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Political Science & International Relations

PSIR Mains Test Series – 2024

Test 2

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name

DAMANPREET APORA

Test Date

23.07.2024

Email Address

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,

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



"During the freedom struggle the Indian National Congress and other established political groups took an ambivalent position vis-a-vis the working class". Examine. (10 Marks)

Bijin Chandra in his book

"India's Struggle for Independence" describe

the workers, peasants and tribes movements as older than the concept of national movement.

While the Indian National Congress were indifferent to the workers cause in the initial phases because of the fact that the Factories Act 1881, 1891 sought to give a freehand to British Government, but INC felt that it would loose the competitive edge enjoyed by the India's thriving labour and workers class.

Bhagat Singh on the other hand, in response to Public Safety Bill even



bombard the Legislative Assembly .

Other Political groups like the formation of All India Trade Union Congress by N. M. Lokhandey with Lala Lajpat Rai's contribution stood for workers cause like safe labour work environment, equality of work which was supported by Lala Lajpat Rai in Book "Young India" (1916) .

M. N. Roy, radical humanist even called for 'Communist Union' of working class similar to Karl Marx's resolution to stand against the British Rule .

However, till now workers movement have carried forward the legacy of remaining the 'Junior partners' of Parties in Power which needs a relook



ue.1(b) "Constituent assembly members realised that a constitution could not by itself make a new India, but they intended it to light the way."

Discuss (10 Marks)

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, (the liberal Institutional ist) held that 'no matter how good a Constitution is but it depends on the people who work for it'.

Thus they visioned for a Constitution, which took 2 year 11 month and 18 days, and adopted on 26th November 1949, shows liberal (Fundamental Rights), social (DPSPs) and Gandhian principles (Article 40 Panchayati Raj).

Granville Austin thus in his book 'India Constitution: A Corner stone of nation' called it as the masterpiece and Fundamental Rights, DPSPs and Preamble as the soul of the Constitution.



It was necessary to achieve the Social and Economic revolution, without which Political Revolution is a farce (B.R. Ambedkar) •

It granted Universal adult Franchise (Article 325) from day 1 and out of 19 Asian countries whose constitution was adopted after world war II, only 3 of them survived: India, South Korea and Taiwan.

Thus, a New India envisioned through Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's 'Speech', has been possible because of the Transformative Nature of Constitution as recently also held by Chief Justice of India Justice Chandrachud and has shown the light in the darkest times (Eg) During Emergency, 1975 •



e.1(c)

"Finance Commission must think afresh conceptually, methodologically, and operationally." Explain in the context of the recently constituted 16th Finance Commission. (10 Marks)

Finance Commission [Article 280],
a Non-Permanent Constitutional Commission,
constituted by President is known as
"Balancing wheel of Fiscal Federalism".

Recently the 16th Finance Commission
has been constituted for 5 year term
[2027-2032], however earlier 15th
Finance Commission headed by N.K Singh
gave recommendations for (2020-2021) and
(2021-26) period, and it gave recommendations
on the basis of Income Distance, Area,
Forest and Ecology, Demographic Parameters
parameters.

There is a need to think afresh
conceptually because of the allegations



to take inputs from ~~central~~ states and to enhance the fiscal resources of state (earlier 41% shared to states), but seeing the resource of states dropping from 52% earlier to 26% now (self generating revenue), a rethink needs to be done based on Statutory Grants (Article 275).

Methodologically and operationally, as suggested by Arjun Kumar (Economic Columnist in The Hindu), there needs to give it a better coordination with the State Finance Commissions because several times its reports are not tabled in State Legislatures (Hence aligning the terms can be the way forward).



1(d)

Explain how patronage politics and expectations of ethnic favouritism tend to go together. (10 Marks)

Paul Brass in book "Ethnic Politics and State" calls India as the epitome of Identity and Patronage Politics, which is what is called by James Manor as the nothing less than 'Politics of Passion'.

Patronage Politics and expectations of ethnic favouritism tends to go together because of traditionalisation of modernity and modernisation of Tradition [Rudolph and Rudolph] where Politics of Scarcity fuel the Patronage Politics further leading Ethnic favouritism (Eg) States on the border more prone to neglect and Identity favouritism (Eg) Naga Issue, Gorkhaland, Khalistan, also due to Interference of external



State and non State Actors

This is ~~so~~ also due to uncurrency -
ment [Mar Turgensmar theory] where
negligence in some states can fuel patronage

in politics, apart from it can also
be due to language, cultural factors

(eg) what Myron Weiner explains in his
politics of passion like Ethnicity in Northeast,
and Loss of Soil theory in Maharashtra

(eg) Recently introduced Karnataka Bill with
respect to reservations for locals

Thus, while Andre Beteille, ~~to~~ and
Professor Bharat Bhawan Mehta see it as a threat
to national integrity; positivists like
Jyendra Yadav see it as a form of
PLEBIANISATION and deepening of democracy
in India.



Q.1(e)

"At Independence, the project of building a national civic identity, transcending the particularistic identities of caste, tribe, language, religion, and region, was recognized as the most important challenge facing the new nation." Explain. (10 Marks)

It is mostly said that Constitutions of the countries are written with Blood, rather than Inks, thus facing the threat of Regionalism, ethnicity, language divide, communal divide, Relig. Hareversion

predicted 1960s to be the Dangerous Decades for the future of India at the time of Independence.

But, fortunately the foresight of Constituent Assembly makes it having adopted flexible constitution, where federalism was adopted to tackle regional challenges and Secularism [Article 25-28] to tackle communal challenges.

Challenges with Article 3 to redraw the political boundaries helped in building



national civil identity for a multicultural
multi religious, multi lingual identity.

The Caste challenge is still present
here today because it is said that
in India "Caste is the largest political
party" where caste is present in
the minds of people even at subconscious
level [M.N. Srinivas] (Eg) Caste Coalition
Like ATGAR, KHAM, MY etc.

Similarly, the way language
controversy was tackled through
legal and democratic principles made
Indian state 'Accommodative' to the needs of
the people.

