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Political Science & International Relations

PSIR Mains Test Series - 2024

Test 2

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name

VIKAS

Test Date

22/07/24

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						

For any issue related to PSIR Test Series, write only at
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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...!!!					



Que.1

"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)

Working class movement in Indian national movement started in late 19th century with formation of Railways, postal department and enterprises like "Bombay Mill Hands Association" and "Deenbandhu" newspapers of Cochin.

Initially Moderates
[1885-1905] remained indifferent to working class movement due to the belief that it may harm the interests of Indian industries and can make them non competitive vis-a-vis British industries in India. It did not take up workers cause in enactment of Factories Act in 1881 and 1891. After Swadeshi movement [1905], workers



entered the national movement. Gandhi led Ahmedabad Satyagrah taking up ~~peasant~~ worker's cause

In 1920's, socialist revolution in Russia inspired conspiracies like Kanpur Bolshevik case and Meerut conspiracy case. INC distanced itself from workers but younger sections like Nehru and Bose favoured their inclusion in national struggle.

formation of AITUC by N.M. Joshi in 1920 and its subsequent cracks in 1931 leading to formation of AITUF alienated Marxists from the workers.

so we see a lack of coordination and ambivalence in the approach of INC and various political parties vis-a-vis working class. comparatively Ma Zedong organised the peasant and working class in a better way in Chinese revolution



Que.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)

Constituent Assembly working on the principle of discursive model of democracy [Habermas] and consociational Model of Democracy of Arendt Lijphart provided a constitution.

Granville Austin held that "Indian constitution is a cosmopolitan constitution based on the universal values like liberty, equality, fraternity. He held it as a base of India's social revolution."

Madhav Khosla believes constitution framing process to be "paradigmatic" exercise through which a traditional society will be transformed in a modern civil



society [P.B. Menta]

Lawton Bhatta appreciates
"Transformative vision" of constitution to
address vertical & Horizontal seletions
in society and counter deep state of
religion, race, caste etc.

Providing final message on
Constitution, B.R. Ambedkar held that
"constitution is a new way vehicle of
life" and called for constitutional
mores. He held constitution to be
skeleton and constitutional mores to
be the flesh & organs for success of
the constitution.

Debashyashi Vaidyanathan
held that "constitution has given a
new way of life to us". B.R. Ambedkar
view that "If a constitution is
hands, it can create a revolutionary
wave in society" reflects the need for
better implem entation of the constitution
& following its ideals to the core.



Que.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, established under Article 280 is called as "Balancing wheel of fiscal federalism" in India. Recently 16th Finance Commission has been set up under Shri Yashwantrao Chavan for making recommendations for the period of 2026-31. There has been a need to think afresh by the Finance Commission conceptually, it has to ensure the fiscal federalism principle to ensure sufficient funds to the states and local bodies as Vijay Belkar held "Fiscal federalism" ^{is} @oxygen to the overall federalism in India. Methodologically, it



has to suggest principles of distributions based on needs and availability of finances to both centre and states.
Issues like debt ceilings on the states as recommended by finance commission has become a bone of contention between centre & state like in recently dispute between Kerala and centre in supreme court.

Operationally, it has to include the perspective of states in making its recommendations. P. K. Singh called for greater consultation with the states for formation and working mechanism of finance commission. He suggested a synchronisation in working of finance commission and G.S.T Council for better fiscal federalism. He also suggested to make finance commission a 'permanent body' for more efficient & effective functioning.



Que.1(d)

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

Going by political systems approach of David Easton, politics is influenced by elements in the environment.

On a prismatic society [Riggs] like India, it is common to see the problem of favoritism & patronage in political processes. Political sociologists have studied the roles of religion, caste, sex etc. on patronage politics of India.

Ethnicity is one of the defining feature of Indian politics based on religion, caste etc as per James Manor in his book "Ethnic Politics" in India. He held that the elites go for the mobilisation based on ethnicity by



exploitation of ethnic favoritism expectation of the electorates.

