



# SHUBHRA RANJAN

Always Ahead

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

## Political Science & International Relations

### Crash Course & Test Series - 2020

#### Test 02

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name MANASA  
Test Date 5.11.2020  
Email Address \_\_\_\_\_  
Mobile \_\_\_\_\_  
UPSC Roll No 5000686 (Passed Prelims)

#### 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						



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	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)

The Prime Minister is the most important office in a parliamentary form of government. The PM is the leader of the ruling party, the real head of the executive, and the leader of the House of Parliament he belongs to.

Hence, in India, the PM acts as the keystone of the Cabinet and Council of Ministers and his duties as a legislator. He also has to maintain the federal relations with the states and international relations with foreign leaders.

The responsibilities and powers of the PM have increased since independence, and India is increasingly



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called as a prime-ministerial government  
This can be seen in the growing role of  
the Prime Minister's Office in policy making,  
since the term of Indira Gandhi.

Hence, the PM has wide and  
varied duties.

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

Que.1(b)

The causes of internal migration

10 Marks.

Internal migration between and within states in India is quite high. This is enabled by Article 19 which allows all citizens to move freely throughout the country.

The causes of internal migration:

① Push factors:

a) poverty, underdevelopment, and regional imbalances in economic growth. For e.g., migrants from Bihar and UP are seen in Punjab and South Indian states.

b) conflict and ethnic clashes. e.g.: Assam violence against Bengalese.

c) climate and environmental refugees:  
e.g. Refugees from Andaman & Nicobar in mainland.



② Pull factors:

a) Jobs, urbanisation, growth of cities:

this causes people to migrate from rural to urban areas. Sectoral specialisation such as Bengaluru in IT sector draws IT professionals from entire India.

b) better services and social security.

This has increased migration from North to South India.

Thus, migration within India is high.

It can lead to ethnic clashes but it can also foster the sense of nationalism in respecting diversity.

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

Que.1(c)

Economic reforms and working class

10 Marks.

Unlike in communist countries where economic reforms were achieved through violent revolution, in India, the state has led economic reforms through democratic means.

Being a socialist country, India implemented land reforms and industrial reforms in accordance with Article 38 of the Constitution.

In the 1990s, the New Economic Policy brought about liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation. It opened up the country to the private sector and foreign capital.

These reforms have boosted GDP and created employment especially in the service sector.

However, some scholars argue that while the reforms have increased the opportunities for working class, they have also resulted in increased exploitation of workers. This can be seen in the weakening of labour protection laws during pandemic.

Hence, economic reforms must be followed with labour protection. The recent codification of labour laws into 4 codes can be a good start.

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





Que.1(d)

Language and politics in India.

10 Marks.

Language has played a major role in Indian politics. According to James Manor, language is included in the term ethnicity in India.

Language is politicised for mobilisation of masses. This is seen even before independence in the issue of Hindustani vs. ~~Urdu~~ <sup>Urdu</sup> in the United Provinces.

After independence, the issue of official language created tensions. South Indian states were apprehensive of Hindi imposition whereas North Indian states argued that English cannot be the language of national integration as it is restricted to the elites.



In later years, we have seen language become the basis for reorganisation of states in 1956. In the field of education, despite the 3-language formula, there are still tensions between Southern states and Northern states.

Language is a highly emotional issue and can easily lead to riots as seen in Assam. However, in recent times, its role in politics seems to be decreasing with the increasing role of religion.

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



Que. 1(e)

Role of civil society in Indian democracy.

10 Marks

The role of civil society in democracies began to be studied after the behavioral revolution in political science.

~~The~~ Civil society includes the intermediate layer between the family and the state such as educational institutions, temples and Churches, media and so on.

In India, the civil society plays the following role:

a) it raises awareness of the public.

☛ The media is called the fourth pillar of democracy.

b) it strengthens rights by organising and mobilising the public. E.g: MKSS helped achieve RTI.



c) Pressure groups of farmers, corporations, students, etc:- lobby for their interests and try to influence public policy.

d) holding the elected representatives accountable.