Further, through Fundamental
Rights and Duties [Part II and Part IV a],
India represents a classic case of
Functional theory of Rights [Daski doctrine]



(a) Indian nationalism that confronted British imperialism in the nineteenth century, and celebrated its victory in the formation of the Indian nation-state in 1947, was a product of colonial modernity.

Critically Examine. (20 marks)

Bipin Chandra's book 'India's Struggle for Independence' calls Indian National movement as the 'most Spectacular' mass movement which left the Britishers Chuckles, and whose rearmt can still be felt among the Indians.

Indian Nationalism, however, was according to some Cambridge School Scholars like Percival Spear, Amil Seal a product of Colonial modernity, because they thought Indian national movement as nothing more than 'Power occupation' agenda and INC members as power hungry people.

Similarly Curzon, and Lord Lytton believed that India was nothing more



than a Geographical expression which was combined by National historians like Dr. Tarachand and R.C Majumdar that it was India's desire for nation state that led to its victory (eg) M.N Roy's idea of India was not a nation in making (as held by SN Banerjee), but already a nation [Bharat Mata concept in book 'India in Transition'].

While there were moderates like Dadabhai Naoroji who called British as Trustee for our people and Kala Chappal Gopal Krishna Gokhale who thanked Britishers for introducing Rule of Law in India.

At the same time, Britishers introduced acts like Factory Acts,



Institution of Satyagrah, under Ramkrishna
1856, but it is ~~also~~ noted that it was
not a free gift, it was due to Indian
Renaissance leaders like Raja Ram Mohan
Ray and Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar &

On the other hand, Applying Gramsci's
concept of Integral State, Gandhian
Movements like Non Cooperation Movement
(1920-22), Civil Disobedience Movement
(1930) could be seen as a 'War of Position'
to weaken the masses of the Hegemony²
set up by Britishers about their
'Holy Rule' through 'Mass Weakening' and
Constructive Programs as a protracted
battle (Eg) Gandhi criticized modernisation and
mechanisation of the west &

But Quit India Movement 1942
was a frontal attack, a 'War of Manoeuvre'²



Against the Evil Empire and the oppression.

Thus, the legacy of the Britishers who established the myth of modernisation in turn eroded the Gold out of India (eg) India's \$45 trillion loss as recently held by Dr S. Jaishankar because of the British Rule).

This made Aurobindo Ghosh say that an Alien rule is never a blessing, Bal Gangadhar Tilak also held that constitutionalism in front of Alien bureaucracy is a Political suicide.

Hence Indian National Movement had the most lasting impact & fought not only for even nationalism but also was a war against Apartheid Regime in South Africa.



2(b)

"While the Constitution did usher in a new order, its claims to have obliterated the past remain unconvincing, even to contemporary observers". In light of the above statement critically examine the nature of the Indian Constitution. (15 marks)

While the current Chief Justice of India Justice J.Y Chandrachud called Indian Constitution as 'The Transformative Constitution', Granville Austin in book 'India Constitution: A Cornerstone of Nation'² called it as the social document.

Constitution, adopted on 26th Nov, 1949 after 2 years, 11 months, 18 days, aimed to usher a new era because of the oppression faced since centuries, with Fundamental Rights [Article 12-35] in Part III on the basis of liberal theory of Rights; Directive Principles of State Policy [Part IV - A], based on Socialist Idea of Justice; Fundamental Duties



(Part IV a), Bamdeo (called Tune
set by Pandit Thakuradas Bhargava)

It is to be noted that according
to a Study, only 17% of the Constitutions
adopted since 1789 have survived,
and India is one of them [Cambridge Study].

It is Organic as well as living
document, where Books like 'How
Democracy Die' by Zaslav and 'How
Nations fail' by Daniel show how
Political Usurpations and Weak political
and social Institutions make a country
decline, but the flexibility with which
Indian constitution has adapted to changes
(eg) through 106 Amendments till now and
Judicial Interpretations has made it a
Success °

The examples being Kisavanda
Bharati Case (Basic Structure), K.S Puttaswamy



Ans (Right to Privacy), Kaushal Kumar case 2024 (Article 19, 21 available against private individuals too). However, there have been certain pit falls too (eg) nothing in Black and white when it comes to Basic Structure Doctrine, Caste conflicts in spite of Article 17 (Abolition of Untouchability) Amended in the first year itself and 106 amendments till now, however USA Constitution has been amended only 27 times till now.

The allegations that it was not a Consensus Document, even Dr B. R Ambedkar had said that 'he would be the first one to burn it', similarly the conflicts between the states on the basis of caste identity politics are the loopholes.

But it is pertinent to note that B. R Ambedkar rightly said that, however Good a constitution is, ultimately it depends on the people running the constitution.



Que.2(c)

Democracy in India has not only endured but developed into a vibrant system. Explain. (15 marks)

Tonah Blane, a legal constitutional liberalist held that 'if democracy can make in India, it can make it anywhere'

This shows how India's-largest Democracy in the world has stood the test of times, where it is described that 'Democracy is the rule of people based on sovereign will' (Lord Bryce)

With multicultural, multi linguistic and multi religious society, India has not only endured democracy, but developed into a vibrant system could be seen how people's faith in democratic process with 65.66% turnout in 18th Lok Sabha elections, by forming an Overlapping consensus (John Rawls concept)



It has endured due to the free and
free elections (Indira Mohan Gandhi vs Union
of India case), the concept of Democratic
Decentralization through Panchayati Raj
Institutions, the legal recourse to violation
of Fundamental rights (Article 32) where
Supreme court is called as the 'Sentinel
Qui Vivit' that is Soldier with a sword.

Various Landmark Judgements

and Judicial Activism has ensured that
India does not turn to Tyranny of Majority
(eg) what was J.S Mills' biggest fear.

The judgements include Kesavananda Bharati
Case (Doctrine of Basic Structure), Kanushal
Kumar case # 2024 (Horizontal application
of Fundamental rights), Satendra Kumar Dutt
Ans 2023 (Bail is rule, not Jail)

Upendra Bansi calls it as Supreme



Constitutional Democracy of Democratic
politics. While Atal Bihari Vajpayee
(Prime Minister) calls it as Post Democracy
(country run by non elected representatives).

