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कृप्या इस स्थान
में प्रश्न संख्या के
अंतरिक्ष कुछ
न लिखें।

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Name :- SRIKSHTI DABAS

Test Date :- 24 JUNE 2023

UPSC Roll No:- 0501579

PSIR TEST 2.

(7:30 - 10:30 pm)

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Ques 1 a)

Peasant movements in 18th & 19th centuries of British colonial period had the sole purpose of restoring earlier forms of rule and social relations. Comment. (10 m)

The peasant movements of the 18th and 19th century represent the subaltern response to the British policies of land revenue (Zamindari, Ryotwari, Mahalwari systems), excessive commercialization of agriculture and oppressive landlords.

It is however, argued by scholars like Gyandendra Pandey that

Pandey that

such movements were sporadic

and limited in spread and purpose.

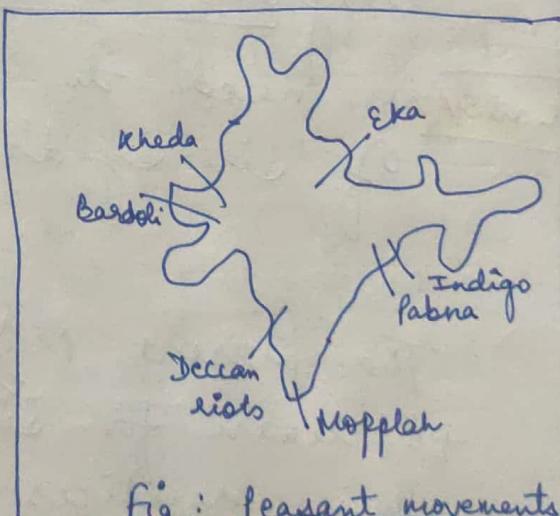


Fig: Peasant movements

The purpose of the peasant revolts was not to oust British from India but only to get concessions in land revenue.

For instance, the Champaran Satyagraha had the limited objective of getting compensation for indigo cultivation. Similarly, the later movements like Telbhaga and Telangana were also narrowly aimed.

However, it would be unjust to neglect the impact of the peasant movements on the pretext of their objective - Certainly they were a precursor to the future mass struggles for freedom as peasants participated actively in NCM, CDM.

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① b)

Compare the Nehruvian and Gandhian models
of development. (10 m)

There has been a debate around
which development model to adopt -
Nehruvian or Gandhian - due to
the difference in their focus and
approach.

Nehruvian model focussed on growth
of capital industries as he believed
that capital investment would have
multiplier impact on consumer goods
also. However, Gandhian model
believed in "production by masses"
rather than mass production.

Nehru wanted to invest in industries
like iron and steel, fertilizer,
chemicals, etc. but Gandhi

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favoured 'cottage industries'. Gandhi
emphasised on use of kharkha
and khadi.

Nehru believed in the necessity of
'capitalist' economy, along with
foreign investments (e.g. Germany did for
Rourkela plant) but Gandhi wanted
self sufficient village economy.

Despite the numerous differences in
their models, we can find certain
similarities like — both wanted abolition
of social evils like untouchability
(hence article 17), freedom of religion
(article 25-28), rule of law. With
regards, economic model, a Golden
Mean (middle path) was adopted and
panchayats and cottage industry were
kept in article 40 as DPSP.

① c)

Success of democratic politics depends upon the kind & quality of citizens. Explain.

(10m)

"Democracy is for the people,
of the people, by the people."

— Abraham Lincoln

It is rightly said a society and subsequently the polity of a nation will be shaped by its citizens.

Citizens actively participate in governance related matters through grassroot democracy - institutions of Gram Sabha and Panchayati Raj. They try to resolve day to day challenges and come up with innovative solutions eg: Hivare Bazar model.

Further, citizens shape democratic values through social movements

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to keep the government accountable.
The 'India against corruption' movement
was led by people, the RTI became
a reality due to people's efforts and
farm laws were also repealed due
to people's protest.

Citizens involvement is necessary
for Human rights protection (eg:
right to privacy), environmental
preservation (chipko movement) as
well as upliftment of the downtrodden
which leads to 'social Justice'.

(eg: rights of acid victims or
manual scavengers).

For the success of democratic politics,
we must ensure that citizens are
well informed, educated and inclusive
to ensure transformation and
sustainable development.