Thus, civil society strengthens democracy. Hannah Arendt has argued that people have to participate in the civic sphere in order to safeguard democracy.

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



Que.2(a)

“Even after 28 years of Panchayati Raj experiment in India, PRIs remains hamstrung and ineffective”. Discuss. Examine the need for the paradigm shift in the model of governance at the grassroot level.

20 Marks

Panchayati Raj in India is an instrument of democratic decentralisation. It is based on Gandhi's idea of swaraj, seeking to empower the common man at the level of the village.

While the first panchayats were implemented in the 1950s, it was only in 1992 that they were given constitutional status under Part IX through the 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment Act.

This created a uniform three tier system of panchayats in all states and provided for regular elections and supportive bodies such as State Election and Finance Commissions.

However, even 28 years after this, panchayats remain hamstrung and ineffective. They are short in funds, functions and functionaries, which results in poor governance at the local level.

Factors making PRIs ineffective:

- a) Structural weaknesses - The 11<sup>th</sup> Schedule contains 29 provisions that states can choose to devolve to the panchayats. Since the distribution of power favours Centre, states are unwilling to part with existing functions.
- b) lack of bureaucratic will - The Manishankar Iyer committee has held that the bureaucracy does not want PRIs to succeed as it will reduce their power.
- c) Lack of demand by public - Since public awareness is low, PRIs do not become an

issue of electoral politics, resulting in poor political will to make them effective.

d) Funds - PRIs mostly depend on state and Centre for funds and are reluctant to collect property tax from their community. The nature of funds devolved is tied to specific schemes.

e) Poor capacity building of members - The members are not aware of their duties and depend on bureaucrats. The infrastructure in buildings is also poor.

These weaknesses result in Panchayats not planning for local development, postponement of elections and intense corruption. Hence, there is a need for a paradigm shift in governance at the grass root level.

- a) The Gram Sabha should be empowered
- b) Funds, functions and capacity building of functionaries is needed.
- c) External audit mechanism and panchayat ombudsman are needed to ensure accountability.
- d) As Punchhi Commission held, State Legislative Councils can represent local governments on the model of Rajya Sabha.

As Mamishankar Iyer Committee held, a bad panchayat is worse than no panchayat. However, during the pandemic we have seen the importance of PRIs when empowered, like in Kerala. Hence, we need civil society awareness and political will to strengthen them.

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





Que.2(b)

Discuss the factors shaping farmer's mobilisation in the post-independence India. Critically analyse the strength and weaknesses of the farmer's movements. 15 Marks

India is primarily an agrarian economy with more than 50% of the labour force in agriculture and allied sectors.

However, the farming sector is in distress even 73 years after independence. There is poor implementation of land reforms, increasing fragmentation of land, debt burden for farmers due to costly inputs after Green revolution, water crisis, and competition from foreign produce after globalisation.

To address these concerns, farmers have formed pressure groups. The factors for their mobilisation are:

a) high farmer distress as stated above.



b) rise of OBCs after Green revolution, with greater presence in legislatures. Their influence on Indian politics has thus increased.

c) growth of awareness about their rights created by civil society organisations. They demand effective rights. For e.g. Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan was instrumental in RTI

d) unequal development, regional imbalances, urbanisation and jobless growth created by globalisation. For example, Shetkari Sangathan talks of "Bharat vs. India".

Thus, farmers are mobilised due to various factors. The strength of farmers movements lies in their numbers and their capacity to bear hardships. For e.g. the recent



Rail Roko in Punjab against the farm bills are disrupting the economy.

Farmers also generate empathy among the media and the public, thus making it hard for the government to repress their movements.

However, these movements also have weaknesses such as caste-based mobilisation, local or regional character and lack of a progressive outlook. There is no effective all-India farmers organisation, and their demands are often subjugated to business groups which are better organised.

Moreover, status quoism can prevent India from joining progressive groupings such as RCEP.