The 73rd and 74th Amendment Act,
has further fostered Abraham Lincoln's
idea of 'Democracy for the people, of the
people and by the people' with making
Mahatma Gandhi's Quintessential circles of power
a reality.

However, there have been
certain criticisms like Emergency of 1975,
curbs on free speech (eg Censorship of
movies through CBF) and curbs on
state speech, Discrimination, but issue of
Electoral Authority (Democracy report), but
India today is in a much better place
where even in USA we can see Democracy
selback (eg Gun culture - recent Trump attack).



3(a)

"An overview of India's political trajectory reveals various phases of stresses and strains in the evolution of political parties." In light of the above statement discuss the changes in the party system and the electoral process in India over the last 7 decades. (20 marks)

Lasker defines Political Parties as the organisations which form the government, man the parliament, offer opposition and hence a source of political mobilization, education.

India's political trajectory however has been a story of conflicts and cooperation from beginning where leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, J.P. Narayan, M.N. Roy wanted Partyless Democracy, but India adopted Parliamentary form of Government where 'Political Parties' perform the role of Interest Aggregation [Gabriel Almond]

Changes in the party system to and Electoral system has been best described by Dwargjee where India has been



An exception to it for example :-
It has been divided into various phases as shown below.

Firstly upto 1967, Indian political system was known as one party system (by Morris Jones) and Congress system (by Rajni Kothari) where mostly it was phase of Cooperative Federalism and Electoral process was also One Nation, One Election principle where single elections were held.

However, slowly with weaknesses emerging in Congress party from within (eg) excessive centralisation, death of J. L. Nehru, Regionalisation, Voter consciousness rising the (1967-1989) period was of decline where multiparty took part and formed the government for (eg) Indira Gandhi.



from Mr. Morarji Desai after Emergency, which resulted into turbulence in the Political and Electoral Process.

After 1989, started the emergence of Coalition government in India where there was 1st Democratic and 2nd Democratic Upsurge [Yogendra Yadav] that is entry of OBCs and SCs in the Electoral process and parliament by the emergence of Green Revolution [OBCs called as Bullock Capitalists by Rudolph and Rudolph].

The Jayaprakash Government was the first successful completion of coalition in India and rise of caste coalition like ATGAR, KHAM, MY [Mushir Yadav] etc gained prominence. Also completion of VPAI and UPAT, also were the eras of Coalition.

The 16th and 17th Lok Sabha Elections



were known by some scholars ~~as~~ like
Thomas Blom Hansen [book Suffraganism]
as the emergence of BJP, and by
Christopher Jaffrelott as the 'emergence of
De facto Hindu Rashtra .

However, it was too early to
say that because if the words of yogendra
yadav too, Indian voters have ~~now~~
moved away from Identity politics to
Identity plus politics where they also consider
Governance factors while Voting . Praful
Kidwai in book 'India decides' calls
Indian Voters as the Ultimate Justices .

The recent 18th Lok Sabha election
results where BJP has won 240 seats
and formed the Government with total
293 seats (NDA Alliance) shows that
it has led back to the Emergence of
Era of coalition Politics in India [INDIA Back too]



3(b) Examine the merits and demerits of a coalition government in the context of India. (15 marks)

Otto Von Kerschevimer calls Political parties in India as 'Catch All Parties' where the coalitions have been termed by Professor Brijmuk Chakravarti as 'Negative coalition' with the sole purpose of keeping some one out.

The back of coalition politics in India
(eg) emergence of INDIA block alliance which has won 233 seats in 18th Lok Sabha elections as opposed to 293 seats by NDA Alliance shows the resurgence of coalition politics.

The Merits include that it leads to more Accountability in the Government (eg) Opposition took a back seat in the 16th and 17th Lok Sabha (Congress → 44 and 58 seats respectively), but now it has



99 seats in the 18th Lok Sabha. Excm
Defence Minister Rajnath Singh underlined
the importance of opposition to keep government
Active and Vigilant.

Other merits include, Regional
Issues being more heard (eg JDU from
Bihar joining alliance with NDA in 2024 Lok
Sabha), no one party rule or in the
words of J.S Mill (Tyranny of majority) - this
can be curbed, it leads more Active
Presidential Scrutiny, Better discussion of
our Bills (eg only 16% of bills referred
to Parliamentary standing committees, and
others passed almost silently without
much debate like Parsons Law (ultimately
had to be repealed).

The Demerits include Instability
and in words of MP Singh → Not one PM,
but many PMs, thus leading to



erosion of power of Prime Minister (eg) PM's speech of 2.5 hours after in motion of thanks, where disturbances from opposition were continuous due to lack of cooperation by the Coalition Parties of INDIA alliance o

Even the smallest faction in coalition politics could throw punch beyond the weight, Prime Minister Narendra Modi called the Coalition Government earlier as Khichdi government, where it leads to policy paralysis and horse trading and more defections leading loss of trust in the eyes of voters o

However, what is needed is Healthy coalition culture (as held by former PM Manmohan Singh), strengthening the post of speaker (making it apolitical like UK) and amending Anti Defection Law by giving power to decide to President (2nd APL)



Que.3(c)

"There is no greater inequality than the equal treatment of unequals." In light of the statement examine the affirmative action policy of the Indian State with respect to reservations. (15 marks)

Affirmative Actions are based on the idea of Distributive Justice of John Rawls social order's Difference Principle where Justice is described as fairness.

It is the positive discrimination which is based on historical injustices to the communities in the form of Quotas, reservations to bring these sections at par with the forward classes, by Acting as a catalyst.

Hence, Aristotle (father of Constitutionalism) called for merit as the principle of justice and he goes on to say that 'Inequality is the cause of Revolution' and it is unjust to treat Equals Unequally. This can be seen



is the recent protests in Bangladesh where Supreme court recently pulled back verdict favouring reservation after huge protests on streets.

In India, reservations are provided in Jobs and education to SC, ST, OBC (Article 15(4), 16(4)), in parliament (Lok Sabha) to SC, ST, OBC, and recently women also (106th Amendment, 2023, but yet to come into force).

