



# SHUBHRA RANJAN

Always Ahead

25, Pusa Road, Karol Bagh, Delhi 110005. ☎ 011 45612719

## Political Science & International Relations

### Crash Course & Test Series - 2023

#### Test 2

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name PRIYANKA CHOUDHARY  
Test Date 27 July 2023  
Email Address \_\_\_\_\_  
UPSC Roll No ~~1702507~~ 1702507

#### 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 |   |   |   |   |   |       |

For any issue related to PSIR Test Series, write **only** at  
[psirtestseries@shubhrranjan.com](mailto:psirtestseries@shubhrranjan.com)



# SHUBHRA RANJAN

Always Ahead

25, 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,

All the best for next test...!!!



Que.1 (a)

Peasant Movements in the 18th and 19th centuries of the British Colonial Period had the sole purpose of restoring the earlier forms of rule and social relations. Comment. (10 Marks)

Peasant movements had been seen in British colonial period in different phases. The 18th & 19th century movements form phase 1, where they happened independent of Congress & Gandhian leadership.

These movements were sporadic, localised and considered as having limited goals that were traditional in nature. It is said they were against local oppressors such as zamindars or money lenders & for restoring earlier forms of practices, relations. They wanted to abolish the land revenue settlements, cash nexus that engulfed these peasants.



**SHUBHRA RANJAN**

Always Ahead

25, Pusa Road, Karol Bagh, Delhi 110005. ☎ 011 45612719

Some of these movements were Indigo revolt and Deccan riots. These even resulted in passing of tenancy act after Pabna revolt.

However, considering they had no understanding of colonialism & were regressive, backward-looking is incorrect. They were against British too as in Indigo & demanded a new system of rights & reforms such as related to tenancy.

They even incorporated themselves in legal machinery in Pabna revolt, showing acceptance to rule-based order.

These revolts as held by subaltern scholars Ranjit Guha & Gyan Pandey were "autonomous" & in 20th century led their battle against British.



Que.1(b)

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

The British left a legacy of mass poverty, deindustrialisation, ruined agriculture and reduced our contribution to world economy from 25% in 1800 to 3% in 1947 (Shashi Thakur).

The revival of economy, accompanied with social development needed careful methodology & planning. In this, we had a divergent views.

Gandhian model of development was based on his ideals of swaraj and ahimsa. It revolved around self-sufficient village republics. He proposed 'democratic decentralisation', along with chaukha economy. He believed



**SHUBHRA RANJAN**

Always Ahead

25, Pusa Road, Karol Bagh, Delhi 110005. ☎ 011 45612719

that rather than mass production there should be 'production by masses'. Thus, Gandhi opposed machines & factory led industrialisation.

Nehruvian model of development was to make bureaucracy "vanguard" of development. Nehru-Mahalanobis model was Nehru's model - based on state-led industrialisation especially in heavy sectors such as iron & steel, power.

But, this model faced issues of license-quota-rat, "hindi" growth rate. It led to crisis, after which we adopted new economic policy of 1991 reforms in 1991.

With entitlement-based welfare policies, along with capitalist economy market, we have "new welfareism" model of development today.



Que.1(c)

Success of democratic politics depends upon the kind and quality of citizens. Explain. (10 Marks)

It is well known that there is no better model of "good governance" than democracy. "Indian exceptionalism" was when we made trust with destiny & chose democracy as our model.

Preamble states that nature of Indian state is a 'democratic polity'. This democracy is 'representative' owing to large & diverse nature of state.

However, the success of democratic polity depends on kind & quality of citizens.

India's representative democracy faces crisis today in form of criminalisation of politics, deinstitutionalisation of Parliament (Bajji Kethari). &



**SHUBHRA RANJAN**

Always Ahead

25, Pusa Road, Karol Bagh, Delhi 110005. ☎ 011 45612719

It can be attributed to uninformed & passive citizenry, that is swayed by muscle & money power.

India with 73rd & 74th amendment act, chose to go for 'grass root democracy'. However, there is decentralisation of 'corruption', Laxman Ray and begus gram sabha meeting (Mamishankar Iyer committee).

Democracy involves participation of people. It cannot be run until people are active & conscious. As Plato said "state is individual writ large".

Thus, Indian state must ensure capacity building of citizens, morality penetration for truly democratic polity. Only then can we achieve our "silent social revolution" (Gramscian Austin).