Q d)

Critically examine legacy of British rule in India

(10 m)

Bipin Chandra said that post independence, we did not break apart from the old, rather there was transformation and transfer from old to the new.

Legacy for the Better

Politically, India inherited the parliamentary form of government, bicameralism, rule of law, division of subjects, etc from GoI Act 1935.

India also carried forward the administrative set up of bureaucracy, laws like ITC, CPC. In the social arena, India owes abolition of social evils like Sati from the British. The modern education system is also continuation

of Wood's Despatch legacy.

Economically, India took the growth of infrastructure like railways, posts and telegraph from the British.

Negative Legacy

However, certain negative aspects of the legacy also remain. Politically and legally, oppressive laws like sedition, preventive detention still remain.

Economically, the ruin of agriculture with its commercialization owes to the British. Socially, evil of communalism is gift of British Divide and Rule policy.

Rabindranath Tagore even said - "British will leave behind so much filth that it will take years for Indians to clean it."

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Q e)

The right to privacy is protected as an intrinsic part of right to life & personal liberty. Commat (10 m)

The recent Puttaswamy judgement of Supreme Court conferred the right to privacy to citizens of India as part of article 21, i.e. Right to life and Personal liberty.

Supreme Court also mentioned that government needs to follow the 'proportionality test' if it invades privacy of citizens due to certain circumstances.

for instance, aadhar data can be used by government to provide welfare schemes but not to sell it to private companies.

The right to privacy, in today's world,

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is all the more important, given
the rising cyber espionage and
attacks against political activists,
journalists, opposition.

The right to privacy also includes
right to bodily autonomy of women
who wish to abort and thus their
'confidentiality' needs to be maintained.

The provision of 'end to end encryption'
on WhatsApp is a great example
of ensuring right to privacy. It is
the need of the hour to come up
with 'Data Protection Act' as well as
'Data Localization Act' to truly
ensure privacy of people.

Ques ③

a) In India, though political decentralization has been successfully achieved through the establishment of local government bodies, actual transfer of functions, finances and functionaries to these institutions remains incomplete. Critically analyse.

(20m)

The political decentralization was achieved through the 73rd and 74th Constitutional amendment acts, 1992 which inserted part IX and IX A to establish Janayat Raj Institutions (JRIs) and Urban Local Bodies (ULBs)

Various institutions were established to give effect to the 'political decentralization' like -

- a) Gram Sabha
- b) State Finance Commission
- c) State Election Commission
- d) District Planning authority
- e) Ward committees.

Incomplete Transfer

However, this was not the true decentralization. As GVK Rao Committee said :-

"We have Grass without roots,
rather than grassroot democracy."

This was due to lack of actual transfer of :-

① **Funds** - PRIs and ULBs hardly have 5% of own funds, rest 95% they get from central and State government, of which most are tied grants. Economic survey mentioned issue of 'Low Equilibrium Trap'.

② **functions** - The state governments have on an average

devolved 8/18 functions to PRIs.

Parastatal organizations further encroach upon the functions of PRIs and ULBs. SHGs have also taken up some roles.

③ **functionaries** - There is no specialized cadre for local governments. 25% offices of Panchayat Secretary are also vacant. There is lack of skilling and capacity building.

④ **functionalities** - Besides the above 3 Fs, there are issues like -

- presence of Sarpanch latis.
- lack of technology adoption.
- representation but no involvement of Dalit members.

- d) 'Decentralization of corruption.'
- e) Baapanch Raj.

As has been said that 73rd & 74th amendment were 'half baked cake' as the blood and flesh to be filled by state governments remained empty.

Given all the challenges, it is the need of the hour to bring reforms like

- a) Municipal bonds for finances
- b) Panchayat Ombudsman
- c) Code of conduct for panchayat and ULB members.
- d) empowering State Finance and Election Commission.
- e) Panchayat / Municipal Performance Index.

As Mani Shanker Committee said - "Bad Panchayati^{Raj} is worse than no Panchayat Raj" We need to work together to not let this come true.

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③ b)

Discuss the role of Supreme Court as final
interpreter of Indian constitution.

(15m)

Jawaharlal Nehru said - "The
judiciary will not be silent
spectator in India's growth,
it will rather be instrumental in
bringing social revolution."

