

## Political Science & International Relations

### Crash Course & Test Series - 2020

#### Test 02

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name VAIBHAV RAWAT  
Test Date 01/11/2020  
Email Address \_\_\_\_\_  
Mobile \_\_\_\_\_  
UPSC Roll No 7100243

#### Instructions:

1. There are EIGHT questions divided in TWO SECTIONS and candidate has to attempt five questions in all.
2. Question Nos. 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, any three are to be attempted choosing at least ONE question from each section.
3. Content of the answer is more important than its length.
4. Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the admission Certificate, which must be stated clearly on the cover of the booklet in the space provided.
5. Content of the answer is more important than its length.
6. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the Question-Cum-Answer Booklet must be clearly struck off.
7. All parts of the question should be written at one place itself.
8. Write the test in exam atmosphere.
9. **Filling all the details in BLOCK LETTERS is mandatory.**

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



# SHUBHRA RANJAN

Always Ahead

32 B, Pusa Road, Karol Bagh, Delhi 110005. ☎ 011 45612719

	Poor	Average	Good	Very Good	Excellent
Understanding of Questions					
Structure & Flow					
(a) Introduction					
(b) Conclusion					
(c) Overall					
Subject Knowledge					
Presentation					
(a) Underline					
(b) Paragraph					
(c) Overall					

Overall Remarks:

Dear Student,

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All the best for next test..!!!

Que.1(a)

“The role of Prime Minister in India is wide and varied.”

(10 Marks)

Prime Minister is the real Executive head in a Parliamentary form of democracy. He is called either as primus inter pares or moon among stars depending (first among equals) upon circumstances.

The role of PM is central to working of Executive. He is the leader of the House and leads the cabinet while making policies. In India we have seen very powerful PMs like Pandit Nehru, Indira Gandhi, Rajeev Gandhi and current PM Modi.

Since 1989 Indian politics saw coalition era, where role of PM not only became constitutional but highly political in managing the coalition. Atal Bihari Vajpayee could successfully manage first full time coalition government.

Since the times of Pandit Nehru, foreign policy is said to be PM's policy choices with PMO being the central authority. Nowadays PMO has taken varied responsibilities from space to



land titles to welfare schemes and their direct monitoring e.g. PRAGATI portal.

Thus PM is central to Indian political system with wide & varied powers & thus responsibilities.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.1(b)

The causes of internal migration

10 Marks.

India is a multi-ethnic country with vast geography and population. We see world's largest internal migration in India annually.

The major causes are dependent upon type of internal migration. For rural to rural migration social & familial ties, women moving to husband house (patrilocal society) and temporary agricultural labour is the major reason.

For rural to urban people move in search of better opportunities. That could be in education, employment, living standards. Lower sections move due to discrimination meted out in villages and the anonymous life of urban areas.

Urban to urban migration also occurs to bigger metropolitans like Delhi, Bangalore, Mumbai in search of better life. The common thread between reasons of supply / push

factors are lack of balanced regional development and pull factors are aspirations of our young population.

Internal migration leads to problems like sons of soil movement (Myron Weiner)  
eg. Maharashtra.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.1(c)

Economic reforms and working class

10 Marks.

India adopted neo liberal model of development after 1991 New Economic Policy. India has seen tremendous growth after that but has also witnessed increased inequality.

Economic reforms has led to state rolling back on welfare of workers and private sector filling in the space. The increased competitive spirit & Laissez Faire model leads to workers feeling alienated as shown by Karl Marx in capitalist societies.

India saw phenomenon of jobless growth implying service sector taking the lead. Induction of footloose workforce, hire & fire policy, gig economy eg Uber & Ola has increased the need for state's intervention in ensuring social safety net to workers.

Since India does not have a strong trade union movement, they are junior-partners of political parties and forces of



globalization making politics of left redundant  
(Prافul Bidwai) there is a need to ensure  
working class gets a voice. labour law  
reforms on occupational safety, social  
security, wages and health and industrial  
disputes need immediate implementation.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.1(d)

Language and politics in India.