Suhel Palshikar defines Indian politics as based on demand and supply mechanism. Demand for favoritism based on ethnicity is more prominent in Northwest and various parts of India. In 2024 elections, we saw this phenomenon in Punjab where electorates favoured candidates who strongly supported Punjabi ethnicity.

However, we should refrain from a monocausal explanation and we have to include other factors in our analysis like political economy, personality of candidate for a comprehensive analysis as per Cull Varniers.

Politics is a borderless & bottomless sea [Caulfield] so we have to analyse multiple meta-narratives for a broad understanding.



Que.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)

After Independence, in constituent assembly, problems like formation of a common national identity was a major challenge.

It became a major challenge due to "Divide & Rule policy" of British, staggering diversity, secessionist movements, poverty, partition, difference of mental and non mental races etc.

Diversity in itself was not a challenge for India but the particular context made it difficult for India to harmonise diversity under "cosmopolitan vision" and Neovehicular vision of "Unity in diversity". constituent assembly dealt with it tactfully by adopting a



consociational approach [Lijphart] by including all sections in framing process.

Constitution as a social &

Political Charter constituted a "paradigm moment" for making a civil society out of traditional society as per P.B. Mehta.

Granville Austin called the constitution as "cosmopolitan constitution"

based on universal values like liberty, equality and dignity, serving as a base of "Indian social revolution" in coming times.

constitutional provisions like Preamble, Fundamental rights, DPSPs, single citizenship, Asymmetrical federalism, emergency provisions etc. provided for a single identity to be developed in the society.

Deshayani Velayudhan child that "Constitution has given us a new way of life" for its transformative vision on addressing vertical and horizontal differences upheld by Justice Roha



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Que.2(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)



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Que.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)



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Que.2(c)

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



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Que.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)

Party system as held by Sartori is not about number of parties in total. It is about number of political parties having systemic relevance.

Going by the systems approach of David Easton, political system for that matter party system and electoral system do not operate in vacuum and it is influenced by the elements in the environment.

Indian party system and electoral system too has seen various phases since independence.

In 1947-67 phase, Party system was one party



dominant system [Myron weener] led by congress system [Pajni kotnari] congress system as held by Pajni kotnari worked on consensus and it was a "Rainbow coalition" preventing rise of opposition and regional parties challenging its hegemony.

In 1967-89, we saw the rise of regional parties and agrarian parties in first democratic upsurge [Ugendra kadan] It led to regionalisation of party system due to reorganisation of states on language, Green Revolution, J.P.'s Total Revolution movements and rise of civil rights movements due to imposition of emergency. This phase made India's electoral system more



competitive leading to strengthening of "Federal State" and breeding of "Congress system" as held by Professor M.P. Singh.

Then in 1989-2014 phase, we saw the era of coalition politics with regional parties came to play a dominant role at centre. Mandel mandel politics and 1991 reforms ushered 2nd demographic - cratic upsurges as held by Ugendra Udavar. It brought Bahujan Samaj in politics by formation of political parties like BSP by Kanshi Ram. Globalisation fostered democratic consciousness among people and breeding of caste - class overlap



due to secularisation and classisation [P.L. sheth] led to premiddle class which gave votes to new parties like BJP and Shiv Sena bringing major changes in party system. The role of money and muscle power increased in politics due to "criminalisation of politics" [Mohan Varshney].

Post 2014, we saw the rise of BJP's dominance till 2024 lok sabha election as held by Jhadesh Palshuber "strengthening" parliamentary axis" reducing role of regional parties to "parties of pressure".

In 2024 elections, lack of clear mandate to BJP ushered an era of "return of coalition politics" at centre where "regional parties" are again "kingmakers" [J.C. Johari]. It again made electoral system competitive and driven by ascriptional politics like "caste calculus" of 1980s alliance. So party system and electoral system in India are fluid & they depend on context.



Que.3(b)

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

Robert called coalitions as "power sharing arrangements" where different political parties come together to form the government and share power.

Going by systems approach of David Easton, political systems are shaped by elements in environment. Considering the 'pragmatic nature' of Indian society with huge diversity and a federal polity established by constitution, *coalitions are natural for a country like India.