Although, it has brought forward hitherto unrecognized sections of the society through even principles such as Consequential Seniority, but Indira Sawhney Case, 1992 clearly called for reservations not breaching 50% mark except in extremely exceptional circumstances.

The recent Nagraj case, 2008 and Lamail Singh case, 2018 removed the



need for even Quantifiable data to show
the level of backwardness in reserving
posts & promotion.

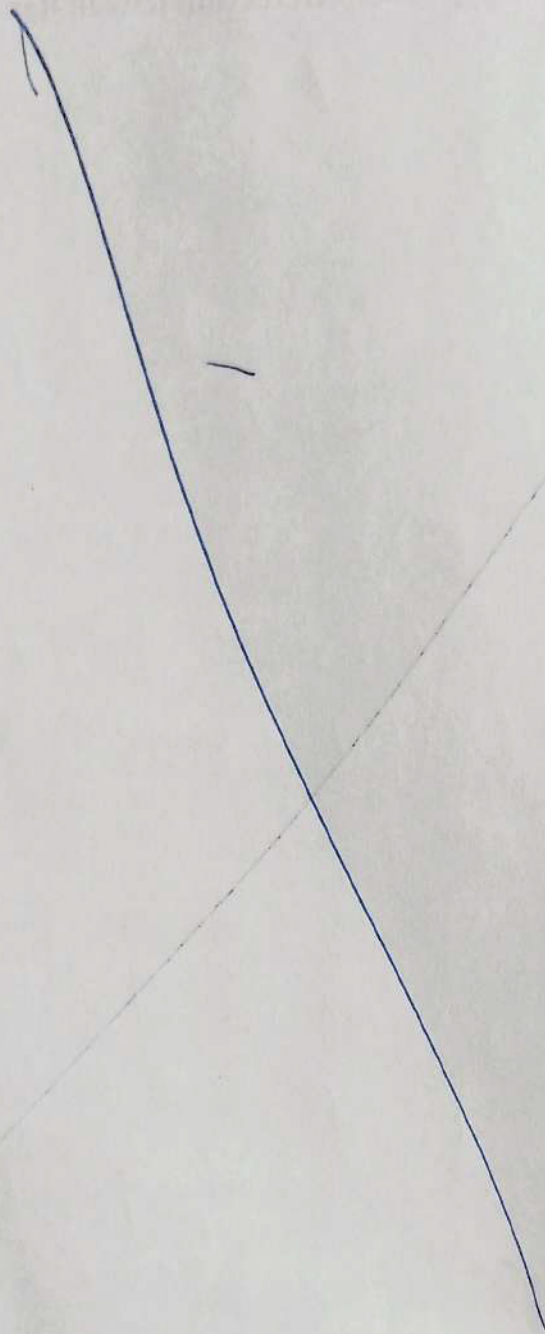
Although, Affirmative Actions like
reservations praised by scholars like Yogendra
Yadav for addressing historical injustices,
but in the ~~words~~ words of Babap Bhambhani
Mukta it has generated a race to the
bottom (he even resigned in protest of it).

R.C Guha held that Reservation
policies generate more heat ~~and~~ than
light. and has become a matter of
high politics (eg Maratha reservation,
reservation for locals like in Haryana,
Karnataka).

Although with Good Intent, but
these must be ENABLING Policies because
containing it forever can kill the merit and
defeat the purpose (eg Praja Panchayat Case



"The Anti-Defection Law needs a relook to plug the loopholes".
Critically examine the efficacy of Anti Defection Law in light of some recent cases. (20 Marks)





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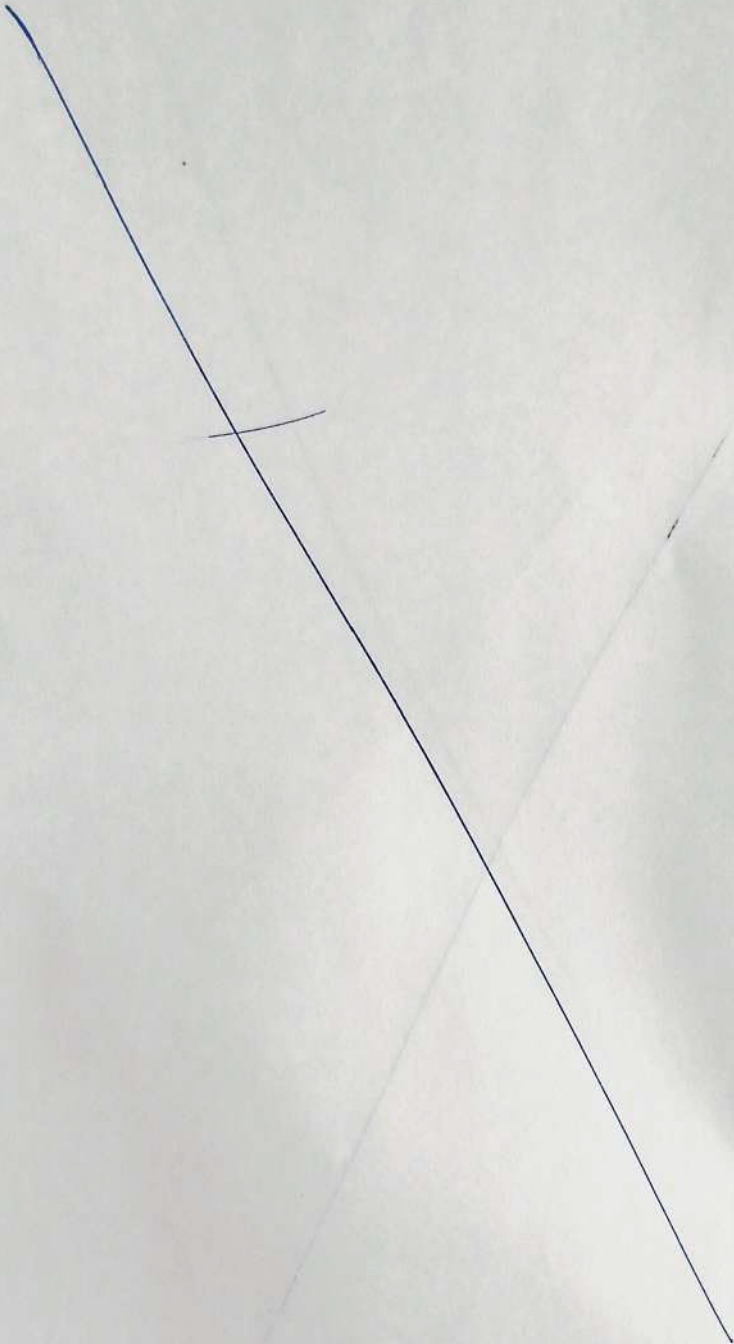