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



Que.2(c)

Compare and contrast the nationalist perspective with the Marxist perspective of the Indian National Movement. 15 Marks

The Indian National Movement is often seen from the nationalist perspective which has become a metanarrative.

Nationalist historians such as Tara Chand and R.C. Majumdar argue that the movement for Independence led by Gandhi was in fact a "national movement" with a national leadership and a national ideology.

Cultural nationalists such as Aurobindo Ghosh gave a bold theory of nationalism, holding that the existence of India as a nation cannot be denied.

The Indian National Congress claimed to be a national party, representing the



interests of all classes. The movement it led hence becomes a national movement.

However, the Marxist perspective offers a challenge to this narrative. Marxists do not believe in the concept of nation. Scholars such as M.N. Roy and R.T. Dutt held the struggle for independence as a bourgeois movement and called Gandhi a bourgeois leader.

They claimed that Congress tried to conciliate the peasants and the landlords and workers and capitalists, thus preventing a revolution. They pointed to legislation passed by Congress ministries in 1937 as being anti-poor.



Some scholars of the Gramscian school such as Ranjit Guha hold that nationalist historians present a blinkered version of history as a spiritual biography of Gandhi.

Hence, Marxists did not believe in the intensions of Congress leaders. Many did not support the national movement.

However, the nationalist perspective cannot be discredited. As Bipan Chandra, himself a Marxist, argued, Gandhi was a mass leader, and he led the most spectacular mass movement in history, the warmth of which is still felt in the present.

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



Que.3(a)

Non-Cooperation Movement has been a turning point in Indian national movement. Elucidate. Critically evaluate the achievements and the failures of the movement. 20 Marks

The Indian national movement consisted of several phases, each growing progressively radical and inclusive.

The Non-Cooperation Movement <sup>(NCM)</sup> of 1920-22 led by Gandhi marked a major shift in the movement.

Earlier strategies of freedom struggle were of two kinds:

a) constitutional, liberal struggle adopted by early nationalists such as Dadabhai Naoroji and Surendranath Banerjee. They believed in the magnanimity of the British and aimed for greater political representation and other reforms through prayers, petitions and protests.



b) militant or extremist methods adopted from the 1900s by Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh. They provided a bold theory of nationalism and strived for direct action through passive resistance.

Gandhi drew on the experiences of these struggles and his own experiences in South Africa to forge a new method of struggle: satyagraha.

Satyagraha implied a spiritual struggle against the evil of colonialism.

Through the NCM, Gandhi was able to inspire the masses spiritually and spread the freedom struggle all over India, believing in the capacity of the masses to participate





During NCM, there was boycott of British cloth, government institutions like schools and churches, relinquishment of state honours, and non-payment of taxes by the peasants.

The unique features of NCM which made it a turning point, and its strengths are:

- a) mobilisation of masses by involving peasantry in rural areas, urban workers and women
- b) insistence on ahimsa or non-violence gave moral force to the movement. It exposed the illegitimacy of the government when it used force on protesters.
- c) combining different purposes into the national struggle. e.g: peasants' tax burden, Khilafat issue, economic distress after World War I.



NCM also had its weaknesses:

- a) inclusion of Khilafat issue increased the role of religion in politics.
- b) the abrupt halting of NCM after the Chauri Chaura incident was criticised by many.

However, Bipan Chandra argues that the purpose behind NCM was to test the capacity of the masses for non-violent struggle. It was not meant to be a prolonged movement as the capacity of the masses was not indefatigable.

Hence, NCM marked a watershed moment in the national struggle. As Bipan Chandra held, it started the "most spectacular mass struggle" in history.

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



Que.3(b)

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

15 Marks

The National Commission of Scheduled Castes (NCSC) was set up as a separate entity in 1992 through the 89<sup>th</sup> Amendment Act, under Article 338 of the Constitution.

Its purpose is to safeguard the rights of Scheduled Castes, to prevent their exploitation and ensure effective implementation of policies for their welfare, as provided in Article 46.