In 1951-67 phase, Congress acted as as "Rainbow Coalition" as per Pravin Kothari by accomodating various interests. Paul



Boas called INC as "Coalition of castes".

In 1967-89 phase, we saw regionalisation of politics with rise of political parties at regional level. It led to contestation between National and State parties leading to a "policy paralysis". Constitutional provisions like Ar. 356, post of Governor came under criticism in 1970's & 1980's. Regional parties emerged as "kingmakers".

In 1989-2014 era of coalition politics, "Coalition Shermans" was not seen in coalitions as held by former PM. A.B. Vajpayee. "Oversized Coalitions" based on "political calculations" and not based on ideology brought instability in national politics in 1990's with India seeing multiple PM's. It led



to politics of defections, "Laya Ram
Laya Ram" and promoted horse Trading
in politics.

However scholars like
M.P. Singh appreciate coalition governments
for strengthening federalism as in era
of coalition politics, federalism was
declared as "basic structure" of the
Constitution [Bommai case]. Democratic
centralisation in form of 73rd and
74th Amendment took place. Scholars
like Ugendra Yadav held that coalition
governments with involvement of regional
parties made federalism "more represent-
ative and pluralistic". Sudhai Pai
believed Coalition governments made
democracy more representative and
consociational.

In country like India,
with return of era of coalition governments,
in 2024 elections, we have to think about
how to make coalitions work by introduc-
ing "constructive vote of confidence" and
brining coalition government under the
"Tenth Schedule".



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)

Michael Walzer in his book 'Spheres of Justice' held that equality is a "complex" issue.

Similarly Aristotle in his theory of equality believed that "treating unequals equally is unjust". John Rawls in his theory of justice provided for "difference principle" for achieving "democratic equality".

Based on vision of social liberal scholars like John Rawls concept of affirmative action based on positive liberty evolved. It aims to provide an equitable distribution of resources instead of equal distribution to care for the disadvantaged.



sections so that they are not forced to live beyond their human dignity.
[Kant's categorical imperative].

Equal treatment of
unequals can lead to justice because
disadvantaged sections like Scheduled Caste in
India, Minorities, SEs, STs and
women lack capacity and it can
create a divide of rich and poor.
It is more favourable to advantaged
sections in society.

Affirmative action by
India in the form of Reservations
were emphasised by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar
as "compensatory justice" to create
a level playing field in the
society. Extension of reservations to
OBCs under Mandal commission and
to EWS by 103rd constitutional amendment



aims to achieve an equal society.
Similarly on lines of
"Differentiated citizenship" by Jos Marum
Young, reservations ~~to~~ were extended to
women by 73rd and 74th amendment.
Recently, Mari Guesti Vandan Adhunyam
extended them to Parliament and
state legislatures too.

Thomas Piberty appreciated
reservations for their positive impact on
upliftment of Salits. B.S. Behar
called reservation to women as a
"Silent Revolution" and a crucial part
of "Panchayat to Parliament" vision.

However phenomena of
"elite capture" [Andre Betille] corrodes
reservation and it requires constant
updates to remove inefficiencies in
reservation system as per Andre Betille.

Scholars like Arvind
Paragya denounce reservation for their
minimal impact. Recent verdicts in USA
and Bangladesh Supreme Courts revoking
reservations has sparked a debate once again
on these reservations. Dr. Amartya Sen
appreciates reservation as "necessary but not
sufficient" for a comprehensive approach based on
capability approach is needed.



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Que.4(a)

**“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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Que.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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Que.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 established under National Commission for Minorities Act, 1993 under the vision that "democracy is for the protection of rights of minorities" of Albert Camus.

As an institute of integrity or fourth branch institution, working as a "Bulwark of democracy" and for protection of rights of the minorities, it suffers from major challenges.

Its approach is reactive in nature. Its focus is majorly on religious minorities and less on linguistic minorities. Its majority of activities and focus remains on Muslim minority whereas all other



micro minorities remain under-represented.

