



**An Institute for Civil Services**

**IAS TOPPER'S**

**TEST COPY**

**LAXMAN TIWARI**

**RANK - 176**

**POLITICAL SCIENCE**

## **POLITICAL SCIENCE**

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*Time Allowed: 3 hrs.**Max. Marks: 250*

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### ***Instructions to Candidate***

- There are EIGHT questions. Candidate has to attempt FIVE questions in all.
- Question no. 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, THREE are to be attempted.
- Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the Admission certificate which must be stated clearly on the cover of this Question-cum-Answer (QCA) booklet in the space provided. No marks will be given for answers written in medium other than the authorized one.
- Word limit in questions, wherever specified, should be adhered to.
- Attempts of questions shall be counted in chronological order. Unless struck off, attempt of a question shall be counted even if attempted partly. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the answer book must be clearly struck off.

Name LAXMAN TIWARI

Mobile No. \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature Laxman Tiwari

1. Invigilator Signature \_\_\_\_\_

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## REMARKS

GS SCORE

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**SECTION A**

1. Answer the following questions: (150 Words Each)

(10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) Satyagraha versus passive resistance
- (b) Discuss the need for internal democracy in Political Parties in India.
- (c) Secularism is contested idea in the Indian scenario. Discuss.
- (d) Role of Strong Opposition in democracy
- (e) Role of Pressure Groups in Policy Formulation

Ans-(a)

Indian national movement has seen various forms of struggles like constitutionalism, revolutionary, passive resistance and Satyagraha. The last two forms the most prominent part.

Passive resistance was put in practice first time during Swadeshi movement, 1905-08. It was brought by the 'extremist' leaders like Tilak, Aurobindo Ghosh, Lala Lajpat Rai etc who had developed differences with constitutional methods of 'moderate' leaders.

Satyagraha as an instrument of mass movement was developed by Gandhiji. He used this method during his movements in South Africa and then in Indian freedom struggle.

Remarks

Gandhiji said that passive resistance is not compatible with the ethos of India. He held that Satyagraha forbids use of any form of violence and aggression deliberately, however, in passive resistance, people do not use power because of incapacity. He said that Satyagraha is an instrument for those who are morally strong and are fighting for justice. Here, unlike positive resistance, focus is on evil and not on evil doer.

According to Biring Chandra, passive resistance could not attract large number of masses because of its hardcore nature. However, Gandhi used Satyagraha strategically to enthral all sections of people making Indian national movement one of the most spectacular mass movement of human history.

Thus, there are some structural differences but the ultimate goal of both factions was to attain freedom and Swaraj. Both helped creating nationalistic consciousness among masses.

Remarks

Ans ⑤ political parties, as said by HJ Laski, are indispensable instruments to make democracy consociational because they perform the role of interest aggregation and political mobilisation. Recently, PM Narendra Modi has highlighted the need for internal party democracy in parties.

According to Paul Brass, Indian political parties are western in structure and look but indigenous in functioning. parties are suffering from problems like corruption, dynasty, nepotism, favouritism etc.

Similarly Zoya Hasan says that political parties have lost their ideology, have lost connection with people and few elites are controlling the parties.

Yogendra Yadav has criticised political parties because of lack of internal democracy. They have reduced to the level of electoral machines.

Lack of internal democracy has created the phenomena like

- corruption.
- Dynasty politics
- personality-centered parties
- lack of transparency.

Remarks

ADR has published a report stating that 75% of political funds are from unknown sources.

Thus, internal democracy is essential to bring consociational democracy, to provide equal opportunity to all workers, bringing transparency and accountability, to end politics of dynasty and personality.

For instance, internal elections of major national parties have been hijacked and only elite classes are elected to coveted posts even uncontested.

Therefore, without reforming political parties, we cannot expect them to reform the entire political system of the country. Ind ARC, PM Modi have been striving ardently, may be vocally, to bring internal party democracy.

And (c)

Secularism is a western-originated idea which aims to separate the spheres of religion and the state. However, the concept of secularism is qualitatively different in Indian scenario, here emphasis is not to separate the sphere but to enhance the harmony between the two and thereby promoting multiculturalism.

Remarks

There has been a debate whether 17th century European idea is relevance in 21st century India.

Rajiv Bhargava has come out the 3 forms of secularism -

- Ultra substantive (France)
- Ultra-procedural (USA)
- Politically-negotiated (India)

He says that India follows politically-negotiated model and maintains principled-distance instead of equidistance.

He has given following features of Indian secularism -

- politically-negotiated. principled distance
- boundary b/w religion & state is porous.
- state is not Theocratic.
- state does not maintain neutrality neither promotes a particular religion, etc.

According to PB Mehta, Indian model is redundant. Here, state goes for appeasement for minorities which creates a sense of resentment among majority. He says that politically negotiated model is nothing but a method to promote vote bank politics.

However, Gandhians like Ashish Nandy and TN Madan says that

India model is not effective, India should -

- rather follow 'religious harmony' because people in India are too religious.

L.K. Advani says that Congress model is 'pseudo secularism' and minority appeasement.

However, Romila Thapar says that we need to bring more bold form of secularism.

Thus, - it remains a matter of debate. Rajiv Bhargava says that the idea remains painfully illusive.

And (d)

Democracy is to a govt by dissent and deliberation. we have adopted parliamentary-form of democracy where role of opposition party is as much crucial as ruling party because they check the authoritarian tendency of the govt.

In India, during the period of Pt Nehru, opposition party was virtually absent. Granville says that ruling party of party of consensus and opposition was like party of pressure.

Remarks

In India, opposition leader has been made a statutory post and they receive the emolument & allowances offered to the cabinet minister. However, to secure the status, a party needs atleast  $1/10$  of total seats of the house.