10 Marks.

James Manor in his book Ethnic Politics in India classifies language as one of the identity markers for Indian politics.

Since pre independence politics has language factor. Gandhi favored Congress Provincial Committees on linguistic lines.

Post independence State Reorganisation Committee redrew the internal map on linguistic origins which has profound impact on Indian politics.

Regional politics & emergence of regional parties based on language for eg Telugu Desam Party in Andhra, Dravide Kazhagam parties in TN, etc dominated state politics. Language politics is also linked to OBC politics & has led to coalition -era in Indian politics post the breakdown of Congress system.

Imposition of language of one region i.e. Hindi over others is resented in South and



North - Eastern region. Thus the state has followed 3 language formula in education.

Language continues to play a role in Indian politics along with caste, religion but as S.P. Muni argued Indians have multi-layered complex identities that are flexible & dependent upon mobilization of political elites

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.1(e)

Role of civil society in Indian democracy.

10 Marks

India is a representative democracy constitutionally but <sup>the state</sup> tries to move towards participatory democracy. Role of civil society becomes vital for achievement of good governance.

However civil society has not been able to play the desired role in terms of demanding accountability from its representatives (Amartya Sen). Rejni Kothari argues post 1970s there is a growing discontent in civil society and which has led to rise of social movements and grassroot movements.

State's attempt for direct democracy under 73<sup>rd</sup> & 74<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendments at the local level could not be successful due to variety of factors including civil society's lack of interest (Mani Shankar Aiyar Committee)

However civil society has done good work in ensuring state's accountability in terms of

RTI activism, Human Rights issues, environmental movements by the marginalized against forces of globalization (R.C. Lyka).

Active civil society along with Judiciary is required to achieve goal of Constitution of a 'social revolution' (Granville Austin)

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.4(a)

**"Within the new context of political democracy, caste remains a central event of Indian society even while adapting itself to the values and the methods of democratic politics." (Rudolf & Rudolf).  
Explicate.**

**20 Marks**

Caste forms the mosaic of Indian politics. It is said that Indians don't cast their vote but vote their caste.

According to M.N. Shrinivas caste is placed at the subconscious mind of every Indian. Hence caste remains one of the key determinant of Indian politics. Although post-independence we adopted modern democratic ideals but the society remained traditional.

Political scientist Rajni Kothari sees caste politics as natural result of democracy in India. Similarly Rudolf & Rudolf explained phenomenon of caste as 'modernization of traditions and traditionalization of modernity'.

This implies adopting to rational bureaucratic structures in our political system but the practices of political parties remained traditional.

The impact of this phenomena is debated by various scholars. Rajni Kothari sees this as beneficial to Indian democracy as it became the basis for political mobilisation. Christoffe Tafferlot calls this as a silent revolution (in context of OBC politics). Yogendra Yadav sees caste based politics as 'democratic upsurge'.

First democratic upsurge happened in 1960s with intermediate castes coming out of Congress and second happened in 1990s with Dalits becoming an autonomous force in Indian politics as BSP in north.

However many scholars like C.P. Bhambri sees this as detrimental to India's democracy in long term.

Caste based politics lead to religion based politics as shown by Thomas Blom Hansen in his book 'The saffron Wave'. He associated rise of BJP with Mandalisation.

of Indian politics.

Although not just caste has impacted politics even politics has impacted caste. Rejni Kothari calls this phenomena as 'politicisation of caste'. This leads to secularisation of caste, integration of castes and development of new consciousness. secularisation mean usage of caste for secular benefits like reservation as opposed to earlier customs. Integration happens as various alliances are formed like MAJGAR (Muslim, Ahir, Jat, Gujjar) and KHAM (Kshatriya, Harijan, Ahir, Muslim) at state level.