It depends ~~for~~ funds, functions and functionaries on the central government. It has limited focus on research and it is hardly consulted by government on the matters of minorities. Politicisation is another structural challenge to NEM. Tussle between NEM and National Commission on Minority Educational Institutions Commission, 2004 is evident.

There is a need of constitutional status to NEM with sufficient devolution of 3F's to it. More proactive approach is needed on the part of NEM.

PM Modi's 15 point charter serves as the guiding light for NEM to ensure 'sabke saath, sabke videsh' to achieve vision of VIKSIT BHARAT by 2047.



Que.5(b)

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

Laspi defined Human rights as "the claims without which nobody can attain his/her best self".

H.R. movement in India can be traced to pre-independence with multiple peasant, worker and civil uprisings in 1800's like Ko & Munde uprising, Indigo Revolt, Civil services agitation etc.

It gained momentum after formation of Congress in 1885 and spread of education. The whole Indian national movement is sometimes called as human rights movement to give a life of dignity to Indians from "oppressive" regime of Britishers. Post independence, we saw the rise of human rights movement.



in 1970s after 'grey years' of 1980s & 1960s

In 1970s, JP Movement,
Red Panthers movement, women
agitation, agitation against emergency
, democratic upsurges, introduction of
PIL and Maneka Gandhi case made
Judiciary as active participant in
Human rights movement. In 1980s,
NGOs like PUCL, ADAR etc. came
into being for H. Rights movement

In 1990s & after 2000s,
globalisation increased the consciousness
of human rights among Indians.
Social Media gave a major fillip to
human rights movement encompassing
women agitation against Nirbhaya rape,
LGBTQ's Pride movement and marginalised
sections like SC's, ST's, farmers etc.
human rights movement

in India is evolving with time to
ensure that everybody's human rights
are protected to give a life of
dignity to all based on Art's Categorical
Imperative



Que.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)

Cooperative Movement has been visualised in India right from the "Village Republic" concept of Gandhi where cooperation among and within villages will lead to regeneration of India".

In 1950's to 1980's, we did not see any major breakthrough in cooperative movement due to the "overdeveloped state" [Police raj] and excessive emphasis on planning and public sector by the government under Nehru Mahalanobis Model.

In 1990's and 2000's, success of Amul, IFCO and the success of SHGs fuelled the cooperative movement. It led to 97th



Amendment where cooperative societies were included in constitution in part IX A.

Government today is focusing of former Agricultural cooperative societies and it has set up multiple cooperative societies in 2023 budget. PM Modi called SHGs as "new Help groups", aimed to achieve vision of "Lehpari Padi".

However lack of penetration among males and regional differences like less cooperatives in North & western part of India limits success of cooperatives. Centre-state tussles over control of cooperatives has led to litigation in Supreme court providing a major fillip to the cooperative movement.

Going forward, vision of "Sehakar Se Samridhi" will help in achieving vision of VIKSI BHARAT by 2047.



Que.5(d)

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

Marxist approach to study Indian National Movement is one of the 'meta-narratives' to analyse the nature of movement.

Marxist historians like R.P. Dutt focussed on class approach and economic determinism about the Indian freedom struggle.

M.N. Roy held INC to be a 'Bourgeois party' & Gandhi as a 'Bourgeois leader'. R.P. Dutt called Gandhi as 'Mascot of Bourgeoisie'. A.R. Desai held that the program of Gandhi and INC emerged out of 'historical needs of the bourgeoisie class'. S.N. Mukherjee criticised



the reduction to class analysis and economic determinism. He held that INM was a complex movement with multiple sections & multiple strands of thought, and we cannot ignore factors like class.

Subaltern scholars like Sunil Sarkar and Bhupin Perish highlight the role of peasant, working class, women movements. Sunil Sarkar held that INM was a very complicated idea with huge overlapping. They criticised national historians & Marxist historians for taking one-sided view of INM.

Bipan Chandra summed it up in his opinion that "Indian struggle was a multi-class, multi-caste, multi-sect and multi-religious movement encompassing all sections of society making it the largest mass movement of the 48 history".