However, as P B Mehta says that the role of opposition party has not been satisfactory in India. They often try to obstruct the govt policies and do not support even the public-friendly policies. For eg - GST Bill could not be passed for a decade due to undue blockade by the opposition.

Former vice-president Hamid Ansari says that 'debates in houses has become rare, rational debate rarer. Opposition and ruling party meet in the parliament as two warring camps. For eg - 120 hrs of Budget session (2018) was wasted due irresponsible acts of opposition parties.

Thus, Mr Singh suggests that opposition should have its say while govt should have its way. Opposition should provide constructive criticism to govt and should try to achieve the constitutional goals.

Ans - (e) pressure groups are known as the 'invisible empires'. They do not exercise power directly but influence the govt policies enormously.

Paul Brass says that Associational and non-associational pressure groups like civil servants association, Kisan Sabha etc have extraordinary influencing power.

PB Mehta calls pressure groups as the reservoir of leadership and agent of modernisation. According to him, Anomic pressure groups like India against corruption was able to pressure govt which culminated into Karpals Hokayukta Act enactment.

Similarly, movements like Chipko movement, Narmada Bachao Andolan resulted in enactment of pro-environment policies. Women-led movements led to enactment of Domestic Violence Act, SHE Act etc.

Thus, pressure groups are capable of influencing govt policies. For instance, business-oriented pressure groups can exercise influence on business-related policies enactment. Therefore, pressure groups are rightly called as the 'invisible empires'.

Remarks

2. Attempt all questions:

(a) Briefly discuss the impact of colonial legacy on post-independence India with special emphasis on Political, Administrative and social scenarios.

(200 Words) (15 Marks)

(b) Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act 1989 has been centre of controversy due to recent judgement of SC. Critically examine the issue with focus on the recent SC judgement.

(200 Words) (15 Marks)

(c) Enumerate the recent factors responsible for decline in Parliamentary efficiency and suggest measures to reverse this trend.

(250 Words) (20 Marks)

Ans @

India became independent in 1947 but colonial legacy can be found in every sphere of the current governmental system. colonial-legacy are those policies which were enacted by the colonial masters and post-independence, they were retained by indigenous elites.

Rabindra nath Tagore held that Britishers would leave India one day but will leave mountain of filth and dirt which would take generation for Indians to clean them.

political legacy

① Indian constitution derives its base from the Govt Act 1935 which was enacted to serve British goals.

② our bureaucratic, political system continued with certain modification.

③ most of the colonial policies like -

Remarks

- reservation, Official Secret Act 1923, Evidence Act, civil procedure code, Indian penal code - 1861 continued to be in practice

### Administrative scenario

(a) Govt could not overhaul the administrative structure post-independence. we continued with the bureaucratic & clerical structure as devised by the Britishers.

(b) Lengthy laws, outdated policies and data continue to shape our policies. For instance, Reservation for OBCs based on 1932 census

(c) police administration, military administration, political administration, economic administration are continuing in Indian political domain.

### Implications of such precedent

- (a) continuance of poverty.
- (b) economic backwardness.
- (c) Agricultural distress - land reforms could not become successful.
- (d) communal politics.
- (e) over-burdened bureaucracy.

Remarks

+ positive side of legacy

- (a) Rule of law.
- (b) Separation of military & civilian govt.
- (c) parliamentary form of Govt.

Thus, as Ambedkar has said that colonial govt is never good, we should try to bring changes by throwing away the exploitative rules & laws of the colonial masters.

Ans (b)

Recently, SC held that there have been instances of gross misuse of SC/ST (PoA) Act - 1987 and therefore, it has put certain procedures to check the misuse.

Art 17 provides for abolition of untouchability and thereby govt enacted civil rights (protection) Act 1956 and SC/ST (PoA) Act 1987 to check the discrimination against marginalised section of the society.

The Act, 1987 provides for stringent punishment to the culprit. It results into immediate arrest and due to its cognizability, bail is not granted to the aggressor.

Remarks

Supreme Court held that data of NCRB shows that grave misuse is happening and thus its curtailment is essential.

SC held that arrest would be made only after completion of initial enquiry by the SP level officer. In case of a public servant, consent of appointing authority and in case of private individual, consent of SSP is essential before venturing to arrest. Court also said that <sup>anticipatory</sup> bail could be granted if crime is not grave.

This ruling resulted into widespread protest and resentment. Political parties started making their bone of contention by criticising the dilution of the Act.

According to antagonists, this move has eroded the rigour of the Act. It has made delits & deprived class more vulnerable. Some has argued that judiciary is assuming the role of legislature and such negative overreach is not a good precedent.

However, according to protagonists like Yogendra Yadav, Christophe Jaffrelot this move is in right direction as the judgement aims to curb the misuse and false fabrication against innocent people. This judgement would make people more aware, it would reduce burden from judiciary and thus would ensure welfare of all.

~~Therefor~~ Thus, it should be remembered that to make this judgement extraordinary, reforms in police as held in Prakash Singh case and criminal justice system as held in Malimath reform should be brought.

Therefore, only precautions steps should be taken as minority and dalits are already under threat and are facing instances of lynching due to rise of ultra-nationalism and far-rightism.

Ans (c)

Parliament the centre of gravity in the our set up. It is the mirror of our society. Its development, enlightenment shows the enlightenment of the society.

However, parliamentary efficiency has been declining constantly.

Remarks

This decline has further been entrenched in recent decades years.

According to Rajni Kothari, post-congress system led to decline of parliament. According to him, partial decline happened during the phase of 1967-89 under leadership of Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi. Both the leaders went of deinstitutionalisation and centralisation of power. However, the greatest decline has occurred post-1989 phase due proliferation of multi-party democracy.