It applies so aptly to Supreme
Court of India. It has fulfilled
many roles of - protector of the
Constitution, protector of fundamental
rights of citizens, guardian
of Rule of Law and final court
of appeal

All this cumulatively boils down
to 'final Interpreter of Indian
constitution.'

Whenever any dispute arises - for instance between fundamental rights and DPSPs - the case goes to the Supreme Court; where it was decided that Basic Structure of the Constitution can't be changed.
(Kesavanda Bharti case, 1973)

Subsequent judgements expanded what all comes under Basic Structure - Federalism, Socialist, Secular, Parliamentary form of Government, etc.

Some of the recent judgements which show SC as Interpreter of Constitution include -

① Sabarimala judgement - The court upheld 'right to Equality' of women and meaning of 'secularism' - as a positive value rather than restrictive.

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② Puttaswamy judgement — the court expanded Right to life to include Right to privacy.
(art 21)

③ Abortion laws — Recently the court emphasised on Right to Bodily autonomy and Right to Dignity of women (including unmarried)

④ Right to Internet — was included in Right to Freedom of Speech and Expression (art 19)

However, despite the positive role of SC, there are instances of Judicial Overreach (Judicial Adventurism) which Bratap

Bhavu Mehta calls as crisis of credibility and legitimacy. Therefore, as KJI DY Chandrachud says — "Supreme Court needs to adhere to LAKSHMAN REKHA."

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③ c)

Give an assessment of role of Election Commission (15m)
of India in conduct of free & fair elections in India.

The Election Commission ^(EC) of India is established and given powers under article 324 of constitution. It is responsible for the timely conduct, supervision of free and fair elections.

Role.

The Election Commission performs following functions -

- 1) prepares electoral rolls.
- 2) enforces model code of conduct.
- 3) registers political parties and allots symbols.
- 4) advises government and president regarding conduct of elections.
- 5) appoints officers to conduct elections.

6) adjudicates election disputes
(quasi-judicial power)

Success

The ECI has been successful in conduct of free and fair elections as it keeps a check on the criminal educational and property / assets of the candidates. It ensures that political parties also display information on criminal candidates on their website (as per Supreme Court orders).

The EC has ensured that there is no booth capturing, no disruptions during election campaigns, no misuse of government machinery, no incitement of communal feelings— all on the basis of Model Code of Conduct.

Roadblocks

However, the assessment shows that ECI faces challenges like -

- no power to deregister political parties
- no legally enforced Model Code of Conduct
- criminalization of politics -
43% criminals in 16th Lok Sabha
- use of money and muscle power
- despite cap on expenditure during elections.
- political interference in functioning

Hence, to overcome all these challenges, there is need to have Code of ethics for political parties (2nd ARC).

The ECI needs to be empower to deregister political parties. Then only can "ballot truly become powerful than bullet."

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Ques ④

a) Being an instrument of power sharing, both federalism & coalition government, should be complementary to each other. Analyse statement in Indian political context.

(20m)

(Ans 1)

India, ie. Bharat is a Union of States which reflects the 'Coming together' model of federalism. Even the federal structure and rise in regional parties, emerged the coalition culture — both mutually reinforcing each other.

Complementary

On one hand, federalism ensures that there are checks and balances and no concentration of power in Union government. The legislative division of subjects between centre and states, administrative division of functions

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and financial powers' allocations-
all add to spirit of 'cooperative
federalism'. (Granville Austin)

On the other hand, a healthy
coalition culture brings together
different political parties to act
in concert and arrive at a
consensus on common principles
of governance.

E Shridharan has highlighted the
the rise of coalition governments
amidst federal set up — with
the coming of emergency in 1975,
consciousness among people,
demands for more representation
by backward classes. The
formation of mahagathbandhas
also reflects the positive correlations
among political parties.

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Clashes and conflicts

However, not all is so smooth. These coalitions formed lack any ideological coherence and common grounds (Bipin Bidyut Chakrabarty)

Even on the front of federalism, there are clashes between centre and States leading to Asymmetrical federalism. Examples include misuse of discretionarily powers by Governors and dismissal of government at state level; imposition of President rule, deployment of cbi and most striking financial centralisation.

All these concerns should be seen together influencing the

foundations of Indian democracy.
Both federalism and coalitions
are the means to give voice
to the sub national identities
to be able to have their role
in nation's growth trajectory.