Que.5(e)

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

There has been an ideological difference in the philosophies of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru.

Nehru was a modernist and he favoured a Progressive Model of socialism based on the success of USSR emphasising on Planning & Public sector.

Gandhi on the other hand, believed in concept of village Republics and 'servo daya' through his principles of Breed Labour, Charity, Theory of trusteeship, Shrenis and revival of cottage industries.

Nehru emphasised on modern industrialisation to revive India.



whereas Gandhi criticised modern industrialisation in his article 'Industri-
alise and Perish'.

Gandhian idea of local
government found place in Article 40
and cottage industries in Article 43
of 21st P's. Nehru, as a Modernist
emphasised on modern means for
regeneration of India keeping the
Gandhian idea in 21st P's which
serve as "Instrument of instructions"
for the formation of public policy
and establishment of a welfare state
under Article 38.

Ignorance of Gandhian
idea led to K-shaped growth and huge
inequalities as evident in Oxfam report
where 1% hold more than 40% of wealth
and also conflict between 21st P's & fundamental
rights leading to executive -
judiciary struggles and judicial activism
in form of 'Basic structure' doctrine
and constitutional amendments



Que.6(a)

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

(20 Marks)

Indian federation of 28 states and 8 UT's is often called as "holding together federalism and not "coming together" federalism like the federation of Canada.

Louis Tollen in her book "Remapping India" held that "political map of India is yet not settled". It is clearly evident from the boundary disputes between the states right from independence.

Just after independence, state reorganisation based on language on recommendations of Jones commission in 1953, led to a debate on the border disputes among states.

In 1967-89 era,



and in era of coalition politics in 1989-2014, with the rise of regional parties, boundary disputes became common due to the mobilisation of people by regional parties.

At present the disputes over Belgaum between Maharashtra and Kerala, over Chandigarh between Haryana and Punjab, over Kota between Andhra Pradesh and Odisha, over tribal regions between Assam and Manipur can be seen across the country.

Belgaum dispute is due to language which led to Mahayan commission formation. Chandi-
garh issue is due to economic and administrative reason. But the most common reason behind the



boundary disputes is the mobilisation by political parties in those states.

In his book, "Inter State Border disputes", Ashok Saxena held that lack of political will, politics of opposition parties, colonial history and struggle over resources like water and minerals are the major reason behind the border disputes among states.

To resolve these disputes, Ashok Saxena suggested the use of cooperative mechanisms like inter state councils and zonal councils to solve them in a very amicable manner.

The role of regional parties and leaders is to give



primacy to the interests of the people leaving aside the political interests.

Ashok Saxena held that centre shall act as a facilitator to resolve the disputes among the states helping them to reach a compromise.

various commissions like Sarkaria Commission and Punchhi Commission also recommended to use the method of "Plebiscite" to decide the fate of region with bodies like Inter State Council acting as a unifying mechanism.

But unfortunately, instead of amicable settlements, these disputes have led to litigation under Article 131 → original jurisdiction of supreme court leading to delays in resolving these disputes.

India as a "cooperative federalism" [Granville Austin] has to solve these disputes in a very cooperative manner with centre acting as a "guide" to states.



Que.6(b)

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

Constitution establishing a democratic system while adopting a Parliamentary system, has adopted the doctrines like "separation of powers" with "interlocking and interdependence" among three branches based on doctrine of checks and balances".

Judicial activism has promoted Judiciary's proactive role in delivering justice to the people. From 1973 Keshvanand Bhoreti's case till now, is called as phase of Judicial activism.

However, it remains a matter of debate among scholars whether it has strengthened or weakened democracy. Scholars like Upendra Baxi hailed it as "chemotherapy" of



carcinogenic Indian politics", Zia Modi held that "judicial activism through basic structure doctrine saved the parliamentary democracy in India from crumbling". It has led to control over "bonapartist executive" to prevent it from overstepping from its jurisdiction.

Menka Gandhi case of 1978 where supreme court adopted "due process of law" furthered the cause of delivering substantial justice by allowing parliament to pass laws that are "fair & just and reasonable" based on "principles of natural justice".