According to PRS report card, ~~debates~~ sitting hours of Lok Sabha in a session has declined from 248 hrs to 128 hrs between 1952 & 2015. Same is the case with Rajya Sabha.

As seen recently in Budget session, Both houses of the parliament were disrupted incessantly, MPs walked out, staged protests within the house and depicted bullying behaviours which ultimately reduce the credibility of the parliament.

Remarks

As in single outlines, following are the reasons for recent decline-

- Decline of Congress.
- Coalition govt
- Rise of regional parties.
- Horse-trading.
- Criminalisation of politics & politicisation of criminals.
- Anti-defection law
- Rise in corruption.
- Lack of internal party democracy.
- Parties craving for power.
- Undermining constitutional values.

Similarly, Suhas Palashikar has held that decline of parliament is because of narrow-interests and parochial approaches of the parties.

Zoya Hasan says that there has been significant decline in the ideological structure of parties, they are not willing to promote people's interest rather want to capture power.

Yogendra Yadav says that increasing distance between people and representative and narrow interests of parties are responsible.

Remarks

Therefore, it must be remembered that parliament is the hub of Indian democracy, if it loses its credibility, there would be a chaos in the state.

- measures to contain it

- (a) electoral reform.
- (b) - decriminalisation of politics
- (c) Bringing ethics in politics.
- (d) making sittings for 120 days a year compulsory.
- (e) prescribing educational qualifications for MPs/MLAs.
- (f) capacity building and training of legislators.

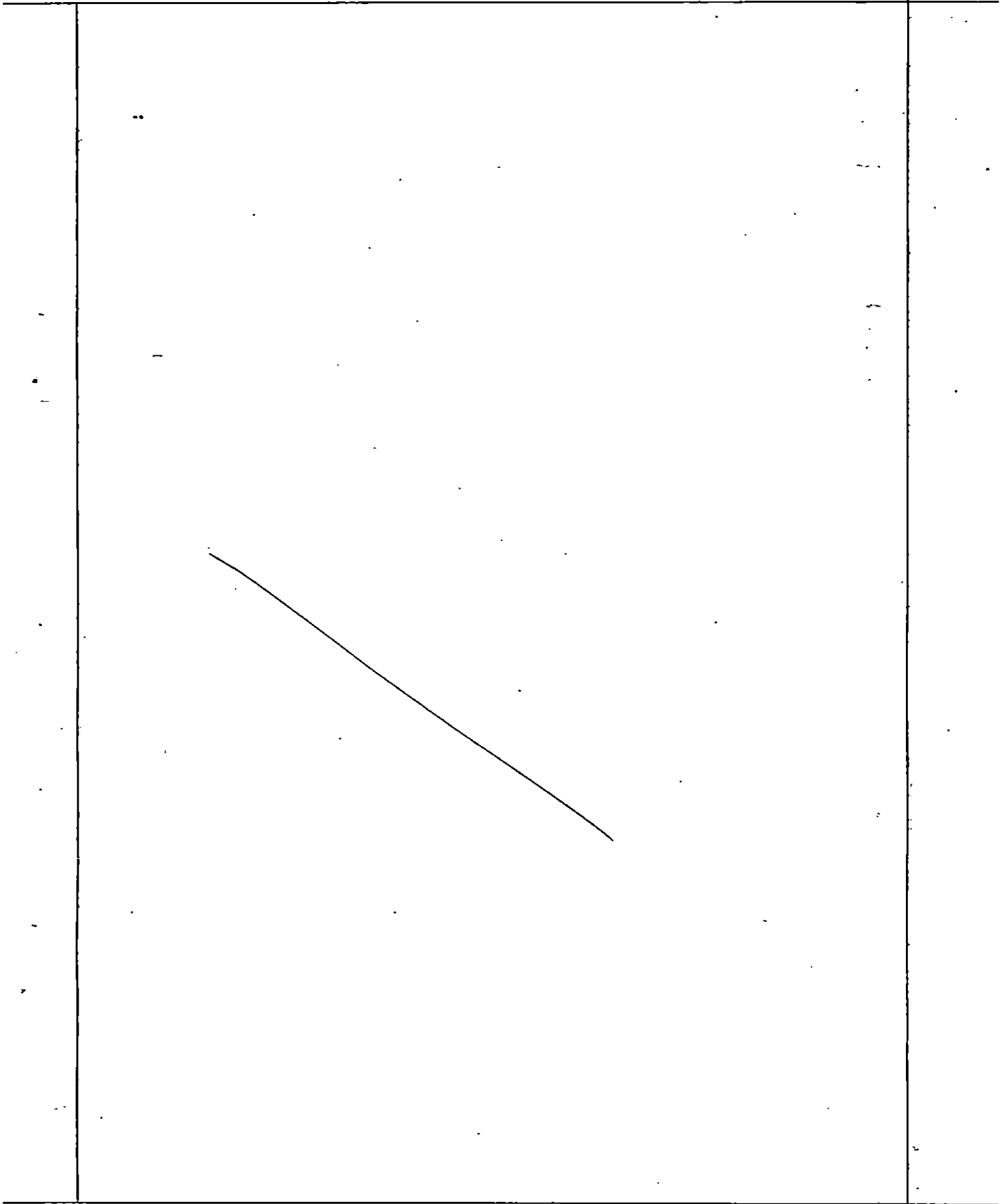
Thus, only protection of Indian parliament would ensure democracy in India.