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4(b)

Discuss how the years since Independence have seen agrarian struggles of enormous variety. (15 marks)



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Que.4(c)

Past lack of attention to political ideology contrasts strongly with the recent ubiquity of ideological debates in Indian politics. Examine the role of Ideology in Indian politics. (15 marks)



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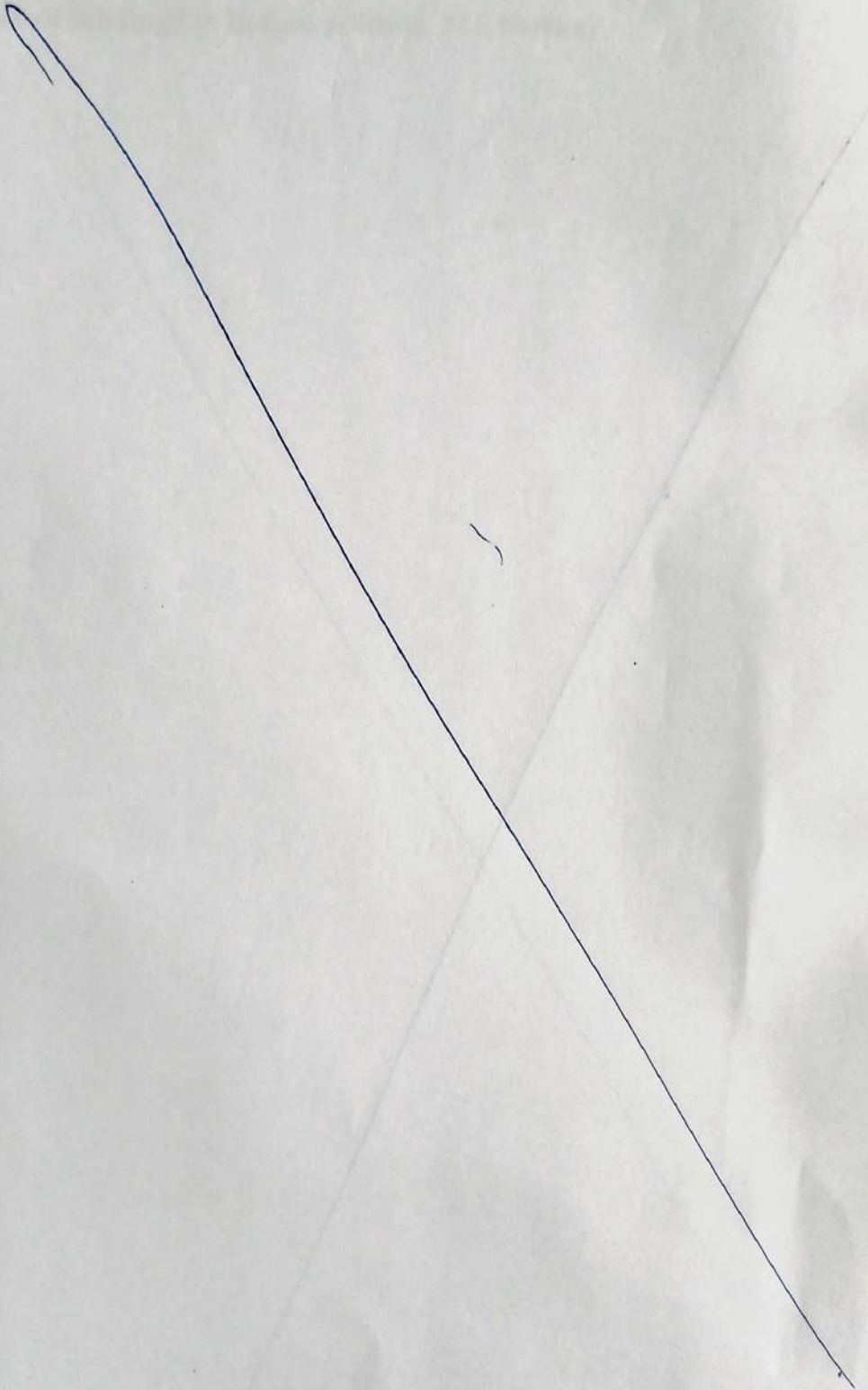


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2.5(a)

The National Commission for Minorities, as an institution, suffers from several major structural inefficiencies and challenges. Discuss.
(10 Marks)

National Commission for Minorities,
a statutory commission established through
National Commission for Minority Act, 1990,
suffers from structural and organisational
inefficiency ◦

This is due to the fact that
it is an organisation without teeth,
with the even bigger conflicts such
as cases of appointments of members
in the commission are not as per the
guidelines and rules of procedure ◦

Its work has not been
~~satisfactory~~ satisfactory with respect
to representation of muslims in
Parliament (eg stagnant at 8% (also
highlighted by Sachar Committee)) ◦



Another reason is relying on magisterial reports rather than conducting its own investigations, inadequate representation of all notified religious minorities.

There is also a case for giving it a constitutional status similar to National Commission for Backward Classes [102th Amendment], but constitutional status alone does not ensure representation and adequate functioning is dependent on the members manning the institutions.

Thus, training of the members and sensitization is required to ensure 'teeth' is given to the commission by conducting Independent Inquiry (free of political interference)



e.5(b)

Trace the origins of the Human rights movement in India in pre and post-independent India. (10 Marks)

Human Rights Movement are based on the liberal Discourse and originates from the times of pre independence when Inhuman experience was meted out in the name of White man's Burden.