New consciousness has led to formation of new political parties based on caste e.g. RJD, LJP, JDU in Bihar. Lalita Chandrasekhar

in her article "Emancipatory Power of Caste Politics" suggest that caste based politics has bridged the gap between different castes in our society and gave them political voice.



As Ashutosh Varshney points out in his book 'Battles Half Won' democracy is not just about elections. Indian democracy has not performed well between elections thus the battle now is to deepen our democracy outside the electoral process.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.4(b)

"The defenders of the British India often site the construction of rail roads or spread of English language, but as time passes ,the evidence mounts that India would have been much better off on its own." In light of the above statement , critically examine the legacy of the British rule in India. 15 Marks

Rabindranath Tagore was correct in saying that Britishers would leave India for sure but when they do , they will leave so much filth & dirt that generations of Indians will not be able to clean it.

Legacy of British Raj is evident in all spheres of our life today. Since Indian revolution unlike the Chinese revolution did not start from a fresh slate , we adopted many structures and practices. Our Constitution itself is derived out of Government of India Act 1935.

Although British maintained their hegemony (in Gramscian sense) by developing some parts of our country , introduced railways & spread enlightenment ideas and English language , it was all done in the imperialist interests and any benefit is rather coincidental

and not intentional (Shashi Tharoor).

Economically, India was around 20% of global GDP but today we are a semi-periphery economy in the global capitalist system (as per Marxist discourse). Though we adopted democracy as political system, Hamza Alvi argues that as an over developed state.

British imperialist policies of divide and rule led to the worst humanitarian crisis. Partition of ~~the~~ subcontinent is their worst legacy. Communalism and caste based identity politics are a result of deliberate British attempts to divide the nationalist forces through separate electorates, caste based surveys.

Bureaucratic structure of British times was formed to prolong the Raj. Its emphasis on secrecy, Weberian style of functioning and inability to work for development led to modest success of centralized planning model.

As shown by Mani Shankar Aiyer Committee Panchayati Raj system also could not succeed due to colonial mindset of the Bureaucracy.

South Asia remains the least integrated of all regions in the world as per World Bank report "glass half full". C.R. Mohan suggests British foreign policy of Lord Curzon was carried forward by Pandit Nehru. Treaty style diplomacy with our neighbours Nepal & Bhutan made them look at India as the

Big Brother.

As Gandhi said not just transfer of power but individual self-reliance is necessary for realizing the goal of Swaraj. British legacy is detrimental yet we need to take positives and develop our own path to development.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.4(c)

Narrate the process of political democracy and economic development in India since 1991. **15 Marks**

India faced Balance of Payment crisis in 1990 which led to acceptance of neo-liberal model based on Washington Consensus.

The structural program of IMF and WB made political economy changes to the Indian state. The centralized planning and state's control over public goods gave way to 'laissez faire' economics of the market. This meant profound changes to political democracy and economic development.

greater role of markets required lesser government at all levels. This meant introduction of 73<sup>rd</sup> & 74<sup>th</sup> Constitutional amendments. They introduced a sort of direct democracy at grassroot level. The principle of 'Subsidiarity' gained traction in Indian political discourse.

Indian federalism is built upon two axes

(A) Parliamentary axes

(B) Federal axes.

According to Prof. MP Singh since 1990s India's federal axes became stronger as states gained more power of bargaining with the Union government. This is also a result of regionalisation & fragmentation of Indian politics. The 'coalition era' of 1990s ensured regional political parties gained substantial power in national matters. For eg foreign policy visits by Chief Ministers.

The attraction of international investments drew states to directly deal with international non-state like MNCs as well as state actors e.g. US AID. The need for single market across nation culminated into GST reform. GST has changed fiscal federalism in complete sense. Although the impacts are debated yet significant.

However, we see both centralising as well as decentralising trends due to globalization and liberalisation post 1991. The rise of BJP

as central party is related to need for development and corruption free governance.

NRI support post LPG reforms are also a factor. Suhas Palshikar argues that today we have a 'BJP system' in our political democracy like the earlier Congress system.