Que.1(d)

Critically examine the legacy of the British rule in India. (10 Marks)

"I am sure British will leave India one day, but I am also sure that they'll leave so much of dirt, generations of Indians won't be able to clean"

— Rabindranath Tagore

India like all post-colonial states suffers from a legacy of British rule. For Pratap B. Mehta it is because India didn't go for 'complete revolution' as in China but only change in political leadership.

The legacy of rule is seen in varied dimensions. Legally, our constitution is inspired from Govt Act, 1935. So, our criminal justice system, office of Governor are rule's legacy.



**SHUBHRA RANJAN**

Always Ahead

25, Pusa Road, Karol Bagh, Delhi 110005. ☎ 011 45612719

We see continuance of Macaulay's leavening educational system, which is the worst legacy.

Even the foreign policy of India is affected by our past. Our treaty with 'Nepal' is reformed version of earlier treaty, & thus seen with apprehension in Nepal.

The worst legacy is bureaucratic system that is riddled with 'corruption' and has colonial mindset of superiority not service.

While scholars ~~like~~ debate on the nature of legacy. It positively impacted us with railways, modernisation in political system. But, the 'drain of wealth' along with 'overdeveloped state' (horma shvi) have lingering effects on present development stopping our natural growth.



Que.1(e)

The right to privacy is protected as an intrinsic part of the right to life and personal liberty. Comment. (10 Marks)

The Indian constitution is a "living document" that allows for its creative interpretation in accordance to changing times and value system.

The envisaged role of interpretation lies with Judiciary. Fulfilling which, as in Kirtivaswamy judgement, 2017 gave verdict for right to privacy as intrinsic part of Article 21 (Right to life & personal liberty).

The right to privacy has been debated since then. The government has tried to balance privacy in age of internet and big tech by classifying data as personal & non-personal.



**SHUBHRA RANJAN**

Always Ahead

25, Pusa Road, Karol Bagh, Delhi 110005. ☎ 011 45612719

Since, data is new oil & public good, state wants to protect privacy only for personal data. For this, the protection of personal data bill is in making.

Privacy caters to liberty as one can express oneself only in private space openly when privacy is ensured. It is fact of natural & human right that is awarded to humans by nature.



Que.2(a)

India has become an experiment where the two philosophies, Socialism and Capitalism, go together in concentric circles. Examine the statement in light of the term 'socialist' inserted in the Preamble of the Indian Constitution.  
(20 Marks)

The Preamble of Indian constitution highlights the ideals, purpose and objectives of Indian constitution. It is an organic & intrinsic part of constitution (K. Bharti case, 1973).

The Preamble was amended by 42nd amendment act, 1976 that added the word 'socialist', along other things, in Preamble.

While India was always a socialist nation, it was made 'explicit' with this addition. Earlier, Planning Commission worked on reducing inequalities, did redistribution by allocating developmental grants.



India's socialist nature & its aims were highlighted by Supreme Court in 1997 case where SC held that 'socialism' refers to reducing inequalities of income & status, & provide equality of opportunity & life of dignity to all.

However, with 1991 New economic policy and embracement of liberalisation, privatisation & globalisation put a question mark on our 'socialist' nature & ambitions.

Indian opening of its market, gave it a capitalist tilt. Even, the adverse impacts of it were visible with jobless growth, disinvestment of PSUs that provided jobs, decreasing state spending on social welfare schemes.



This witnessed the existing inequalities (seen in works of Thomas Piketty 'Capital & Ideology').

India's mixed model of economy and polity was a mixture of 2 philosophies of Capitalism & Socialism. While until 1991, socialist tilt was visible, after 1991, neo liberal approach made balance of power tilt in capitalist side.

However, it was via ~~to~~ these models of SP4 that India grew at pace of 8-10% in 1990-2010. The size of 'pie' grew considerably. It is then, we see the tilt towards "socialism" returning since 2014.

The government adopted 2 approaches



entitlement-based service delivery (seen in right to work MGNREGA and right to food - NESA 2013) and capacity-building approach of Amartya Sen.

India presently follows the model of "new welfarism" where government provides ~~for~~ private goods at public prices. This is seen in welfare schemes as Jam Shyam Yojana, PM Awas Yojana, Swachh Bharat Mission, Atal Pension Yojana.