The discrimination towards Indians (eg) Vernacular Press Act¹⁸⁷⁸, Pawlett Act 1919 where Freedom of Speech, Expression was curbed in the name of Public order by Governor Generals like Lord Curzon, Lord Lytton etc.

This led to Infusion of idea of Fundamental Rights as enforceable rights in Part III of Constitution [Article 12-35] namely Right to equality, freedom, against exploitation, minority rights, religion.



This was also based on idea of Human Rights which have values like Equality, Inalienability, Universality, Permanence and Indivisibility.

However, with Emergency of 1975 (Sammudhan Halya Divas) and AFSPA human right breaches by Armed forces there had been question mark on the liberal discourse, this also led to setting up National Human Rights Commission in 1990 as a Statutory Body based on Paris Principles.

It has taken up over 12 lakh cases and awarded 12 billion as penalties according to NHRC reports, and has good track records with respect to action of Custodial Deaths (Eg) death in Tamil Nadu during lockdown.

Thus, as Mother Teresa said that Human Rights belong to Individual, but Virtue of Humanity should be State policy.



ie.5(c)

Do you agree that the progress that the cooperative movement made in India has fallen far short of the goals set by its early proponents?

(10 Marks)

The 97th Constitutional amendment Act gave cooperative societies a constitutional status by including it in Part IX-B of Constitution and as a Fundamental Right under Article 19 of Constitution.

Cooperative movements represent the "collective behaviour" and pursue specific goals to achieve not only financial inclusion but also political development.
(Eg) Success of AMUL, Mother Dairy.

there have been 8.78 lakh cooperatives in India with 4 crore people being part of it forming it as the part of civil society which Gramsci calls as part of superstructure.



and Integral State .

The progress made however has fallen short of expectation because of the political interference in the cooperative business, lack of financial access to loans for running business, lack of trust of people in cooperative (of cooperative bank (urban) failures in recent times .

The lack of technical expertise.

Among the cooperatives has also been a challenge . The Government's push for more and more Farmer Producer Organisations and 'AGRI-ENTREPRENEURS' among farmers through cooperatives, recent forming of Ministry of Cooperatives (headed by Home Minister Amit Shah) shows Indian Government's push for it.



Ques (d)

Discuss the class approach and economic determinism of the Marxist historians about the Indian freedom struggle. (10 Marks)

Marxist discourse believe in class struggle as the moving force of history.

While UD Savarkar called Indian Revolt of 1857, as the 1st war of Independence, Karl Marx however analysed it himself and held that it was nothing more than a feudal war.

Similarly, A.P. Desai in his book 'Social Background of Indian Nationalism' and R.C. Dutt in book 'India today' gave instrumental perspective and called it as the Bourgeois war led by the Bourgeois people for political gains.

Marxism thus applying the



Structural theory of Ganssi (two-step war), Bipin Chandra in his 'India's Struggle for Independence' held that Mahatma Gandhi's steps and movements like Non cooperation, Civil Disobedience movement were war of position (to raise awareness) •

While Quit India movement was 'war of manoeuvre' (a direct attack) • Thus there is rift itself between Instrumental and Structural marxist with respect to India's National movement, but they believe that Economy and Capitalism by Bourgeois played a key role while B.R. Ambedkar held that in India it was 'Brahmanism' as basic structure rather than economy



(5e)

Analyse the contrasting philosophies of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru which have left an essence in Part IV of our constitution. (10 Marks)

Mahatma Gandhi, the father of national nation was a humanist and called for Decentralized Democracy, while J.L. Nehru, a progressive socialist went for Constitutional Parliamentary form of Government.

Mahatma Gandhi's first Swaraaj gave idea of kind of democracy (Pura Rajya) he wanted to opt (eg) he called for economic revolt of power through Panchayat Raj which were mandated in Article 40 of Directive Principles of State Policy.

However, Parliamentary Government favoured by J.L. Nehru due to



Previous experience were placed in Article 73 and 74 of State Union Chapter

Mahatma Gandhi believed in Cottage Industries and Prohibition of Intoxicating Drinks [Article 47], he also favoured a welfare State where Inequalities are minimized (Article 39(a))

However, J.L. Nehru called for Modernization, Industrialization and called it as Temples of Modern India, he also wanted to go for Secularism model (Adopted in Article 44) where there would be lesser political & religious divide in his concept of Modern India.

Thus both had different views, which were adopted in Constitution



6(a)

Discuss boundary disputes between different states . Explain what are different methods available to resolve inter-state disputes.

(20 Marks)