As Yogendra Yadav said today Indian democracy is not about identity politics rather identity + politics which reflects voters concern for both identity & development. This is a result of India embracing globalization.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.5(a)

The role of media in democracy.

10 Marks

Media is touted as the fourth pillar of democracy, that ensures the accountability of the other three pillars (Legislature, Executive, Judiciary) to the ultimate sovereign, the people.

Indian Constitution guarantees Freedom of speech & Expression under Article 19 and an implicit freedom of press. This itself shows vital role of media in the minds of our constitution makers. Citizens are kept informed, guided and given a voice through media.

Media is essential to convert our representative democracy into a deliberative democracy. As Habermas (Transformation of Public Sphere) suggests there is a need to ensure free public sphere that enables communicative action. Democracy requires active citizen participation.

Media ensures marginalized sections get due attention by the state. Protection of human rights, expanding notions of equality like LGBT rights in our society is enhanced by active media participation. Mobilization of public opinion that decides the direction of the democracy is facilitated by the media.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



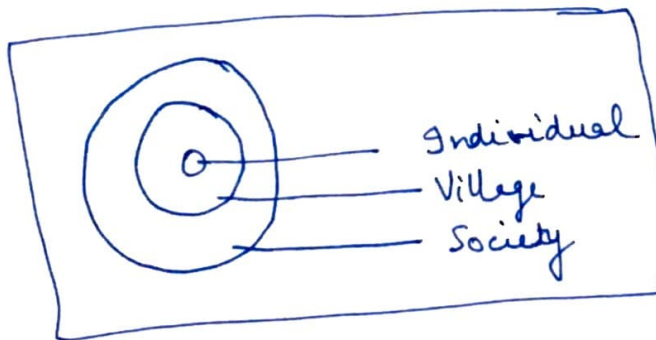
Que.5(b)

Gandhian principles in Indian constitution

10 Marks

Indian Constitution is called as a revolutionary document that seeks to establish an egalitarian society. Gandhian principles find a place in the fundamental part of governance of our country i.e. Part IV.

Directive principles like promotion of cottage industry, village panchayats, cow protection (A48) all are inspired by Gandhian ideals. Gandhiji emphasized on self rule & self-reliant society. His occenic circle of power arrangement emphasizes



'Swaraj' as self rule first then 'Gram-Swaraj' i.e. Village Republic.

Some principles were added later like 73<sup>rd</sup> & 74<sup>th</sup> Constitution Amendments that gave direct democracy of Gram Sabha at village levels.



Gandhian idea of religious tolerance & equal respect to all religions forms crux of Indian secularism as given in Article 29-30.

However modernisation & protection of minority rights as envisaged by J.L. Nehru and B.R. Ambedkar also find a place in constitution which are not aligned to Gandhian ideas.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.5(c)

Different theoretical perspectives on the regionalism in India.

10 Marks

Regionalism denotes loyalty to one geographical area. It is a form of identity politics. As given by Paul Brass it denotes the long term trend in Indian politics.

Different political scholars suggest different perspectives on why regional politics emerge. Thomas Tanuzzi holds it as culture of affluence eg in Punjab economic prosperity lead to regional consciousness. Whereas Marc Turgensmeier argue it is a result of scarcity e.g. north eastern states.

Myron Weiner suggest 'sons of soil' movement in Maharashtra is a result of outsider vs local competition of middle class jobs. Robert Hardgrave calls regionalism as result of uneven development of different parts.

Consequences of regionalism are debated as well. One school of thought see it as a danger to territorial integrity whereas others

like Dr Prerna Singh argue that it depends upon how it is managed. Atul Kohli suggests acomodative policies of Pt Nehru & Rajeev Gandhi served India's national interests well and coercive methods of Indira Gandhi led to rise in secessionist trends in Punjab (Khalistan movement).

As Sarkaria Commission mentions regionalism should be seen as relative economic deprivation and not a threat rather a call for development.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.5(d)

Interaction of ethnicity and politics in India.