The most controversial episode
of politics in Maharashtra of
flipping governments, coalitions
along with role of Governor -
reflects influence of 'Distorted
federalism' on 'Opportunist coalition'

Hence, what we need are healthy
coalitions and cooperative,
converging, consensus based,
coordinating federalism.

④ b)

Explain with suitable examples, how pressure groups have been influencing public policy making in India.

(15m)

Pressure groups are the 'invisible empires', group of voluntary associations of people coming together to influence government policies and put forth their demands.

Various methods are adopted by pressure groups such as -

a) strikes and hartals

eg) farmers protested against farm laws.

b) ways of PIL

eg) Association of democratic reforms brought electoral reforms through judiciary.

c) Campaigning

eg) women right activists

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Influence public policymaking

Pressure groups greatly influence the policies. They provide inputs and also act as feedback mechanism (System's Theory). For instance, MKSS led the reforms to adopt Right to Information Act.

Pressure groups are called as "Legislations behind Legislations".

They influence the foreign policy also - for instance, dairy farmers' lobbies led India not to join RCEP.

Further, they are medium to ensure governments' accountability by keeping a check on corruption. For instance, ADR and PUCL are forerunners.

Also, social justice is ensured through the acts of pressure groups like those for women rights (right against domestic violence), backward classes (migrants rights during covid).

Rajni Kothari has aptly called pressure groups as 'agents of modernization' and 'reservoirs of leadership'. For example, Takait led the farmers' movement.

Despite the numerous positive influences, we need to be cautious of the disruptive impacts of pressure groups like - delayed projects (vizhingam port), destruction of public property (protest against Agniveer scheme) and influence of foreign anti-national elements (terrorist funding) -

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④ c)

'Caste politics does not undermine development'.
critically analyse.

(15m)

Caste has been called as the "mosaic
of Indian society" by Christophe
Jaffrelot. It is true that caste
identities have been intact since
vedic ages.

When it comes to caste politics,
there is an ongoing debate about
its impacts. Scholars like
Rajni Kothari argue that caste
politics does not undermine
development.

Rajni argues that caste leads to
the feeling of consciousness -
a sense of identity of belonging
which boosts confidence.

Caste also leads to 'Integration' as seen through the coming together of castes to form groups like AJGAR (Adivasi, Jats, Gujjars and Rajputs).

The need to come to power through coalitions and mahagathbandhan has necessitated better coordination, cooperation and collaboration among different castes.

This consensus building ability of different groups leads to development prospects, equity, pluralism, diversity — all hallmarks of Indian democracy. This, thus, aids development rather than undermine it.

However, it is a very one sided view. As Yogendra Yadav says that there has been casteism in politics as well as politicization of castes.

The 'reservation' demands by Jats, Marathas, Gujjars have further politicised caste for the sake of vote bank politics — which has led to divisions and divide, thereby undermining development e.g.:— presence of Khap Panchayats.

Hence, there is a tight ropewalk between 'caste as a sense of identity' and 'caste as a tool for differences'. We need to remember that castes do add to diversity, along with ensuring that their divisive tendencies are reduced.

Ques 5 a)

Comment on land reforms in India.

(10 m)

"The land reforms were aimed
at giving land to the tiller"

Indian agriculture faced challenges
like fragmentation of land holdings
(average size = 1.08 hectare) and
majority of small and marginal farmers
(86%). -

To overcome these, land reforms
were undertaken beginning from post
Independence (top down reforms)
which included -

- Abolition of Zamindars.
- Tenancy rights - right to
security and fair rent.
- Consolidation of land.
- Land Ceiling

These reforms, on one hand, provided tenants of some security, tried to resolve issue of land fragmentation and put a cap on land holdings, but it also led to benami transactions, increase in land disputes, artificial division of land (even by divorcing wife)

Thus, came the second wave of land reforms — bottom up approach- BHOODAN and GRAMDAN movement which was people's movement.

In recent times also there are some land reforms in pipeline like:

- digitization of land records — SWAMITVA scheme
- conclusive land titling
- land leasing reforms.

All these together aim to protect farmers and make agriculture productive.

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③ b)

Critically examine relevance of Marxist
perspective on nationalist movement.

(10m)

R.C. Leadhan calls interpretation of Indian
national movement as six blind men
trying to describe an elephant.

Marxist approach is also one of those.
It arose as a counter hegemonic
approach to nationalist perspective.
It was inspired from the Russian
Revolution and influence of Marx.