The role of NCSC is to :

- inquire into violation of rights of SCs.
- investigate and monitor such cases
- recommend policies to Union and States for socio-economic development of SCs
- spread awareness on rights of SCs



and laws concerning them such as Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955 and SC/ST Prevention of Atrocities Act.

NCSC has the powers of a civil court and its members have the status of Union ministers in order to empower it.

However, NCSC has often been called a toothless tiger. It has failed to check the exploitation of SCs and ensure their welfare. This is seen in:

- continued violence against SCs.  
e.g. Hathras rape case
- poor socio-economic development
- continuation of untouchability: e.g. Dalit sarpanch not allowed in Tamil Nadu panchayat building.



This ineffective role of NCSC is due to structural weaknesses:

- its recommendations are not binding
- delays in submission of reports by ministries.
- poor independence as members are appointed by the Union govt.
- shortage in funds which leads to poor quality of reports, neglect of research and awareness function.

Moreover, NCSC has often adopted a firefighting approach instead of seeking to empower SCs. Hence, it is right to call it a toothless tiger. However, this can be changed by empowering it with funds and autonomy.

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



Que.3(c)

India's federal experience already has a chequered history, the pandemic has added new stress and strains to it. Comment.

15 Marks

Federalism has been implemented in India to ensure unity without uniformity. In light of diversity and different regional aspirations, India has adopted an asymmetric model of federalism.

Granville Austin has described it as "cooperative federalism" where states depend on the centre for finances and centre depends on states for implementation of policies.

However, the federal experience has a chequered history due to:

- misuse of the post of Governor
- imposition of President's rule
- deploying Union's armed forces without consulting states.



- bifurcating states and revoking statehood without consultation. e.g. Jammu & Kashmir
- poor finances of states, low control on taxes with GST.

Hence, states have several issues with the Centre's actions. This is especially seen when there are different parties in the centre and states.

The recent COVID-19 pandemic has further put a strain on it due to the administrative and economic challenges it brings. For example:

- Due to low GST collections in lockdown, GST compensation to states is delayed and uncertain.
- Labelling of orange and red zones is allegedly being politicised.
- interstate transport and migration is hindered.



- passing of farm bills by the Centre.

Due to the severe nature of the pandemic, the Centre's powers have increased as it alone can provide leadership and plan for lockdown and vaccine strategies. States resent the unilateral lockdowns and the weakening of their powers.

Hence, the structural issues of Indian federalism combined with political struggles and the pandemic pose a severe challenge. We must implement the recommendations of the Sarkaria and Punchhi Commissions to address these issues.

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





Que.5(a)

The role of media in democracy.

10 Marks

The media is known as the "fourth pillar" of democracy. Democracy refers to people-centric governance and media is extremely important to maintain it.

Role played by media:

- a) informing the public about events and raising public awareness.
- b) shaping public opinion through informed debate and analysis.
- c) exposing shortcomings in the government and helping people hold the government accountable.

Thus, media has an instrumental role in empowering the public and providing spaces for holding the government responsible.



However, in recent years, several issues have arisen such as corporatisation of media houses leading to paid news, reduced autonomy of journalists, sensationalism, propaganda and disinformation. These have severe implications for the health of democracy.

Hence, it is essential that freedom of the press and freedom of media are respected. This issue is further complicated with growth of digital and social media. Thus, we must balance freedom of speech and protection against all potential issues.

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



Que.5(b)

Gandhian principles in Indian constitution

10 Marks

The Indian constitution contains a mix of ideologies, one of which is Gandhism.

Gandhian principles have shaped the freedom struggle through emphasis on ahimsa and satyagraha. It is natural that some of them are reflected in the Constitution. They can be seen in:

- a) Directive principles of state policy in Part 4:
  - Article 40 - village panchayats
  - Article 46 - welfare of SCs and STs
  - prohibition of exploitation of milch cattle
  - discouraging alcohol drinking.
- b) Panchayati raj system established by 73<sup>rd</sup> Amendment Act, 1992 - This provides for local self government centered around the village or Gram Sabha.
- c) Article 51: promoting international peace



However, Gandhi's idea of swaraj envisioned self sufficient village republics without excessive control by the centre.