10 Marks

James Manor in his book 'Ethnicity and Politics in India' suggests four identities that cause ethnic politics - race, religion, language and caste.

Ethnicity is a collective consciousness that is based upon a common descent, history, language or culture. In India we see many forms of ethnic politics. As Prof. S.D. Muni suggests that Indian citizen has multiple identities. Based upon choice of political elites, these identities get mobilised.

Rajni Kothari, Rudolf K Rudolph and Atul Kohli suggest that this a result of coexistence of modernity and tradition in Indian politics & society respectively. However, Neere Chandhoke suggest that when state tries to homogenize people get conscious of their identities.

Identity politics of ethnicity has resulted into both positive and negative impacts. One One

hand it has strengthened & mobilized our democracy. On the other hand it has led to violence, communalism, ~~secessionism~~ when not managed properly.

Kanchan Chandra believes since political patronage is based upon identity, it is natural to expect electoral politics based on ethnicity.

However as Ashutosh Varshney suggests in his ~~book~~ <sup>article</sup> 'Ethnic Conflict and Civic life' we need civic engagement among different ethnic groups.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.5(e)

Pressure group politics in post-liberalisation era. 10 Marks

Pressure groups are known as invisible empires. They perform the important task of interest articulation in a democratic setup.

Rajni Kothari studied pressure groups before the ~~post~~ liberalisation era and concluded religion based groups as dominant ones. However in post liberalisation era, Robert Hardgrave and Stanley Kochanek have analysed the trends.

They suggest increase in business groupings, corporate lobbies both domestic and foreign. Religion based interest groups are still prominent. However women groups, environmental and civil right activists are not so powerful even in post LPG era.

Political parties in India have coopted trade unions, student groups and agricultural pressure groups. Thus we don't see powerful

pressure groups like in the US in these areas.

Pressure groups influence government's policy choices and hence also get influenced by government decisions. Thus today we see more government - interest group interactions even in institutionalized mechanisms like NITI Aayog.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.6(a)

"Over the time the Supreme Court of India has evolved from being a court of law to a major institutional actor in political arena."  
Comment. Suggest changes in the functioning of the court.

20 Marks

"Indian Judiciary will not only be a mere spectator rather an active participant in India's social revolution" - J.L. Nehru.

Indian Constitution is a transformative constitution (Gautam Bhatia) that envisages to transform a traditional Indian society into a modern, egalitarian one. Indian Constitution promises a life of dignity to millions. It is a framework to achieve social revolution (Granville Austin).

Indian Constitution also sees Judiciary as fiercely independent and an active agent of change. Article 32 and 13 puts constitutional obligation on it to protect fundamental rights of citizens. Article 36 (4) includes judiciary in the definition of state and Article 37 puts obligation on state to implement the directive principles.

Initially Judiciary was not so active due to presence of a very strong Executive and dominance of Congress in the Parliament under PM Nehru. As evident from Champakam Dorairajan and Shankari Prasad case, Judiciary allowed Executive & Parliament to take the lead in political arena.

Breakdown of Congress system & Nehruvian consensus made Judiciary active. The doctrine of Basic Structure in K. Bharti case, due process of law in M. Gandhi case, and institution of PLJ under activist judges like P.N. Bhagwati are some examples.

Even in contemporary times Judiciary has taken over the role of change bringer. Prominence to gender justice under S. Bano & Sabrimala case are criticized by some as Judicial overreach. In Ashok Mehta case SC directed ban on firecrackers which was an executive domain. Judicial Activism is a debated phenomena of Indian politics.

Pratap Bhanu Mehta criticizes judiciary as 'self perpetuating institution'. He calls India a case of 'Judicial sovereignty'. Although in India, constitution is supreme but 'Constitution is what judges say it is'. There are evidences of judiciary changing decisions & judicial principles. Thus P.B. Mehta calls Indian judiciary as a 'promise of uncertainty'.