3. Attempt all questions:

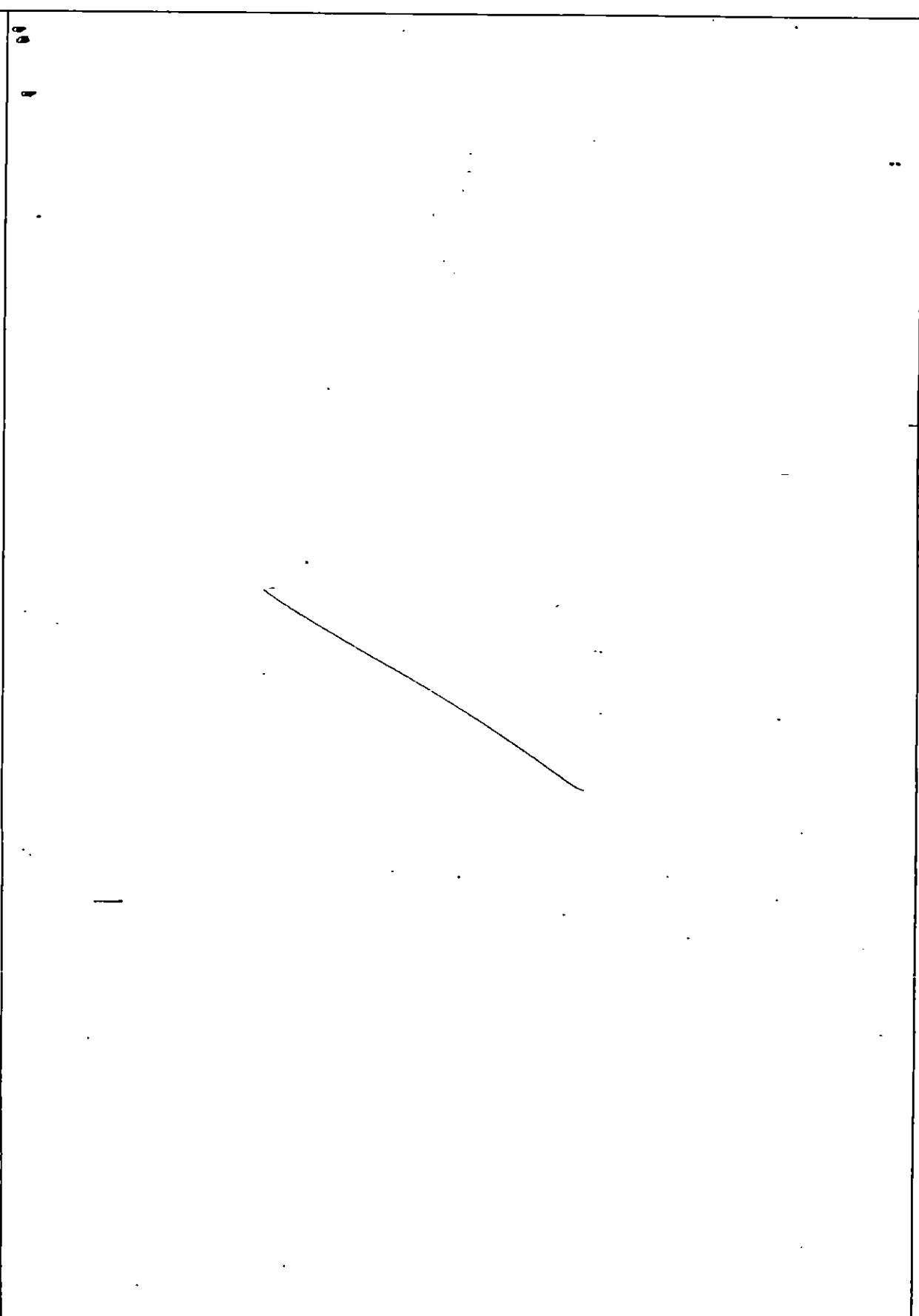
- (a) Discuss in detail the issues related to appointment of election commissioner and remedial steps which need to be taken. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Discuss the agrarian and peasant perspective of Indian national movement. (200 Words). (15 Marks)
- (c) What do you understand by the term Hybrid Electoral system and also analyse why there is increased demand for its introduction in India? (250 Words) (20 Marks)

