions', which only sanctifies vote-bank politics in the name of religion. He gives the example of minority appeasement being followed by Congress for decades in the name of principled distance. This renders all the sections of society insecure at all times.

Similarly, Neo-Gandhians like Aris Nandi calls for religion to play a more constructive role in public life, just like the tolerant & harmonious policies of the times of Ashoka & Akbar. While Marxists like Achin Bandopadhyay

repudiates this view on the basis of too much religious interference in public life.

The debate over secularism, though persistent since the time the constitution was drafted, have taken a new life in light of recent controversies. The Sabriamala dispute, where the court laid constitutional morality prevail over religious rights/practices of the individuals is a point in case.

Another debate came to fore when the SC held Triple Talaq Bill constitutional, which gave a second wind to the demands for Uniform Civil Code (Art. 44).

Also, the Ayodhya verdict led to resolution of long-pending Hindu-Muslim rivalry narrative. But the presence of PM, along with many other constitutional functionaries, left the other sections of the society disillusioned.

And it is not the <sup>power</sup> politics that drive the communal agenda. The common masses having

stereotypical perceptions about a particular community, be it the Delhi Madhwa case during Corona outbreak or the Tanishq Act being labelled as Love Jihad promotion, are equally responsible.

Thus, we need a structural change towards our secularism doctrine. In the words of Akeel Bilgrami, "We need a bottom-up approach of secularism rather than the top-down approach". Only when we generate awareness among masses will we be able to check divisive political tendencies.

Q-8(b) " The actions of governors in recent time & rising tussle with the elected state governments has resurrected the debate on the role of the governors in the scheme of constitutional governance". Elaborate. (15)

The constitution envisages the Office of Governor as the <sup>head of</sup> nominal executive. He is not only centre's agent to the state, but also the lynchpin of federation (Sarkaria Commission).

Articles 63, 64 & 67 of the constitution provide for the council of ministers to aid & advise him in his duties, with CM as the chief link. Moreover, he is provided with more situational discretion vis-a-vis the President. Thus, he is supposed to be the friend, philosopher & guide of the state cabinet.

The constituent assembly had provided for it to be a office of dignity, working in harmony with the state government. But in practice, some conflicts have always been there, viz. misuse of Art. 356, interference with functioning of state governments, acting as long-arm of the Centre, etc.

This led Soli Sorabjee to ask if the Governor was a 'Sage or Saboteur?' However, the SC itely cleared the air & laid down proper guidelines about Governor's conduct in Margobind Parth v/ Raghukul Tilak judgement, while also mentioning that 'Governor's discretion is Governor's discretion' & he doesn't act as an agent of the centre.

But this debate refuses to die down. In the recent past, there have been instances when the Governor acted in a partisan manner.

for ex → The Governor of Karnataka not calling pre-poll alliance winning maximum numbers of seats to form government in Karnataka (2018)

Also, there have been instances when the governor overstepped his discretion. for ex → Rajasthan Governor (2020) not calling Assembly session despite repeated requests by the CM, and ultimately HC had to intervene.

The instances of interference with the working



of the state government have been far too many. For ex → WB governor criticising the elected government repeatedly on the social media, or the Maharashtra governor questioning member credentials of the CM himself.

Thus, there is a need to restore lost dignity of the office of governor. It is the beacon of light in the dark times, when the ~~to~~ main-line goes off. But it shouldn't strive to become a fire 'stick', burning down the established institutions.

Q-8 (c) Discuss the evolution of Indian democracy since independence. How socio-economic inequality has played the role in shaping Indian democracy? (15)

When the world's largest federation (India) offered Universal Adult Franchise to its citizens, even the world's oldest federation (USA) was yet to do so. The entire world was skeptical about the future of democracy in India, yet democracy not only survived but also flourished in the country.

In a country with literacy rate of merely 8%, I election commissioner Sukumar Sen managed everything single-handedly & got a voter turnout, during very I general elections, to be 46%. (comparable to western nations).

In terms of voting behaviour, Prof. M.P. Sharma remarked that 'Indian voting behaviour is more mature than that of western countries'.

Democracy had its dark hours too, viz. the Emergency of 1975, but it emerged <sup>back</sup> to be stronger. Civil society sprang up into

action & voted out the authoritarian Congress government. It was ~~at~~ during this time that socio-economic factors began to play an important role. The OBCs, more conscious about their rights and their numerical strength, came out of the Congress & formed their separate regional parties. Prof Yogendra Yadav calls it as a case of I Democratic Upsurge.

Later in 1990s, the Dalits came out of the Congress in II Democratic upsurge & began to form their own parties, e.g., the BSP. The regional parties helped in strengthening democracies because they worked closer to the grassroot level, and also helped in increasing the bargaining power of the state. Thus, the era of coalition government begins.

But it doesn't stop at the Central or State levels. The 73<sup>rd</sup> & 74<sup>th</sup> amendment acts ~~had~~ <sup>led</sup> the spirit of democracy to

the lowest echelons of the society, thereby ensuring representation to all social & economic groups.

Even today, the ~~ex~~ majority BJP government owes its existence to an amorphous middle class, which believes more in economic reforms & good governance than the conventional class-caste divide. Even all other parties have consensus over the UY reforms and are open to II-wave of economic reforms.

Thus, democracy in India has survived over a triad of social, economic & political factors. They not only check each other, but also mutually reinforce each other.

That is why democracy didn't collapse in India like other III world countries.  
"it did in