The Marxist perspective believed in
the antagonism between Indians
and British. There was a class
struggle due to capitalist nature
of British rule. Hence, it went
against the 'nationalist-liberal's' idea
of British rule as boon in
disguise.

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Prominent thinkers include—

M.N. Roy who believed in radical
humanism and cosmopolitanism,
E.M.S. Nambooripad who called
Gandhi's limited movement as
subservient to bourgeoisie interest.

Further, A.R. Desai also held the
view that Indian National Congress
was a bourgeoisie party and Gandhi
a bourgeoisie leader. Thus, they
tried to present an alternative
perspective to nationalist movement.

However, Sumit Sarkar has warned
the marxist scholars that INC
was not consciously and deliberately
against the masses. Bipin Chandra
has also presented similar view by
calling Gandhian movement as most
spectacular of all times.

⑤ c)

Radical humanism refers primarily to a system of thought, which focuses on autonomy of individual. Discuss. (10 m)

Radical humanism was the idea put forth by M-N. Roy - the founding member of Communist Party of India.

M-N. Roy in his 'New Humanism' has given the idea of radical humanism — which places the individual at the centre. He refers to social morality through rational thinking / reason over passions / religion.

M-N. Roy's Radical Humanism by focussing on 'autonomy of individual', gives the idea of cosmopolitan Universalism.

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M.N. Roy, thus, does not believe in the idea of nation and rather puts forth 'proletariat internationalism' (on lines of Marx.)

Radical humanism focusses on rights of individuals — including compulsory education, rights of minorities, right to freedom, rule of law, etc.

However, Sudipto Kaviraj has criticised M.N. Roy and his radical humanism as 'miserably failed' because of lack of consistency. MN Roy started as a Marxist but ended up as radical humanist.

Still, we should not neglect the significance of radical humanism in today's era — focusing on individual's growth

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⑤ d)

Comment on Fundamental Duties in Constitution
of India.

(10m)

Fundamental Duties are incorporated
in part IV A of Indian constitution
on recommendations of Swaran Singh
Committee.

These are influenced by Irish
constitution and Directives mentioned
in GoI Act 1935. The fundamental
duties aim to remind citizens
that -

" Rights and duties co-exist
and are mutually reinforcing."

The duties want citizens to abide
by constitution, develop scientific
temper, protect environment,
preserve dignity of women, promote
education, ideals of freedom
struggle, etc

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Thus, the fundamental duties are very much a part of governance (eg: Insult to National Flag act), self development (through scientific temper and entrepreneurship) and social justice (dignity of women).

However, they have been criticised on aspects like—

- ambiguity — lack of clarity on meaning of terms
eg: scientific temper.
- non provision for implementation — remain words merely.
- randomly placed — no structure.

Despite the criticism, it must be noted that they are termed as 'Fundamental' just like the rights and hence we must abide by them as responsible citizens (NCWRC).

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⑤ c)

Explain uniqueness of Indian model of secularism

(6m)

The Indian model of secularism
is a special model - different
from the neutrality and complete
separation of western model
(on lines of Machiavelli's separation
of politics and ethics)

Indian model instead focusses on
'principled distance' (P.B. Mehta)
where the state is not indifferent
to religion and can interfere if
needed.

eg: Triple Talaq case.

It incorporates the ideas of:

- Nehru's Panth Nirpeksha
- Gandhi's Sarva Dharma Samabhav
- Ambedkar's minority rights.

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→ Depending on the circumstances,
the state acts — but neither favours
nor discriminates on the basis of
religion.

eg: had to intervene in Hijab
controversy.

Because of this, it has been criticised
for its 'asymmetrical model' as it
leads to appeasement of minorities
(Ashis Nandy).

There is thus a call for Uniform
Civil Code as well — which requires
greater dialogue among communities.

There is a need to deeply delve
in the meaning of India's model
of secularism — a resemblance
to Akkai's and Ashoka's ideals.

Ques 6(a)

Grassroots environmental movements following
Gandhian non violent tradition (differ) from the
ones in West in that they are concerned both
with environmental preservation & issues of
economic equity & social justice. Examine

(20m)

The Indian environmental movements
are a trinity of — ecological
protection, economic equity and
social justice — thus been wider
and dynamic in scope.