Remarks

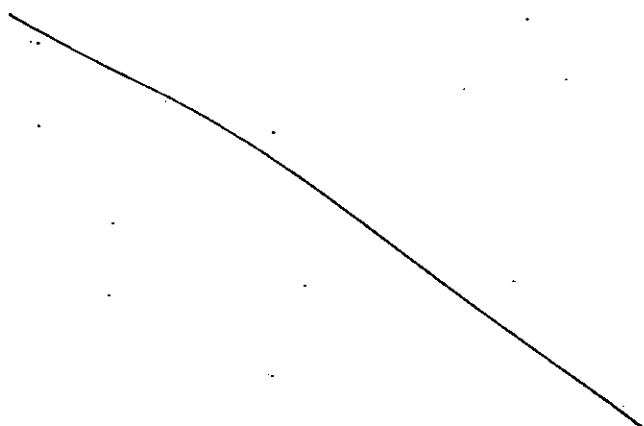
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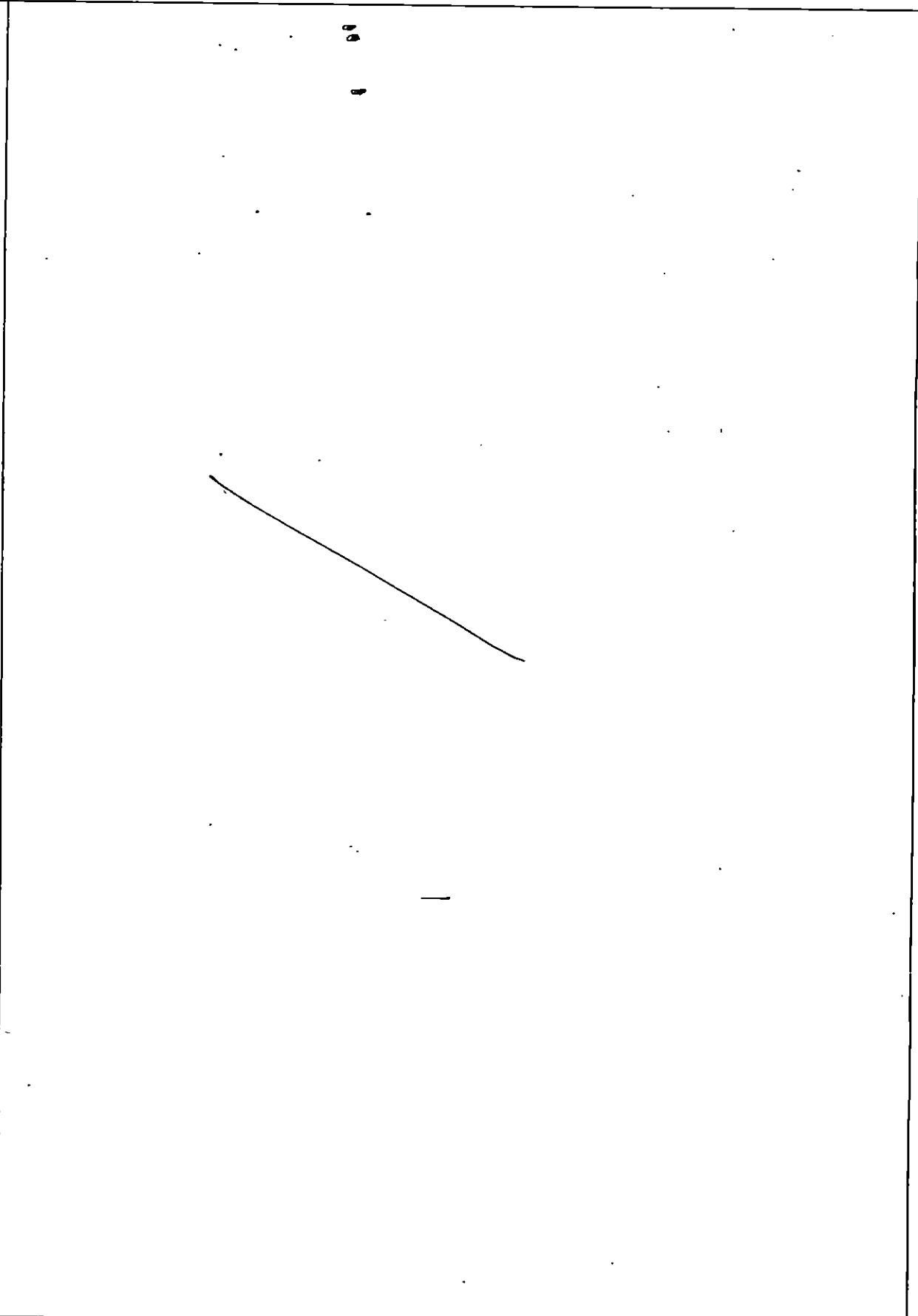


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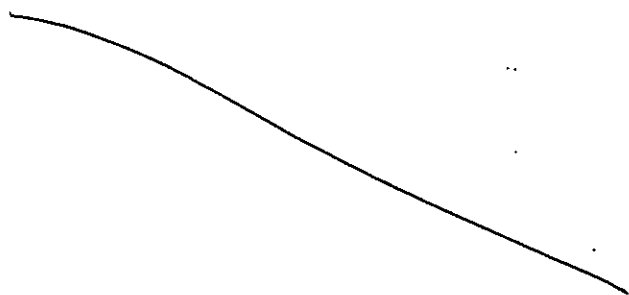


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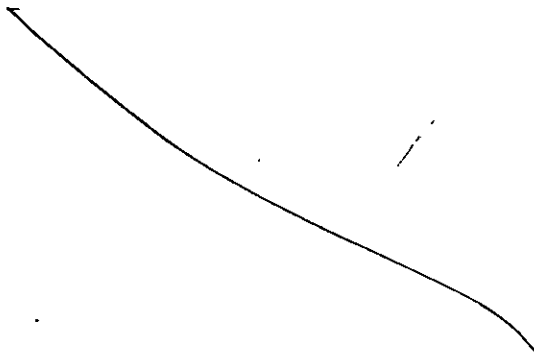
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Remarks



Remarks



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4. Attempt all questions:

(a) Women Commission has played a vital role in addressing issues of protection and empowerment of Women. Discuss. (200 Words) (15 Marks)

(b) Nature and Evaluation of Land Reforms in India after Independence. (200 Words) (15 Marks)

(c) Explain the nature of political democracy and its relationship with development during 1967-1990. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

Ans- (a)

National Women Commission was established in 1992 by passing a statute to protect and promote women's rights. It has performed well in achieving the targets it envisaged for.

women commission has certain functions like-

- ① suggesting states union govt an the policy for women empowerment
- ② The protect the rights of women

It has powers like-

- ① Acts as a civil court.
- ② Can summon and inquire anyone.
- ③ To make reports and submit it to the GOI.

moreover, Commission has been vocal in promoting awareness regarding women's protection. It has launched several platform and has collaborated with many NGOs-

Remarks

- to protect women from heinous crimes like sexual assault, rape etc.

Further, during Damini rape case, the commission played an important role in creating awareness among the people.

Moreover, the commission has recommended govt to ban on open sale of acid which has reduced acid-attack ~~etc~~ cases significantly.

Further, it has been collaborating with different ministries, NGOs etc working for women empowerment. It has demanded enactment of laws to transfer land to women who are regular farmers. It has been very active in promoting SHGs activities, skilling activities, promotion of educational and health facilities for women.

However, it has been criticised as being a 'white-elephant' and not take pro-active and preventive steps.