However scholars like P. B. Mehta held that "Judiciary in the name of activism has strengthened its role vis-a-vis other two organs."



It has assumed powers of constituent assembly and become a "superlegature" violating delicate balance of power under parliamentary democracy.

Collegium system as a result of Judicial activism has led to formation of "IMPERIUM IN IMPERIO" [Ambedkar]. Bhikhu Rai called India a case of "Judicial co-governance" and P. B. Mestri called Judicial activism as a case of "Judicial sovereignty".

However, it has to be noticed that activism by judiciary has delivered substantive justice in form of PII, decriminalisation of Sec. 377 and enforcement of principle of constitutionalism. It has prevented the "sanctity of constitution", Rule of Law, separation of power and doctrine of checks and balances from executive hyper-headedness especially during emergency.

57 So Judicial activism as held by N. A. Palkhivala shall be a "Alarm clock" and not a "time beeper".



Que.6(c)

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

Sudha Rai in her analysis, held regional parties as those parties which have a stronghold over one or multiple states.

After the "one party dominant congress system" [Reinforced]
from 1951-67 we saw the rise of regional parties in 1967-2014, also called as the phenomenon of regionalisation of pol party system".

Relevance of regional parties in Indian politics has been contested among scholars and it is subject to the elements of the environment of political system, going by political system approach of Samuel Easton.

In 1967-87 phase,



However their relevance reduced during 2014-24 phase due to strong BJP system as held by Sushma Palshuber reducing them to level of 'parties of pressure' as evident from form bills & removal of Article 370.

However 2024 Lok Sabha election mandate has led to return of era of 'codition politics' where relevance of regional parties has increased again. They have emerged as 'kingmakers' in both INDIA Alliance and NDA Alliance.

But scholars like Mulan Mathew and Sushma Palshuber believe that their relevance shall not be overestimated as they represent only a small fraction of population.

Relevance of regional parties on Indian political scene remains a matter of contestation and change due to changes ⁶⁰ in Indian social, political and economic conditions.



rise of regional parties is attributed to linguistic reorganisation, breaking of congress system, democratic upsurges of Yodhure & Yodur, Emergency and JP's Movement.

Sudha Rai held that rise of regional parties should be seen as a "phenomenon of its own". It represents the "indigenisation of party system" on the national level. various factors in combination gave rise to regional parties combining institutional and non institutional factors like socio-economic development.

In 1989-2014, phase of coalition era, regional parties emerged as "kingmakers" leading to a phase of unstable governments.



Que.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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Que.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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Que.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)

"Ponder unto Caesar what is Caesar's
and unto church what is Church's
is the core ideology behind secularism."

However western concept
of secularism based on "laicite model
of France based on 'thick wall of
separation' is a matter of immense
debate in Indian politics since
independence."

In constituent assembly
P. M. Munshi pushed for a
"characteristically Indian secularism"
as religion is a part of life in India.
Western model was held as inept
because there was no historical
conflict in India between the
religion and state.



Following this, a positive model of secularism based on "principled distance" model was adopted as held by Pegiv Bhargava. It was adopted on context of partition & sense of insecurity among the minorities. It was based on Tokutomi and Neovedantic vision of "unity in diversity".

After Congress system phase [1951-67], words like "secularism" was explicitly added in Preamble by 42nd Amendment to make the nature of India being a "secular state" explicit.

Indian model of secularism was criticised by scholars like Romila Thapar as "extremely weak Model" due to inability to



~~promote~~ protect violence and
conflict in society. In 1980's,
Shah Bano controversy and Mandela
Parmandal politics phase gave a
crucial challenge to Indian model
of secularism. Scholars like Arjun
Savare called it is "pseudo secularism"
Scholars like P.B. Menta

held it to be an "asymmetrical
model" and it has led to
the legitimisation of "Vote bank
politics" of different political
parties. Rejiu Bhargava too called
it as "party political secularism"

Supreme court too
did not give any specific interpretation
of Indian secularism. It dealt with
the "Contextual Model" with doctrines like



essential practices, constitutional morality from time to time.