This has re-established the spirit of welfarist state that India is - whose explicit mention is done in Preamble - 'socialist' word for Indian state.



Que.2(b)

The doctrine of basic structure may be derived from the abstract. But it exists within the Constitution itself. Critically analyse. (15 Marks)

It is known that there is no better system for good governance than democracy. Judiciary protects this democracy from becoming "Tyranny of majority", by protecting not only constitution but "Constitutional order".

Constituent assembly realising this made a strong independent Judiciary with power of judicial review (Art 13, 32, 226). Indian Judiciary has used this power to give doctrine of basic structure in Keshavnand Bharti case, 1973.

Doctrine of basic structure is a "doctrine of judicial review" used by higher judiciary to check the validity of constitutional amendments.



**SHUBHRA RANJAN**

Always Ahead

25, Pusa Road, Karol Bagh, Delhi 110005. ☎ 011 45612719

While it is not explicitly in constitution, Judiciary has argued that since Parliament is not constituent assembly it does not enjoy popular sovereignty, general will (Rousseau) & only political majority. So, Parliament can't rewrite constitution, only amend it.

Basic structure thus can't be amended, which would be rewriting constitution. While the doctrine is example of judicial creativity in interpretation, the structure is inherent & intrinsic part of constitution.

The Indian constitution is coherent with features that define it. These features are basic structure such as federalism, secularism, rule of law, independence of judiciary.



While scholars as P.B. Menta criticise Judiciary for showing 'judicial sovereignty' & going above the constitution, others argue that Judiciary took role of "super legislature".

But, no institution operates in vacuum, but is affected by systemic factors. It was due to executive overreach that Judiciary explicitly put forward the implicit 'soul' of constitution.

Lia Modu in '10 judgements that changed India' writes that it was a 'blessing in disguise'. It proved as a safety valve and Judiciary then chose 'uncertain democracy over certain authoritarianism'.



Que.2(c)

What are the controversies associated with the post of Governor? Evaluate the significance of Governor in India's federal setup. (15 Marks)

Article 153 calls every state to have a Governor as constitutional head under Parliamentary system. Owing to role of governor, Sarkaria Commission has called governor, "linchpin of cooperative federalism".

However, as Soli Sorabjee in 'Governor: Spig of or Saboteur' argues that arbitrary exercise of discretionary powers by governor has converted cooperative federalism into "bargaining federalism".

This has highlighted the various controversies around post of governor. Since, Governor is appointed by Centre, states have complained of governor being centre's "iron fist in velvet gloves".



In opposition ruled states, the Governors act as centre's agent. Recently, the issue of Governors sitting on legislative bills indefinitely was seen in Telangana & Tamil Nadu.

The misuse of Art 356 to put 'President's Rule' has also used Governors' office. Governors without testing majority on floor of house have suspended/abolished assemblies. This led to SR Bommai case & guidelines by SC.

Other controversies relate to calling parties with non-majority to form government, role to lead to fall of a government (Maharashtra case), use of ordinances, etc.

This had impacted India's federal setup as Governor has key role in



Indian model of cooperative federalism.  
Governor acts as 'eyes & ears' of centre  
to tackle threat of secessionism,  
(Paul Brink). Governor also reports on  
situation of state & its running accor-  
ding to constitution (Art 356, 365).

Governors also act as link between  
centre & state, refereeing & promoting  
cooperation such as Art 2 & 58A -  
delegated legislation.

But, due to controversial roles, SC in  
cases & Sankaria Commission have  
called for appointment of governor  
in consultation with CA and letting  
governor complete tenure. Dr Mammo-  
han Singh argues Governor should act  
in interest of nation, act as friend,  
philosopher & guide of state.



Que.3(a)

In India, though political decentralisation has been successfully achieved through the establishment of local government bodies, the actual transfer of functions, finances, and functionaries to these institutions remains incomplete. Critically analyse. (20 Marks)

India by 73rd & 74th amendment act provided for "grassroot democracy" and democratic decentralisation. It is for giving 'power to powerless' & 'voice to voiceless'. It is similar to Gandhi's village republics, Rey's radical democracy & Vinoba B's 'Antodaya'.

World Bank in its report on India's local self governance structure highlighted that India has political decentralisation but lacks in financial & administrative decentralisation.