Remarks

Thus, we need to accord constitutional status to the Commission so as to enhance its efficiency and effectiveness. Further, politicisation should be reduced in the Commission and it should be provided with financial autonomy.

Ans (b)

Land Reforms is done differently in different countries. In India, it means, redistributive justice. Constitution envisages for equal distribution of wealth and reduction of inequality in the DPSP.

Nature of Land Reforms

(a) Reforms in India has mainly been politicised.

(b) Some have been brought like

- Abolition of intermediaries
- Tenant security Act
- Consolidation of land
- Land ceiling.

except the first one, rest have been a big failure.

(c) It aimed at distributing excessive land to landless and marginal farmers but it never happened.

Remarks

(d) Govt wanted to reduce poverty and the means was land reforms.

However, except operation Barga of W. Bengal and Kerala, land reform has not yielded much results.

### Evaluation

- (i) political will was missing which led to enactment of half-hearted and loopholes-ridden acts.
- (ii) presence of propertied-class in congress.
- (iii) max. corrupt and rigid bureaucracy served the interests of propertied class.
- (iv) loopholes allowed Big zamindars to slip off lands.
- (v) lack of awareness among farmers led to absence of popular demand.
- (vi) peasant organisations are divided on religious, caste line and thus could not make collective demand.

Gunnar Myrdal has held that India is a soft state and thus lacks capacity to implement laws.

Atul Kohli says that Indian state lacks capacity -

Remarks

- to confront with the propertied class.

Thus land reform has been lost in oblivion, now it is not a political manifesto. Thus, to eradicate poverty and inequality, the middle class should raise the issue of land reforms.

Ans - (c)

Indian political democracy was a sure shot failure according to JS Mill's hypothesis because it lacked democratic culture at the time of independence. However, passionate democrats like Ambedkar that democracy survives. The phase 1967-1990 witnessed a major change in Indian political system.

Till-1967, the political democracy was dominated by congress. Rajni Kothari calls it congress system.

When Indira Gandhi assumed leadership she was insecure about her position hence she went for centralisation and started giving preference to private advisers instead of her council of ministers. Such phenomena led to -

Remarks

- coming out of major Congress leaders from it and forming their own parties.

Further, Green Revolution had made the status of dominant OBC strong. According to Yogendra Yadav, now OBC favoured to form their own party in mid-1970s and this led to first democratic upsurge.

Moreover, imposition of emergency and internal rift of Congress resulted in the defeat of Congress at union level for the first time. Janata party formed govt in coalition. However, this govt could not survive and collapsed.

After this, Dalits' consciousness was rising, they preferred to launch own party. This led to second democratic upsurge.

uptill now, as christophe Jaffrelot says, the role caste, religion, race and other identities had started dominating Indian political system. This gave birth to identity politics and finally this culminated into implementation of mandal commission's report and -

Remarks

Barbi mosque demolition. This started Mandal-Kamandal politics.

Moreover, due to decline of congress, many regional parties emerged. They started forming govt in coalition. Coalition was not based on scientific lines rather the intention to capture power. This led to instability in the political scenario.

Further, when votes were being divided on the basis of caste, religion, language and race, there emerged a need to influence voters and this gave rise to money and muscle power in politics and culminating into criminalisation of Indian politics.

Further, this phase also saw the phase of defection. Defection was so high that political system became a drama much and was described as 'Aaya Ram, Gaya Ram' politics.

Further, populist policies were being launched by political parties to lure voters -

Remarks

Such unsustainable practices resulted into huge fiscal deficit and govt debt. Finally, govt had to go for economic reforms to cope with the situation.

Thus, the nature of political democracy between 1967-1990 can be termed as two-edged sword. On one hand it made democracy consociation and inclusive while on the other hand it gave birth to politics of identity, passion and politics of communalism.

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Remarks

## SECTION B

5. Answer the following questions: (150 Words each)

(10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) Marxist perspective on Indian National Movement
- (b) Jammu and Kashmir and Article 35A
- (c) Radical humanist perspective of Freedom struggle by M.N Roy.
- (d) Functional criticism of Indian CAG.
- (e) Issues pertaining to Judicial Accountability and need for reforms. Discuss.

Ans:-

There have been various perspectives w.r.t to Indian national movement. Marxist scholars have analysed the struggle from the beginning of first year of independence (1857) till 1947. Karl Marx had himself analysed the nature of 1857-revolt. He called it a revolt by feudal elements. He considered British rule as source of modernisation.

Scholars like AR Desai, RP Dutt has called Indian national movement a conspiracy against masses. According to them, movement was led by bourgeoisie and never intended to give powers in the hands of masses.

MN Roy in his book "India In Transition" has held that-

Remarks

it was not a mass movement.  
He calls INC a bourgeois party  
and Gandhi a bourgeois leader.

However, Marxist scholars  
like Sumit Sarkar in his book  
'Modern India' says that though  
INC did not work for masses' interest,  
~~but~~ yet there was not conspiracy  
against masses. He appeals that  
scholars should be careful while  
analysing INM.

Bipin Chandra, a Marxist  
scholar, - says that INM was a  
spectacular mass movement and  
INC was a mass party and Gandhi  
was a mass leader.

Thus, Marxist view is  
divided on the nature of INM.  
However, it must be noted that  
Indian struggle was mass-based  
and creation of constitution shows  
that there was a desire to  
uplift masses from the state of poverty.

Ans (b)

Art 35A was inserted in the  
constitution by a presidential order  
in 1955. It gives extra-power -

Remarks

- to state legislature to define citizenship and empower them with certain rights.

J&K was incorporated in India by instrument of accession and special status was accorded via 370.

Recently, Art 35A was questioned in the SC as it violated right to equality to citizens of India vis-a-vis Jammu & Kashmir. It has been said that parliament should have passed the legislation, doing so by an executive order is ultra vires to the constitution.