Upendra Baxi, an eminent jurist, however defends judiciary. Similarly Zia Modi (10 Judgements that changed India) defends the doctrine of 'Basic structure' as a 'necessary evil' against the 'Executive overreach & authoritarian tendencies'. However Indian judiciary has become the 'most powerful court' in the world. It has taken over the role of even Constituent Assembly. Judges have become 'philosopher Kings'.

Judicial activism however has come at a cost of ignorance of 'primary duties' by the courts. Pending cases and more than 50%.

inmates being under trials leaves a question mark on judicial accountability.

Various commissions ~~like~~ and reports have highlighted the needed changes in the functioning of the court. Need to upgrade judicial infrastructure and filling of vacancies are vital to reduce backlog. The 'culture of adjournment' as highlighted by current President needs change. Training of lower staff and speedy investigation by police agencies can reduce judicial pendency.

Judiciary is seen as the second most corrupt institution by Indian citizens as per Transparency International. Hence RTI in CJ office is a welcome step.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.6(b)

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

15 Marks

Indian Constitution is first & foremost a social document - It intends to bring a social revolution by giving a life of dignity to millions of Indian citizens. - (Granville Austin)

Indian Constitution was developed under the backdrop of partition. Hence Paul Bress mentions that unlike what political leaders like Nehru believes, it was not optimism rather fear that was the basic driver in framing the constitution.

India had to maintain its territorial integrity and also manage its diversity. Though constitutional makers were inspired by liberalism, socialism, Gandhianism they were also driven by practical considerations.

This can be seen in protection of minority rights & India's version of secularism. Hindu-rightist scholars like Arun Shourie call it 'minority appeasement'. This is also seen in



India's sui-generis federalism: Centre's more powers are justified when viewed in backdrop of secessionist trends in the frontier areas. The institution of governor also acts as 'eyes & ears' of the Centre.

Indian Constitution can be best understood through its preamble. Preamble provides the ideals of Indian republic as envisaged by its makers. The preamble reads India as a Sovereign, Socialist, Secular, Democratic Republic.

The principles mentioned in the preamble like justice social, economic & political, liberty of individual, equality of all citizens and fraternity based upon dignity & territorial integrity are the essential features of the Indian Constitution.

However, almost all of its features are debated. They appear rational in theory but there is a gap in practice. India is a representative parliamentary form of democracy.

however it is said to be only a procedural democracy & not a substantive one like other mature western democracies.

Western scholars believed India is a failed experiment but the flexibility of the Indian Constitution has allowed it to sustain ~~the~~ one of the most diverse country and the largest democracy. The complex interplay of liberalism inspired Fundamental Rights and socialism inspired DPSPs have ensured India is not only a political but also a social & economic democracy.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.6(c)

It may be stated that the constitutional and procedural norms to ensure the executive's accountability to Parliament has been adequately provided in India. However, over the period of time there is substantial erosion in the power of Parliament. Discuss.

15 Marks

Founding fathers envisaged Parliament as an institution to ensure social and political unity in the country. Parliament is the center of gravity in a Parliamentary form of democracy.

Parliament ensures accountability of the executive. It is composed of chosen representatives who are in turn accountable to their constituencies hence making Executive accountable to the ultimate sovereign, the people. Constitutional provisions like Art 75 have given adequate mechanisms.

Procedural norms like privileges to the House, standing committees to scrutinize Executive actions and Constitutional office like CAG to ensure financial accountability have been provided to the Parliament.



However as Rajni Kothari suggests since 1960s there has been an institutional decline of the Parliament. World Bank provides 6 parameters and Indian Parliament shows declining trend in all of them.

The reasons for such a ~~decrease~~ decline in the power of parliament is both internal as well as external. Externally the advent of globalization has reduced scope for national parliaments to chose autonomous policies. Growing complexity in the laws also act as impediment for many Parliamentarians.