Local government bodies were established by Constitution amendment



**SHUBHRA RANJAN**

Always Ahead

25, Pusa Road, Karol Bagh, Delhi 110005. ☎ 011 45612719

in 1993, however, XI schedule and act was 'half-baked cake'. The act had 2 provisions - voluntary that gave skeleton & (established) political institution and compulsary that related to flesh & blood, real powers were left on states.

The local government thus face several issues of [3Fs] - funds, functions & functionaries. In funds, the 'Subsidiary' provisions to make panchayats autonomous & not giving power to levy, collect taxes & fees were made voluntary, left upto states.

Even there is issue in design of fund flow. The funds are not adequate and are uneven. This has led to what Survey (2019) calls ASGs suffering



from low equilibrium trap. Certain states as UP, Ranchayats are 100% dependent on state funds.

There is also functional ambiguity and jurisdictional ambiguity owing to function of devolution left to states. As Paul Brann argues that state politicians made LSGs to fail who would become alternate centres of power & patronage.

The functionaries of LSGs are also on deputation. There is no separate cadre or workforce, thus making less efficiency & motivation for deputed people.

This transfer of funds, functions & functionaries, being voluntary, has been left incomplete.



Namishankar has Committee calls this as leading to "disillusionment" of with Panchayats. There is corruption, Sap-anch Raj. Functions as decentralised planning for social justice & economic development are non-starters. He calls this "bad" panchayat raj as worse than no panchayat raj!

While PRIs have led to women empow-erment, capacity building at local levels with people at Fatima Bi recognised at global level, there is need of much work to be done.

Punchhi Commission recommends legislative council, with DSGs represented in council. Vijay Kelkar calls for sharing 45% with PRIs. There is however, need to overhaul the act for substantive powers to PRIs.



Que.3(b)

Discuss the role of Supreme Court as the final interpreter of the Indian Constitution. (15 Marks)

Gannex argues that 'a society without legislative organ is conceivable, but a civilised state without appropriate Judicial organ is hardly conceivable'. This shows importance of Judiciary in democratic Republics.

The Indian Supreme court has been empowered <sup>with</sup> roles to protect rule of law, fundamental rights, constitution-ism. However, the role of SC as final interpreter of constitution that has made it central to Indian polity.

Constitution is the law of the land - the supreme law. However, as Indian constitution is a 'lawyer's paradise' we see ambiguities ~~and~~. Also, as consti-



tion is based on multiple ideologies - modernist, Gandhian, socialist - we see contradictory provisions. These require adequate interpretation along with changing times. SC has been given this responsibility.

SC has used its power under Judicial review (Art 13), via PIL and power to do complete justice (Art 142) to creatively interpret the constitution.

The biggest interpretation was of 'soul' or 'metaphysical' element of constitution in form of 'doctrine of basic structure'. Judiciary limited amending powers of Parliament to protect constitution.

It has also liberally interpreted fundamental rights. The inferred



rights under Art 21 (right to life) include right to privacy, primary education, speedy trial etc. Even Art 19 has seen creative interpretation.

SC has also acted as final interpreter to resolve federal disputes. It has helped understand institutions of President, Governor, Speaker & gave judgements as including Speaker as 'quasi tribunal' & open to review (Kihoto n. case).

Judiciary via this power has, as Upendra Baxi argues, done chemo-therapy of cancerous Indian politics. This has what made it, from SC of India to SC of Indians.



**SHUBHRA RANJAN**

Always Ahead

25, Pusa Road, Karol Bagh, Delhi 110005. ☎ 011 45612719

Que.3(c)

Give an assessment of the role of the Election Commission of India in the conduct of free and fair elections in India. (15 Marks)

Sy Qureshi in his book 'an undocumented wonder' argues that India is known for 3 things - Taj Mahal, Gandhi & elections.

The constituent assembly has created an independent & autonomous Election Commission (ECI) under Art 324 for conduct of free & fair elections.

ECI has been given the role of preparation of voter list, ensuring registration of parties and vigilance over their conduct for maintaining sanctity of elections.

To do its role, ECI has plenary powers as told by SC. However, the role of



ECI suffers from various challenges.

ECI though independent has issues of budget. While salary of ECI is charged, budget of ECI is not. It has inadequate staff. This has led to lapses in its functioning.

There have been continuous question mark on somctity of EVM and VVPAT for which ECI has been unsuccessful.

The recent cases of conduct of election rallies amid COVID in Bengal & poll violence in Bengal in 2023 where large number of unopposed candidates stood was criticised as failure of ECI.