However scholars like Amitabh Mathur says that we should be cautious while dealing with Art 370 & 35A which provide autonomy to the state.

Some scholars suggest to scrap Art 370 & 35A so as to incorporate JK in India as a normal state to promote unity and integrity. On the other hand, some scholars suggest to maintain the status-quo so as to ensure that insurgency and secessionist movement are under check.

Thus, regarding this issue, it would be better if we erode gradually instead of scrapping altogether. The matter current under sub-judice-

Ans (2)

There have been multiple perspectives on the national movement. ~~Rational~~ Radical humanist perspective was put forward by MN Roy.

MN Roy in his book 'India in Transition' has held that national movement was not a mass movement rather it was a bourgeois movement led by bourgeois party, INC and bourgeois leader, Gandhi.

According to him, INC's Gandhi never wanted that power should go in the hands of masses. He gives the example of Chauri-Chaura incident when Gandhi called off the non-cooperation movement because masses were going to capture power.

He gives radical humanist perspective. According to his theory 3-components are essential-  
(a) Freedom

Remarks

- ⑥ Ethics, and
- ⑦ Rationality.

He wants to make people free from the dogmas, superstitions and beliefs like nation & nationalism. He wants to make individual completely free as a rational man.

According to him, freedom attained by INC and Gandhi would be of no use until and unless we create radical humans and practice radical democracy.

Thus, his perspective is based on cosmopolitan idea of the world. He has emphasised on renaissance and rationality to achieve true freedom.

Ans (d)

The office of the CAG has been created by Art 148 and functions has been accorded to him U/A 149, 150, 151 and CAG (Directions, powers & Control) Act 1971.

He is the guardian of public purse and perform audit on the behalf of the people of India.

Remarks

And this is why BR Ambedkar called that the office of CAG is most important office of the constitution.

### Functional criticisms

- ① He has limited capacity to seek information. It is said that a Secy. of a dept has more information than CAG.
- ② Lack of capacity and manpower.
- ③ He performs selective audits.
- ④ Reports are not laid in parliament on time.
- ⑤ His reports get leaked before being released.
- ⑥ His role of comptroller has been taken away.
- ⑦ He performs only postmortem exercise.

BP Mathur in his book "Accountability and Govt. Institution: Reengineering the office of CAG" has suggested to overhaul the the office of CAG and to make more dynamic. Further, it is suggested that a outer audit should be conducted of his office, he should be made accountable to parliament, his selection procedure should be transparent.

Thus, we must bring desired changes in the office of the CAG because it is who keeps the Govt accountable to the people.

Remarks

Ans (2)

Judiciary has emerged as the most important organ of the govt. constitution has created a fiercely independent judiciary to bring about social revolution in India. However, there has been some issues w.r.t Judiciary.

— Issue of judicial accountability

- (a) P B Mehta calls that judiciary is self-perpetuating, highly politicised, corrupt and less accountable institution.
- (b) It is least representative, least transparent institution which raise the eyebrows of the people.
- (c) According to <sup>Transparency</sup> ~~Amnesty~~ International, judiciary is the second most corrupt institution in India after police.
- (d) Judiciary uses its power of contempt to punish the critics.
- (e) It has been reluctant in bringing about changes. It opposed Judicial standard and accountability Bill 2010

— Need for reform -

- (a) To make it more vibrant & efficient.
- (b) To promote transparency & accountability.
- (c) To ensure the delays, corruption, Nepotism, uncle-judge syndrome etc are checked.

Remarks

(d) Reform would further enhance the credibility of the institution:

Thus recent cases like Prasad Education Trust which alleged corruption charges on CSE and Master of the Roster episode shows that there is a immediate need for reform in the judiciary.

Remarks

6. Attempt all questions:

- (a) The evolving profile of legislators in Indian parliament offers both opportunities and challenges. Discuss. How has the changing nature of leadership in parliament affected its efficiency? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) From one party dominance to a multi-party power sharing model, India has seen diverse phases of Coalitional politics. Describe this evolution briefly phase wise. Do you agree that benefits and challenges associated with Coalition governments exist simultaneously? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Elaborate with examples the nature of class inequality in India. What role was played by impact of colonial influence in emergence of this? (250 Words) (20 Marks)

Ans - (9)

Parliament is <sup>the</sup> temple of Indian democracy. It is the mirror of our society as its evolution, maturity, enlightenment shows the evolution of our society. The profile of legislators have seen a significant change from 1947.

There has not been any difference between the nature of profile of MPs and MLAs.

Shankar and Rodrigue have analysed the changing nature of profile. They have found that our entire journey can be divided in 3-phases →

Phase - I (1947-67)

- Dominated by western-educated lawyers.
- Dominated by Brahmins
- Women and Dalits were underrepresented.
- Back-benchers lacked interest in the proceeding.

Remarks

(1967-89)

phase II saw a major change as parliament was come to be dominated by OBC. The composition was very diverse. Agriculturalists, social workers dominated the house. No changes were seen wot women and scits.

phase III (1989 - till now) have been the major phase of change. It was continued to be dominated by OBC which composed of agriculturalists, a large number of social workers etc. A new phenomena was observed that criminalisation of politics was taking place - criminals started dominating the parliament.

composition of 16th Lok Sabha:-

- 451 MPs - Criminals
- 121 women - highest so far.
- most educated house.
- 571 MPs - 1st timers.

### opportunities

Yogenendra Yadav says -

- + democratic upsurge has happened
- + democracy became consociational
- + people participated actively
- + low-class, marginalised section participated aggressively.