~~While~~ PRT However, the Constitution provided for a strong centre due to the circumstances of the time such as Partition and communal violence, and fear of balkanisation.

Moreover, the PRI system existing today is highly ineffective.

Hence, while Gandhian influences are present in the Constitution, they are not effectively implemented. In light of contemporary challenges such as regional imbalances & growth of left wing extremism, they need to be considered.

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 is a political ideology based on place of birth or region, with strong psychological and cultural dimensions.

India has seen several regional movements such as demands for separate state in Telangana & Vidarbha. Recently several state governments have reserved jobs for locals in private sector.

Different theoretical perspectives on regionalism in India:

a) modernisation theory by Rudolph & Rudolph suggests it is due to the prismatic nature of society.

b) Some scholars suggest it is due to poverty and uneven development.  
eg: North East.

c) Some suggest it is due to affluence  
eg: Punjab.



d) Myron Weiner advocates the "son of soil theory" as seen in Assam Gana Parishad and Shiv Sena

e) Prof. Iqbal Narayan attributes it to politics of opposition.

Regionalism has always been present in India. It has increased with the break-down of the Congress system leading to highly competitive politics. It is also fuelled by globalisation which has raised regional inequalities.

Thus, they are a major part of Indian politics. As the Punchhi Commission stated, they can be handled through democratic decentralisation.

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

Que.5(d)

Interaction of ethnicity and politics in India.

10 Marks

India is described as a prismatic society (Riggs), where the modern state structure still retains traditional aspects such as ethnicity.

James Manor in his book 'Ethnic Politics in India' holds that ethnicity in the Indian context is an inclusive term, meaning race, religion, caste, language, etc:-

In India, politics and pressure groups are non-associational and based on ethnic links. For e.g., there are caste based parties (BSP), religion based parties (BJP, All India Muslim League), and language based parties (TDP).

Voting behaviour is largely defined by ethnicity, most importantly caste, and recently religion.

Several ethnic movements such as the Dravida movement and Naga movement have posed threats to national security.

However, as S.D. Muni suggested, India is so diverse that if people can be united on the basis of one factor like religion, they can also be divided along caste and language.

Most importantly, as the Sarkaria Commission suggests, ethnic movements have overlap with political and economic aspirations. Thus, ethnicity and politics have a complex interaction in India.

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 organisations that perform the role of "interest articulation" without seeking to join electoral politics.

They influence state policies by lobbying, funding, and manipulating public opinion (Robert Hardgrave)

In India, the role of pressure groups was initially weak due to the domination of Congress. After the LPG reforms of 1990s, the role has increased.

With liberalisation and globalisation, business groups gained prominence. Hence, pressure groups such as FICCI and ASSOCHAM have increased their influence on state policies.



Moreover, LPG reforms have brought regional inequalities, farmer distress and environmental degradation. This has given rise to new types of pressure groups seeking to organise the marginalised. e.g. Bharatiya Kisan Shakti Sanghatan, People for Planet.

Moreover, globalisation has increased the role of foreign organisations such as Greenpeace, Amnesty International, and increased foreign funding to parties.

Thus, pressure groups have risen and diversified in the post-liberal era.

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

The idea of secularism is Western in origin. It represents separation between the state and religion.

However, in India, there is no strict separation since India is a diverse country where religion is a way of life.

The Indian model of secularism is described as "principled distance" by Rajeev Bhargava. In India, there is freedom of religion as seen in Article 25 of the Constitution. But this is subject to reasonable restrictions of public order, health and other fundamental rights.

The state can intervene in religious affairs on these grounds in order to remove outdated practices and establish equality.