The increasing role of money & muscle power in elections has led to criminalisation of politics. Parties blatantly



front norms of MCC. Even, this has disillusioned voters, which along with urban apathy has led to reduced voter turnout.

The major challenge in conducting free & fair elections by EC arise due to lack of powers under RPA, 1951.

It is suggested that MCC should be given legal status. EC should be given power to deregister parties, take actions on fronting norms. EC should also be given adequate cadre & budget so as to function independently.



Que.4(a)

Being an instrument of power sharing, both federalism and coalition government, should be complimentary to each other. Analyse the statement in Indian political context. (20 Marks)



Que.5(a)

Comment on the land reforms in India. (10 Marks)

Land reforms were a "redistributive program" to ensure equality in resources and protection of livelihood for socio-economic transformation of India.

India's land reforms included abolition of zamindari, tenancy rights, security of rent, consolidation of land and promotion of cooperatives. It was to reverse the impact of exploitative land revenue settlement of British.

But, the ambitious reforms were not successful other than West Bengal & Kerala where left governments were dominant. The causes of failure majorly include lack of political will.



**SHUBHRA RANJAN**

Always Ahead

25, Pusa Road, Karol Bagh, Delhi 110005. ☎ 011 45612719

Also, the reforms had loopholes & limits on landholding were bypassed by benami transactions.

The failure is criticised by scholars as Atul Kohli who say that even Nehru could not take on the zamindars. This led to a 'crisis of governability'.

Gunnar Myrdal has called India a 'soft state' because of low state capacity to maintain law, order in 'Asian Drama'. Scholars as Pranab Bardhan have called the state as 'instrument of Bourgeois capitalist, propertied class' that led to failure of reforms.

At present, it is the responsibility of educated middle class & civil society to bring reforms in public domain. Even state should too as it has led to security challenges of Naxalism.



Que.5(b)

Critically examine the relevance of Marxist perspective on national movement. (10 Marks)

The Marxist perspective of national movement is the "counter-hegemonic" school against nationalist perspective.

Marxists such as MN Roy, RP Dutt in 'India today' argue that national movement led by Gandhi was bourgeois led. Congress had ideological aspiration of a youthful Bourgeoisie.

They point out to the "dual" movement by Congress. One against imperialism & other with imperialists in case the movement turns radical & masses capture power.

Marxists criticise Congress for never including masses in decision making structure. Congress for them never



let masses become a political force.

Thus, they were fighting to retain own privileges & as MN Roy says Congress wanted to establish "Congress rule".

Marxists as Bipin Chandra's view are relevant as they highlight that Gandhi's movement was Gramscian. The relevance of views of Marxists as Roy don't lie in the alternative view they present to national movement.

They are relevant as they highlight the weaknesses of mainstream politics which was centrally run & masses had little power. This is seen after independence too, like in failure of land reforms.

However, the Marxists fail to understand scale of Congress & Gandhi in struggle for independence & making it mass movement.



Que.5(c)

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

MN Roy is one the most original thinkers in India. He gave concept of 'Radical humanism' in book 'New Humanism - a manifesto'.

The concept of 'Radical humanism' is rooted in philosophy of 'humanism'. While it is an ancient concept, from Sophist Protagoras, in west, in India its Ray - talks of humanism.

Humanism is based on - focusing upon the needs and conditions of humans. It is about making man the measure & central of thoughts & actions. It aims to propagate actions that aid to benefits and advantage of man / individual.

Radical humanism too focuses on providing "freedom" to man. For Roy, man is submerged under 'collective ego' of rational, identity as class.

Roy calls for autonomy of individual from his concept. He advocates the principles of rationality & science. For him, scientific analyses & education can help man overcome fear of unknown & supernatural.

This fear is what holds man from exercising autonomy, along with collective pressures of identity.

Roy thus calls for autonomy of man to build a "cosmopolitan world of enlightened individuals".



Que.5(d)

Comment on: Fundamental Duties in the Constitution of India. (10 Marks)

The constitution of India, following recommendations of Luxan Singh Committee added fundamental duties in part IV A, Article 51A by 42nd amendment act, 1976.

The constitution provides for 11 duties to be followed by citizens & state. The concept of duty is inspired from USC. In India, Gandhi's theory - functional theory of rights calls for duties. For Gandhi "rights are inherently present in duty performed in embryonic sense".