Indian Model is highlighted as crucial for the fact that civil society is not present in India & State has to be at the forefront of social reforms considering conservative nature of society.

Debate around Indian secularism has been revived again in context of Hydrabad issue and VCE issue in recent times. Supreme court held VCE as a "secular imperative" in Shah Bano case but held the process to VCE shall be gradual in Pannal case.

VCE controversy is often called as "forced secularisation" & adoption of "Laicite model" which is inapt to Indian society, held by Charles Taylor.

Law Commission's recommendations to introduce ⁷⁴ VCE in long run by developing "overlapping consensus" in alignment with Indian secularism is the way forward.



Que.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 is hailed as the "most defining" institution of our democratic republic by Vinod Rai.

Established under Article 78 and modelled on British lines of an upper and lower house, Parliament has come under criticism in recent times.

PRS's legislative Research highlighted that parliamentary sessions have come down to just 55 days in an year in 17th look at the downgrading deliberative democracy in India.

Use of money bill route, ordinance route and the politicisation of the post of Speaker



has lowered the credibility of the Parliament.

P.B. Mehta called Parliament as "Notice Board" due to lack of informed debates and deliberations. Its role has been confined to voting like in case of farm bills and Agrupath scheme.

Hemud Ansari called Parliament as "Federation of Anarchy" due to opposition and guling parties acting as "warring groups". P.B. Mehta called Parliament as a "self serving institution" due to the "cummulation of politics" for e.g. in 18th Lok Sabha, 46% of MP's have criminal background. Anti defection law has increased hold of political parties.



over MPs resulting in less dissent.
Issue of whip and lack of use of
Parliamentary committees with only
16% of bills referred to them under 17th
Lok Sabha has led to crisis of confidence
in Parliament.

Parliament in order to
actualise the dreams of founding
father has to be reformed and
restructured. Verbaan Naidu gave
a 15 point charter for parliamentary
reforms. ARCTI called for a
code of conduct and code of ethics
for legislators. Legislative Impact
Assessment and US Model of strong
Parliamentary committees needs to
be emulated.

A new Parliamentary
building substantiated by new Parliamentary
processes rules is needed to achieve
the vision of "VIKSIT BHARAT" by 2047.



Que.8(c)

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

Based on Gandhi's vision of "Gram Raj for Ram Raj", PRI's have an intrinsic, educative and instrumental value [Amartya Sen] for good, sustainable and inclusive governance [ARCI],

Established by 73rd Amendment, PRI's face seemendous financial difficulties

Financial powers to PRI's has been delegated to state government which are themselves called as "Classified municipalities" due to lack of sufficient funds. State governments are reluctant to give substantial financial powers to the PRI's.

Government funds



and aid under the recommendation of State Finance Commission under Article 243 I constitute major portion of their finance. Self generation of funds is minimal in PRI's.

Vijay Kelkar held that "Introduction of GST has further constrained the funds to PRI's". World Bank held India as a worst performer in financial decentralisation.

Unutilised funds of PRI's are siphoned by Samprach-Bureaucracy - Local Politician nexus as held by Manohankar Ayyar Committee.

Expenditure by the Government is at less than 2% of GDP which is less than 14% of GDP by the OECD countries and



11% by China on its local bodies.

State governments also do not let PRIs to raise funds from the debt market. "Munis" or Municipal bonds introduced in 2023 budget caters to only ULBs and not PRIs.

"Economic structure is the basic structure" held by Marx. ARJIT and NCRWC opined to focus on self generation of funds by PRIs and sufficient devolution of taxation powers to PRIs. Vijay Kelkar held that "a part of GST revenue shall be shared with PRIs". Kerala's

Big Bang Model of decentralisation focussed on adequate funds to PRIs and Andhra Pradesh's village secretariat scheme can be emulated at national level.

To achieve vision of "village republics" of ⁸⁰Gandhi, sufficient funds shall be given to PRIs to build a VIKSI BHARAT by 2047.



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Space for Rough Work

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