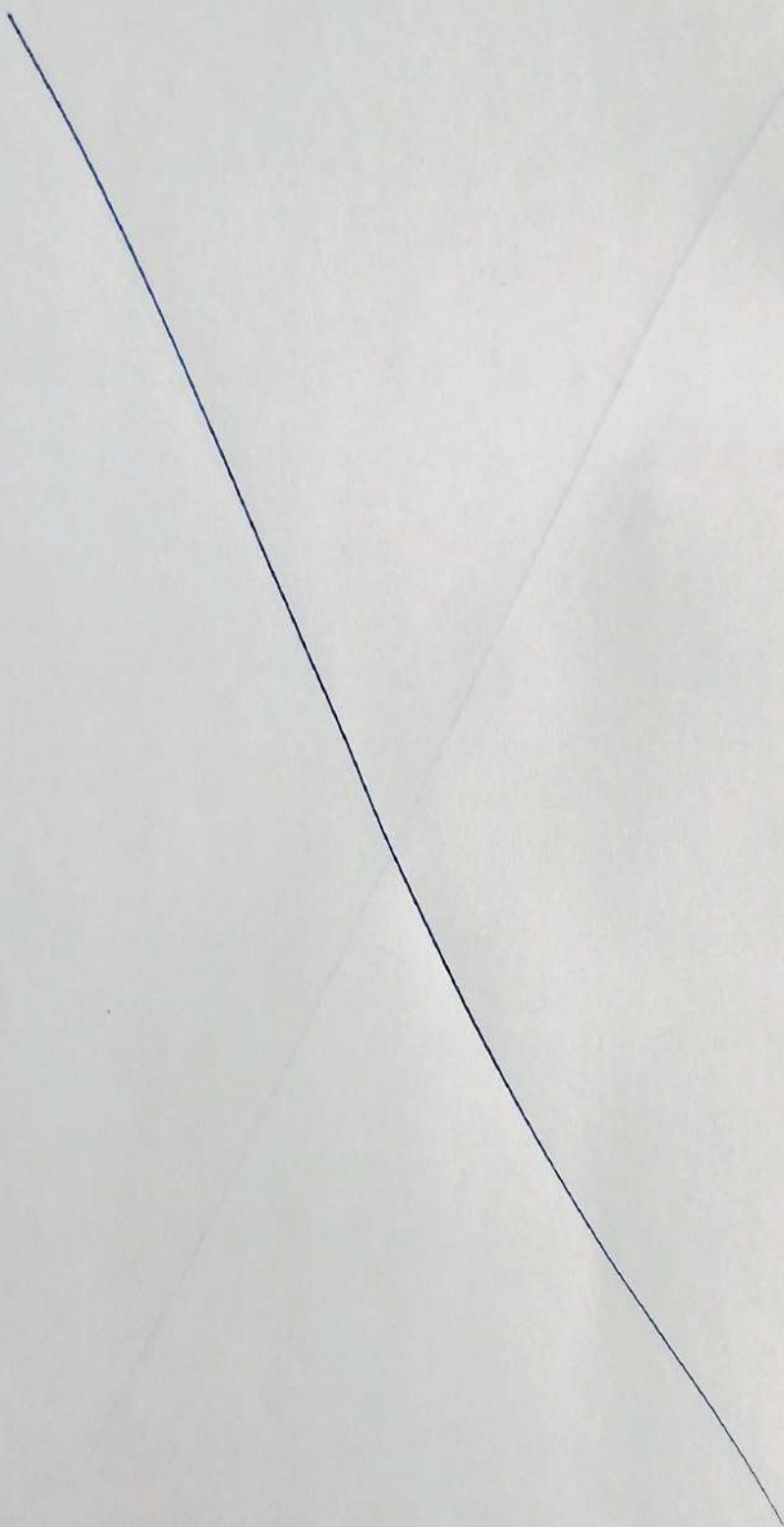


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Q. 6(b)

Whether judicial activism has undermined or strengthened Parliamentary Democracy in India . Discuss. (15 marks)



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Que. 6(c)

Do you think that the regional political parties are eternal theme of the Indian political scene? (15 Marks)



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7(a)

"The ongoing processes of social and economic differentiation within caste groups, as well as the migration and dispersion of populations, weaken the possibilities of caste solidarity and therefore caste politics." Critically Examine. (20 marks)



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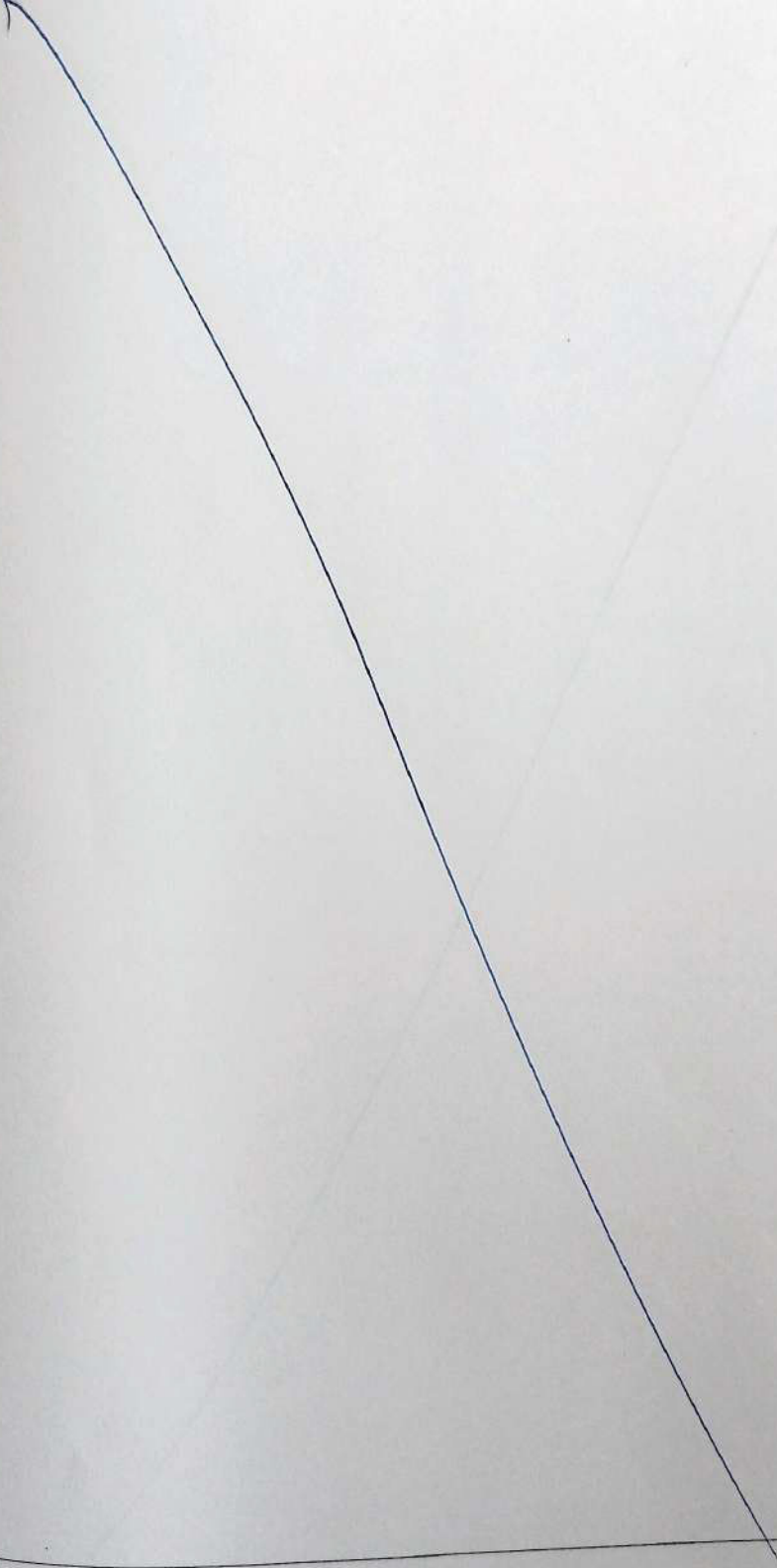
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7(b)

Highlight the debates and discussions surrounding the interpretations and understanding of the Basic Structure Doctrine.
(15 marks)





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Que.7(c)

Discuss various phases of the women's movement in post-independence India till the end of the 20th century. (15 marks)



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8(a)

"Secularism is one of the most central ideological contestations in Indian politics since Independence" Bring out different perspectives on the nature of Indian Secularism. (20 marks)

'Secularism' was coined by George Jacob Holyoke in which he explained that it is a concept where religion is neither actively criticized nor promoted.