Internally, criminalization of politics has led to degradation in the political will to fight corruption. Law breakers are made law makers because of defects in electoral system that favors money & muscle power.

Anti-defection law (52<sup>nd</sup> Constitutional Amend.) has reduced individual MP's freedom. The office of whip has created party dominance over individual agency. This has led to decline

of even the 'Upper house'. It hardly acts as a federal chamber now. The politicization of post of speaker has created impediments in holding the Executive accountable.

Executive prefer delegated legislation, delayed tabling of watchdog reports and opposition parties also play only destructive role by hijacking government agenda. All these factors lead to erosion of parliamentary powers & responsibilities.

Dipankar Gupta suggests moving towards direct democracy whereas Shashi Tharoor suggests Presidential system. As BR Ambedkar held "institutions are only as good as people who command them". Hence the need is to bring ethics in politics and electoral reforms.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.8(a)

"The idea of secularism is ever present in public debates and 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. 20 Marks

Secularism was coined by G.J. Holyoke in 1851 as a social order that neither promotes nor actively criticizes any religion. Secularism is a western concept seen as child of Christianity and gift of modernity.

During 16<sup>th</sup> c Europe - 30 years of religious wars led to a need of secular nationalism based upon ideas of religious neutrality and absence of religion in public sphere. To quote Hobbes - "Law is the command of Sovereign." This means a secular state enjoys legal sovereignty.

In Indian context, Rajeev Bhargava calls Indian model as a politically negotiated, principled distance model which is different from the western concept. It is based upon Nehruvian religious neutrality, Gandhian religious tolerance and Ambedkar's special

rights to minorities. Indian Constitution provides for varied & sometimes contradictory provisions.

Indian secularism does not stand for religious neutrality rather it takes a contextual approach to matters of religion in public sphere. Constitution provides for right to practice, propagate & profess religion under Article 25 but at the same time Art 25(2) gives a rider of public morality, order & decency.

This provides for scope of state intervention. However this intervention is not symmetric. Article 29 & 30 provides cultural & educational special rights to minorities and at the same time Article 14 & 15 prohibits state from discrimination based on religion. Such contradictions leave scope for plausibility (P.B. Mehta).

Congress is accused of misusing secularism as minority appeasement by Hindu rightist groups. The crux of the issue is regarding the VCC.

P.B. Mehta criticizes congress for vote bank politics. D.E. Smith (India: A secular state) calls India as non-secular due to non-separation of state from religion. But Marc Gallanter challenges his views as ethnocentric. As Rajeev Bhargava suggests, Indian secularism remains painfully illusive in its distinctiveness and complexities.

In recent times, secularism debate is surrounded around personal laws and UCC. Judiciary is in a fix to decide whether state can intervene in matters of religion. As Constitution model of secularism is debatable, judiciary itself is divided.

Recent cases of Sabrimale and Shayara Bano showed Activist judiciary that upheld Fundamental Rights & dignity over customs. But judiciary found it difficult to implement due to less support from the Executive & civil society. Judge Indu Malhotra even warned of judicio papism in Sabrimale dissenting verdict.



Ayodha verdict on state building Ram temple is also debated. Justice K Chandru sees religious neutrality as essential for democracy. However, Upendra Baxi sees the verdict as aligned to constitutional secularism.

Neo-gandhian scholars reject secularism & call for religious dialogue in public sphere but Marxist scholars like Romile Thapar see views of Ashish Nandy as nostalgic & dangerous due to communalism.

Thus Indian secularism is perplexing concept that gives simultaneous individual as well as group rights and simultaneous universal as well as multi-cultural citizenship.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.8(b)

"The actions of governors in recent time and rising tussle with the elected state governments has resurrected the debate on the role of governors in the scheme of constitutional governance." Elaborate.

15 Marks

Indian Constitution provides for Parliamentary form of government at both centre and state levels. Governor is the Executive (Nominal) head.