Different from the West

The environmental movements of
India are called as Empty Stomach
while those of West as known as
'full stomach' by Ramachandra Guha

This is so because, in West,
the movements aim for a
clean, protected ecology because

of their concerns for the 'Mother Nature'. However, in India, the concern is livelihood of the people which is closely linked to the environment.

Let us understand through examples.

The Narmada Bachao Andolan was against the dam construction on river Narmada because it would lead to displacement of tribals and challenges of their rehabilitation will spring up.

The fight by tribals of Niyamgiri hills against Bauxite mining were because of the negative impacts of mining on children, women, aged health apart from the ecological damage.

The methods also differ — the Western movements use the post modern tools of social media campaigning, while Indians still use the traditional way of protesting, dharnas and 'arshans'

Gandhian non violent tradition

We see that Indian ecological movements are peaceful and non-violent based on Gandhi's ahimsa and satya.

The Chipko movement is a prime example. Women hugged the trees to protect them and gave up their lives (Amrita Devi). They strongly believed:

"Hug the trees and they will embrace you back."

This non-violence was also linked to economic equity - by utilizing products and services from trees without causing undue harm to them, which is happening at present due to rapid Industrialization, modernization and globalization.

"polluted skies, dirty rivers,
heaps of waste, dying trees
— is all we have earned after
75 years of independence."
— R.C. Guha

As is rightly pointed out, the fast growing world is destroying nature. We need new social movements and voice of the voiceless (nature) as seen in recent events of — protests against Vizhingam port, save the aravallis campaign.

⑥ b)

Comment on the emergence of Backward classes in Indian politics.

(15 m)

The roots of 'Backward class' involvement in Indian politics goes back to Ambedkar as the beacon of dalits rights. It was the Poona Pact which began representation to backward classes (after the communal awards)

Coming to post Independence India, the Constitution provided for Reservations to socially and economically backward classes (art 15 and 16) as a means of positive discrimination / affirmative action.

However, this reservation on paper did not reflect in the

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political empowerment of the
backwards. Then, happened Two
Waves of Democratization (Yogendra
Yadav)

- ① 1st wave - entry of OBCs (1960s)
- ② 2nd wave - entry of Dalits
(1980s)

as distinct from the congress
umbrella.

These classes thus started asserting
themselves through participation,
rise of coalitions, rise of
regional parties and numerous
demands for better socio-eco
development.

Kanshi Ram's efforts (Bahujan
Samaj Party) and subsequent
formations of Mahagathbandhan
all reflect ways of assertion
of backward classes in politics.

After 1991 economic reforms, and era of globalization, the influence and role of backward classes have also transformed. Changing nature of class and caste dynamics have shifted focus on 'Vikas' over identity. (Arvind Panagaria).

The recent EWS reservation has led to demands from backward classes to get share in the same as it goes against right to equality.

Despite all these political dynamics, what is important to notice is that socially still backward classes face challenges. A point in case is the Hathras rape which shows that more mobilization, awareness and inclusive democracy is needed.

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⑥ c)

According to Report of 2nd ALC, North East represents a state of stable anarchy. Discuss the politics of ethnicity in North Eastern India.

(15m)

"Regionalism is the long term agenda while nationalism is in sidelines."

— Christophe Jaffrelot

Jeffrelot emphasises on the prevalence of regionalism as defining element of politics. Ethnicity plays a major role in politics, especially in North East India.

Given the geographical distance, cultural dissimilarities, linguistic barriers and different ways of life, North Eastern India dynamics have unfolded distinctively.

There are demands of autonomy and secession both. People want autonomy to be able to preserve their unique cultural identity.

J. Nehru had also emphasised on accommodation of North East rather than their assimilation.

When 2nd ARC calls North State a stable anarchy, it refers to the successful efforts of the Centre to protect sovereignty of the nation. The secessionist tendencies are controlled through negotiation, deliberation and communication.

for instance, the Naga insurgent groups create havoc which are then pacified by Union.

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Recently, the Namsai Agreement or Declaration — was signed between Arunachal Pradesh and Assam, resolving the border disputes and establishing peace.

The rising demands from kukis, Garos, khasis, Meitis, Taitias — along reflect that citizens are more aware and more dialogue oriented. This helps bring true democracy (Hannah Arendt)

To control and handle the politics of ethnicity in North East India, we need to adopt the SALAD BOWL model instead of the melting pot to convey that their identity and culture will not be hampered.