However, the fundamental duties that include respecting national ideals, protection of environment are criticised.



**SHUBHRA RANJAN**

Always Ahead

25, Pusa Road, Karol Bagh, Delhi 110005. ☎ 011 45612719

It is because duties are feature of socialist countries. While India is liberal nation where constitution acts as limit on state, these duties are non-enforceable, justiciable.

Also, the duties are vaguely worded.

It is argued that they have not brought any qualitative change in quality of citizens. Also, ~~the~~ duties as developing scientific temper is not possible when India still lacks in primary education.

As suggested by Verma Committee and NCRWC, we need to bring awareness about duties and create a conducive environment where people performing duty are cherished & respected.

Que.5(e)

Explain the uniqueness of the Indian Model of secularism. (10 Marks)

Indian model of secularism is contextual model, sui generis formed for our local conditions and cultures.

While scholars as DE Smith in 'India as a secular state' argued that India lacks feature of secularism; Rajeev Bhargava argues that Indian model is complex and contextual.

Rajeev B. calls Indian model 'principled distance model'. He says India's model is substantive model. It is unique as it is based on varied ideologies and is politically negotiated model.

Indian model shows western modernist features of religious neutrality (seen in



Art (4, 15). We also see Gandhian tradition of religious tolerance seen in Art 25 - not only freedom of conscience but also profess, propagate, practice religion.

However, the most unique point is how India gives multicultural-differentiated citizenship with culture-specific rights (Art 29, 30). Also, Indian state engages & disengages with interference in religion.

This was as India is a prismatic state where state is modern & has to be "vanguard" for reforms in religion, while civil society is traditional.

Even when critics as Pratap B. Mehta call it "minority appeasement model", our model is unique that gives all freedom of religion & universal citizenship.



Que.6(a)

Grassroots environmental movements following Gandhian nonviolent tradition differ from the ones in the West in that they are concerned with both environmental preservation and issues of economic equity and social justice. Examine. (20 Marks)



Que.7(a)

The regional parties played a key role as the politics of backward castes mobilized the marginal groups and challenged the established norms of democratic representation. In light of the statement, discuss the Role of regional parties in Indian politics. (20 Marks)

Political parties are indispensable part of representative democracy. they perform role of interest aggregation (structural functional approach by Almond & Powell).

These parties that have systemic relevance determine the party system, according to Sartori. In India, we have seen shifts between one party dominant systems (congress & BJP system) and coalition politics.

Coalition politics era in India started with regionalisation of Indian politics. It challenged the established norms of democratic representation where congress - the "party of consensus" -



(Rajni Kothari), rendered all other parties as "parties of pressure".

The various political factors such as reorganisation of States on linguistic lines, Green revolution led to this change in Indian politics. These events are what Yogendra Yadav calls, resulted into first democratic upsurge with rise of backward castes, or "brilliant capitalists" (Rudolph & Rudolph).

The politics of backward castes was based on caste-based "regional parties". The backward castes (OBCs) came out of Congress & won in states where they were "dominant castes" such as Reddy in Andhra Pradesh or Yadavs in UP.

These regional parties strengthened with 2nd democratic upsurge in 1990s when backward castes of Dalits came



of Congress and formed parties as BSP. The regional parties won in both state & central elections heralding the coalition era of India (1999-2014).

The regional parties have played a significant role in Indian politics. They have shifted the "party system" & ended the "Congress system".

It is regional parties that gave representation to various candidates from diverse background making Parliament truly "representative". These parties took regional issues to central national level & demanded policies to fill "development deficit" of their regions & end regional disparities.

however, these parties also led to hung Parliament, policy paralysis. They left "Coalition chavarma" & focused



**SHUBHRA RANJAN**

Always Ahead

25, Pusa Road, Karol Bagh, Delhi 110005. ☎ 011 45612719

Que. 7(I)

more on regional issues than national, such as in foreign policy matters the stand of Tamil Nadu wrt Sri-Lankan Tamils. The Teesta river water treaty too is example of misdventure by regional parties.

N.P. Singh argues that while Federal axis strengthened by these regional parties, there was rise of super-cabinet, decreased role of PM to "coalition manager".

The regional parties have changed the electoral behavior of Indians with increased role of Caste & Religion in Indian politics as highlighted by Christopher Jaffrelot, Abhijeet Banerjee and Emory Gethin.