However, this model has resulted in a perplexing state of secularism in India as:

a) State intervention in different religious communities is unequal. Scholars like Neera Chandoke suggest that this model itself gives rise to fear of appeasement of certain communities. L.K. Advani has thus termed state policies as "pseudo-secular"

b) Increasing role of religion in politics since there is no strict separation. For e.g.; West Bengal govt gives some funds for Durga Puja. This leads to communal politics and can end in riots.



Recent controversies related to secularism are:

- a) Ramjanmabhoomi issue - The Supreme Court judgement is seen to favour Hindus
- b) increasing cow vigilantism
- c) debate about Uniform Civil Code and codifying Muslim personal laws.
- d) Court intervention and judgements in Sabarimala issue and Triple Talaq.
- e) Citizenship Amendment Act is accused of discrimination on the basis of religion.

Hence, the issue of whether India is truly secular is deeply contested.

There is also a question of whether secularism is suitable for India.

T.N. Madan suggests it is not as religion is a part and parcel of life in India.

Ashis Nandy holds secularism as a Western

obsession.

However, despite these controversies and certain shortcomings, the secular commitment of India must be appreciated compared to theocratic states like Pakistan.

Moreover, the Indian model of secularism allows for multiculturalism. Western countries such as France are also struggling with their model of secularism. These countries can learn how to manage diversity within a democratic setup from the Indian model.

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

Sarkaria Commission called the Governor the ~~key~~ linchpin of state apparatus. He is the constitutional head of the state under Article 153.

The Governor is also a bridge between the Centre and the States. He communicates the state's vision to the centre and ensures state government is run according to the Constitution.

However, the post of Governor has long been controversial. When the parties at Centre and State differ, the Governor can become the “long arm” of the Centre. Recent actions such as the Karnataka Governor dismissing the JD(S)-Congress

government and the Arunachal Governor postponing the Assembly session in 2015 have raised a debate.

Structural issues with the office of Governor:

- a) System of appointment - He is appointed by the President. Sarkaria Commission has suggested mandatory consultation with state government.
- b) System of removal - He serves at the pleasure of the President. This reduces his independence and he can become an instrument of the ruling party at Centre. Punchhi Commission has recommended making it a fixed post of 5 years and allowing impeachment by state legislature like under Article 61.
- c) Vast and ambiguous discretionary power. The Governor can decide what comes under his discretion. This has been misused



several times to recommend President's Rule and reserve state bills for President.

Moreover, the necessity of a Governor is also questioned as it often becomes a post-retirement office for politicians and bureaucrats and raises expenditure.

Hence, the role of Governor is widely debated. The Sarkaria and Punchhi Commissions while suggesting reforms have not advocated any drastic change.

Thus, the Governors have immense power and must act with constitutional morality. As Soli Sorabjee held, they can be a sage or a saboteur.

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

Since India became a democracy in 1952, there has been a continuous evolution in its nature.

The first years after independence provided major reforms such as universal adult suffrage, land reforms, all aimed at empowering the masses, which is an essential hall mark of democracy.

Yogendra Yadav speaks of two democratic upsurges one in the 1960s when OBCs left Congress and formed their own parties and one in 1980s when Dalits formed parties.

The profile of legislators ~~is~~ has also evolved, with lawyers dominating the first Parliament and now agriculturalists

dominating it.

The democratic character of India received a blemish with the Emergency and the excesses committed by the bureaucracy. However, elections being called in 1977 show that the democratic nature of India cannot be questioned.

In recent years, with the breakdown of the Congress system and rise of coalition politics, Indian democracy has grown more representative.

However, with the growth of religion in politics, scholars like Christophe Jaffrelot argue that India is becoming a majoritarian democracy.

Socio-economic inequality has a major role in shaping democracy.



Many movements such as the J.P. Movement, Naxal movement and farmers movements all aim to fight this inequality. However, while some aim to strengthen democracy by forming parties, others aim to weaken democracy like the JP and Naxal movements.

In India, despite being a democracy for 73 years, hunger and poverty still exist. The COVID crisis has accelerated these inequalities. This puts a question on the true empowerment of masses that is needed to make democracy substantive. However, India has progressed a long way and can address these issues in the future.

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