Secular word was included in Preamble via 42nd Constitution Amendment Act but the debates were much more earlier for (eg) Debate on Uniform Civil Code where Hansa Mehta, Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur were in favour of UCC, but Ismail Sahab, Mehboob Ali Baig wanted to keep it as part of Article 44 [DRP].

while France has adopted for



Ultra Substantive Model and USA
Ultra Procedural Model, Indian Model
of Secularism is based on Principled
Distance Approach (Rajni Bhargava),
or in the words of Kalyan Bhanu
Mehta as 'Asymmetrical Balancing'²
according to the demands of time
and situation.

Secularism as claimed by some
critics were adopted to accommodate
the communal threats just as
federalism was adopted to accommodate
for the regionalism threats. But
some Neo Gandhians like Ashis Nandy
in book 'Anti Secular Manifesto'²
call it as a child of Christianity
and Gift of Modernity and say that



Secularism does not suit Indian
~~the~~ situations and call for Ashoka's
Dhamma and Akbar's Din-e-Ilahi as the
India Model .

Opposed to this view, scholars
like Mohi Balgaram call for Bottom up
Approach based on Overlapping consensus
of John Rawls and General will of
Rousseau for the consensus rather than
top down approach which made
Machiavelli the enemy of Church .

Additionally, D.E Smith in
his book "India! A Secular State" held
that in India State and Religion are
not ideally separated as it should
be and thus is not qualified to
be called as perfectly secular .



Hence, it is to be noted that the Minorities have been custodians of the Indian Secular Model, but L.K. Advani often calls them as "Minority Appeasement" where Secularism has become a tool to favour the minorities in India.

Thus, Secularism in India is the Bedrock and Basic Structure (as also held by Supreme Court in S.R. Bommai case 1994). Hence, Article 25-28 in Part IV needs to be balanced with Article 14 of the Constitution because of the rising Yellow Journalism and Xenophobic trends. Indian Secularism has thus eroded and has been harbinger of Democracy.



e.8(b)

Do you think Indian Parliament has yet to live up to the hopes and aspirations of its founding fathers? (15 marks)

Indian Parliament represents the majority of the society. India has adopted parliamentary form of government [Article 73 and 74] in which India is executive being responsible to the legislature.

Founding Fathers of Constitution deliberated, as K.M. Munshi favoured Presidential form of government, but the way was given to the Parliamentary system, because of the need of having the Diverse Representation. India's Parliament thus represents the Rousseau's General will, due to debates, discussions and deliberations, but no direct allegation.

of erosion of parliamentary ethics
(eg) Mahua Mitra case, cash for queries scam,

reduction in the quality debates, (eg)

During 1960s-70s Parliament sat for
average 120-130 days a year [PRS report]
but it has come down to 50-60 days
in 17th Lok Sabha o

The utilities of Parliamentary
committees has also not been realised

(eg) 60% bills ~~are~~ referred to Parliamentary
committees in 15th Lok Sabha, which
reduced to 27% in 16th, and 16%
in 17th Lok Sabha [PRS report] o

This made Hameed Ansari
comment that India Parliament
represents Pedication of Anarchy o



Which even James Mann in book
'Parliament in India' called as in
'Regression Stage', because of disturbing
elements. (eg) 143 parliamentarians suspended

It is also to be noted that,
debates are rare, informed debates
are rarer, because of frequent
disruptions by opposition (eg) Recent
episode in which Union Minister faced
continuous disturbance in speech in
Parliament.

Thus, what is needed is reform
and strengthening of Post of Speaker, Reform
of Anti Disruption Law, codification of
parliamentary privileges (2nd ARE suggested),
and foremost adhering to parliamentary
ethics being 'Opposition should have its
say, but Government should have its way'

Que.8(c)

Examine the financial difficulties faced by the Panchayati Raj Institutions. (15 marks)

Panchayati Raj Institutions represent aptly what Abraham Lincoln called as Democracy for the people, of the people and by the people.

The 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Act 1992 gave Constitutional Status to Panchayats introducing it in Part IX with 29 subjects in 11th Schedule.

However, Financial Difficulties have been due to the reason that Constitutional Amendment has created the skeleton but left the infusion of blood in the hands of State Governments.
(Eg) Lack of funds, functions and functionaries.



There has been due to lack of devolution of taxation powers to P.R.s, and lack of own source revenue generation which has been only 4% of the money spent by them out of total as compared to 28% by Urban Local Bodies.

This is also the reason why citizens & rural people are less optimistic about services by Panchayats because of lack of accountability, because 'tan' as a blame where it adds a sense of accountability towards the Government and Expectation from the taxing authority.

Also, State Finance Commission Reports are also not tabled regularly.



in State Assembly as pointed out
by Manishankar Dey committee report,
which even called for aligning the
terms of SFC and Finance Commission.

This committee also held that
there has been Decentralization of
corruption rather than decentralization
of power. Thus, Panchayati Raj institutions
needs a set of reforms.

Inspiration can be taken from
Kerala model of overnight revolution
of powers and in Tamil Nadu where
Adanthurai Village generates ~~son~~
revenue by renewable Energy supply
to the other villages and districts. These
Financial Autonomy and as Panchi
Commission recommended that Rajya Sabha could
be created in all states with its members from PLDs