Que.7(b)

The green revolution heralded a new era for agriculture in India but it also changed the country's politics. Discuss. (15 Marks)

Green revolution was initiated in 1966 to ensure "food security" in India, after crisis of wars of 1962, 1965 and uncertainty around PL-480 programme.

The revolution was based on philosophy of capitalism. It aimed at using high yielding variety seeds, fertilisers, pesticides making agriculture input intensive and increase its productivity.

The green revolution thus heralded a new era for agriculture as we did achieve food security. Agriculture's growth rate increased from 1.6% to 2.3%, owing to increased productivity.



**SHUBHRA RANJAN**

Always Ahead

25, Pusa Road, Karol Bagh, Delhi 110005. ☎ 011 45612719

However, it, according to V.K.R.V. Rao, came at huge social & political cost. He argues that it reversed land reforms, making farmers debt-ridden due to high input cost.

Along with this, Green revolution is attributed with changing Indian politics. Rudolph & Rudolph argue that the revolution generated "bullock capitalists". These farmers having achieved economic powers, aimed for political power.

Green revolution thus led to rise of "dominant caste", the OPCs of India with political ambitions. Yashwantrao Chavan calls it 1st democratic upsurge where these castes came out of Congress, formed caste-dominated regional parties & ended Congress system.

It led to regionalisation of politics & start of coalition system at centre.

It also increased role of caste in Indian politics as said by Rajni Kothari. Even, the composition of Parliament changed, with "plebiansisation" of Parliament.

This led to rise of OSC leaders as Chaudhary Charan Singh. Farmer pressure groups as Bharatiya Kisan Union's role in politics too increased. This led to increased political mobilisation at grassroots especially in Hindi heartland of UP western, Haryana, Rajasthan.

Along with political change, it caused negative impact on environment, led to soil degradation & water overuse - as highlighted by Vandana Shiva. For Rajni Kothari, it is responsible for deepening democracy & a factor in success of Indian democracy. However, today we need an evergreen, rainbow revolution.



**SHUBHRA RANJAN**

Always Ahead

25, Pusa Road, Karol Bagh, Delhi 110005. ☎ 011 45612719

Que.7(c)

Rooted in constitutional, and institutional ambiguities, Interstate (River) Water Disputes (ISWDs) tend to become prolonged conflicts between the states. Elucidate with examples. (15 Marks)

India faces ISWDs due to hydo-politics, conflictual federalism and constitutional institutional ambiguities.

India federal structure gives sovereignty to states causing disputes between them. Constituent assembly provided elaborate provisions to solve these including Inter-state council (Art 263), powers to Parliament (Art 252) and legal resolution by Supreme court (Art 131).

Parliament enacted Inter state river disputes act, 1956 & created river boards, tribunal system in hands of centre & excluded judicial intervention.

However, the ISWDs face constitutional ambiguities as to which method is to be



preferred. Constituent assembly reached for art 263 - as councils are easy to form by executives & give political solution to political disputes. However, it has not been used & no matter referred to councils.

The institutional ambiguity arise as while SC earlier took ISWDs under art 131 original jurisdiction, after 1953 art, it started taking ISWDs under special leave petition art 136.

This has prolonged the disputes as it renders tribunals' order open to petitions that take years.

Justice Nariman however puts tribunals' institutional failure for prolonged conflict. Tribunals have 2-layered mechanism function outside court jurisdiction & despite time limits functions in laidback manner.



**SHUBHRA RANJAN**

Always Ahead

25, Pusa Road, Karol Bagh, Delhi 110005. ☎ 011 45612719

Cauvery river dispute is example of how delay on part of Parliament, tribunals & Supreme court dragged matter for ~~25~~ 45 years.

Nirvikar Singh argues that it is Parliament's fault that didn't use its powers under Art 262 to establish a clear, time bound resolution process.

While P.B. Mehta calls judiciary at fault who is self-perpetuating, scholars like NM Seerabai call judicial solution the only possible way forward. This has led to ambiguities & debates around issue fixed.

There is need for awareness at grassroots on political-social-economic & environmental cost of these issues prolonged battle. And, constitutional morality is required by all institutions.



Que.8(a)

Enumerate the distinctive features of Gandhian movements. To what extent can it be said that Quit India Movement was the most Un-Gandhian of all. (20 Marks)