Article 153 gives governor for each state and Article 154 vests all executive powers of the state in the office of governor. The post was deemed necessary for two reasons: one to do justice to Parliamentary form of government at state level and the other to provide national level perspective at the state level.

Indian federalism is tilted towards Union government in the Constitutional scheme. Indian Constitution taking inspiration from Canadian model preferred strong centre. One of the ways to achieve this goal is through office of governor. As per Sarkaria Commission "governor is the lynchpin of Indian federalism".

Unlike USA which has dual federalism, India has cooperative federalism. Centre guides states in matters of national importance through the office of governor. Governor as per Article 201 can reserve state bills for consideration of President. The Office is provided with discretion to act in certain cases like invitation of CM in hung assembly, reservation of bills, recommendation of President rule to the President under Article 356.

However as Paul Brass mentions governors act more as "eyes and ears" of the union government rather than as Constitutional head of the state (Shamsher Singh case). In recent times, union government has become the ruling political party. This makes governors to act in political interests and discretions are arbitrarily used. For eg state bill of one state passes and other state with opposition government does not, on the same subject.

This has led to degradation of cooperative federalism to bargaining federalism. The position of states have weakened due to governor



belonging to ruling parties. Constitution has not mentioned strict qualification criteria.

In recent Nabam Rabia case, Supreme Court reversed governor's decision to convene assembly. This is the purview of Chief Minister. Governors should be acting on aid & advice of the CMs except mentioned in the Constitution. Otherwise it hampers functioning of parliamentary democracy at state level.

Thus there is a need to implement Sarkaria & Punchi Commission recommendations on appointment, removal (arbitrary mass removal seen in past) and exercise of discretionary powers. As Manmohan Singh said in governors conference they need to be guided by their Constitutional mandate and people's expectation from them.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.8(c)

Discuss the evolution of Indian democracy since independence . How socio-economic inequality has played the role in shaping Indian democracy?

15 Marks

Indian democracy was considered a ~~failed~~ experiment by western scholars. But <sup>bound to</sup> Indian leaders and constituent assembly was confident of its masses. Today India is largely a successful ; albeit the most successful third world democracy.

Indian Constitution chose Parliamentary form of government over Presidential style to ensure check on authoritarianism and preservation of democracy. Initially during the Congress system (Rajni Kothari) Indian democracy worked well.

Emergency was the darkest hour of democracy in India. The call for committed Judiciary & committed Bureaucracy stifled many civil & fundamental rights of the citizens. But Prof M.P. Singh suggests common ordinary voters have always chosen the best alternative. They have acted better than voters in mature western democracies.

Judiciary's activism on expansion of fundamental rights and Executive actions for welfare has strengthened Indian democracy.

Today 'minimum government, maximum governance' & 'citizen centric governance' are idioms of Indian democracy. Ashutosh Varshney in his book 'Battles Half Won' argues that Indian democracy has performed well in elections but now the battle is to deepen democracy between the elections.

Due to large no. of poor in the country, India is a socialist country as claimed in the preamble (42<sup>nd</sup> Constitutional Amend. Act). Initially poverty alleviation & centralized planning were state-led but with LPG reforms in 1991 India has adopted neo liberal developmental model.

Increasing relative poverty & inequality has led to increase demand for affirmative actions from the state. Mandalization of politics has created significant impact on Indian democracy. Now regional parties dominate

state politics. Satish Deshpande (OBC Premier to Indian Politics) argues reservation and MSP hike have become major political issues as evident from recent Gujjar, Marathas protests.

Yogendra Yadav sees this as democratic upsurge. Dalits have asserted themselves through either cooption (LJP in Bihar), autonomous force (BSP) or radicalism (Bhim Army). Socio-economic inequality has made caste as the central player in Indian democracy.

It is said that ~~the~~ <sup>India</sup> ~~is~~ is still a procedural democracy & even that has flaws like criminalization of politics. Thus we need to reform the system & move towards developmental politics (eg AAP) because through that we can solve socio-economic inequality.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	