### challenges

- + women continues to remain under-represented
- + presence of criminals have increased
- + it reduces parliament's efficiency
- + parliament is declining

Remarks

coalition politics has popped up.

present composition of the parliament has been hampering its function and efficiency. criminals use abusive languages in the house, bully behaviour is being observed, house is being disrupted, healthy debates not taking place. All these factors combine to reduce parliament's efficiency.

Thus, Pt- M P Singh suggests to bring about significant changes in the electoral process to decriminalise the parliament. He further suggests to bring about internal democracy in parties to ensure that houses remain a place of healthy debates.

Ans (b)

Political parties are essential in a democracy to make it successful as they go for interest aggregation and political mobilisation. Indian political system has seen multiple phase extending from one-party dominance to multiparty democracy.

Rajni Kothari has divided evolution of party system in India in 4-phases which are as follows:-

Phase I — (1947-1967)

- Congress system
- single party dominance.

Remarks

- Rainbow coalition of congress
- Virtually absent opposition
- Domination of congress in states & at the centre.

### Phase II (1967 - 78)

- Two-party system.
- Congress system collapsed as it was defeated in 8 states and formed govt in coalition in 7 states
- Rise of Agriculturalist class - 'Bullock capitalists'

### Phase III (1978 - 89) - multiparty system

- Regionalisation of political system.
- centralisation & deinstitutionalisation by congress.
- Decay of congress in many states.

### Phase IV (1989 - till now) - multiparty

- phase of coalition
- decline of parliament
- Decline of ideological base of parties.
- criminalisation of politics.

Suhra Palashikar says that congress is not in the state of decline but in the state of demise. According to him, we are moving towards BJP system (one party system).

Similarly, Thomas Blomhanson

has held that softening of indian politics is happening along with plebiansation.

Thus, currently, we have coalition system.

Riker says that coalition is the power sharing arrangement.

Bidyut Chakravarty has studied

coalition in India. He says that coalition in India is, unlike west,

designless. Here parties form coalition not to form govt but to prevent others from forming govt.

We can say that benefits and challenges exist together in coalition system.

On one hand, it makes democracy more consociational, representative govt pops up. It also leads to coming up of regional demands at central level, it leads to local development.

On the other hand, it makes govt paralysed. Foreign policy of the nation is not shaped by union but influenced by states as seen in W. Bengal and Tamil Nadu. It brings unstable govt, promotes corruption, represent narrow party interests.

Thus, as P. B. M. L. S. says, we should not consider whether coalition is desirable or not rather we should find the way for the healthy functioning of coalition.

Thus, coalition has become the norm of Indian political system and it offers both benefits & challenges.

Ans (c).

India is a multi-lingual, multi-racial, multi-ethnic, multi-religious society where there have been some historical injustices towards some sections of societies on the basis of superstitions & dogmas.

In India, we don't have class, instead we have hierarchical castes. Caste is the notion based on purity/pollution of blood.

Rudolph and Rudolph has studied 'caste organisations' in India and he says that in India caste is <sup>the</sup> most distinctive feature of the society. He equates lower caste with lower class of west. According to him, Indian notion is worst because it is based on the notion of birth hence no chance of mobilisation unlike class in west.

MN Sinhas has countered ~~the~~ Rudolph & Rudolph's point by stating that there is no difference in caste and class because it is virtually impossible for one to change his class. He says the caste mobilisation has happened in India through-

Remarks

- the process of 'sanskritization'

So class inequality in India is biased towards those who are marginalised. For instance, SC/STs, dalits are more vulnerable as they do not own land. Similarly, women could also be put in lower class because they have also suffered exploitation & oppression. Thus, the nature is very challenging where lower castes have to suffer the most because of his 'unwanted' birth in a particular caste.

Britishers had a policy to appease the minority because they felt that majority could challenge their power. They started dividing Hindus by propounding orientalist theories like -

- Dalits have always been subjugated
- Discrimination has been against them.
- Injustice, inequality, absence of Rule of Law has been there.
- Dalits suffer due to Brahmins' action.

Thus, by analysing these factors, social reform movements started in India. — Jyoti Baphule —

- admired British for their contribution.

ER Ramaswamy 'periyar' started self-respect movement to condemn brahmanism. He even criticised the INC and endorsed Jinnah's demand for Pakistan. He himself demanded provisional for dalits.

The most staunchest reformer was started by BR Ambedkar. He wanted to end Brahmanism and caste system as a whole. He blamed Brahmins for the backwardness and impoverishment of Dalits. Ambedkar propounded that if Dalits are socially divided, they should be politically divided too hence he demanded separate electorate for dalits.

Even Gandhiji started movements to end caste system and oppression against caste.

Thus, nature of class inequality is skewed in the favour of those who are dominant caste. As Oxfam's report has highlighted that most of the poor are from lower class. Thus, there is a need to bring changes in the society to attain social & economic democracy.

Remarks

7. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Discuss evolution of state autonomy movement in India; discuss political and economic factors that shape the federal nature of Indian State.

(200 Words) (15 Marks)

- (b) Unless there are adequate number of judges, speedy and efficient justice will remain a distant dream.

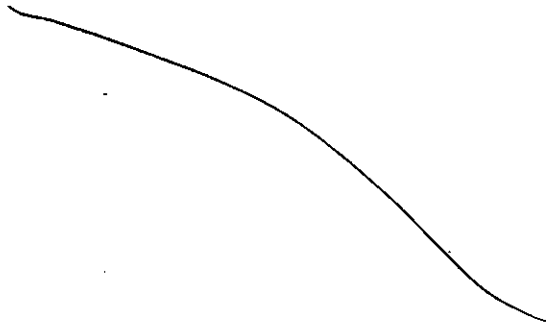
(200 Words) (15 Marks)

- (c) Comment on the issue of balance between Fundamental rights and parliamentary privileges with recent examples.

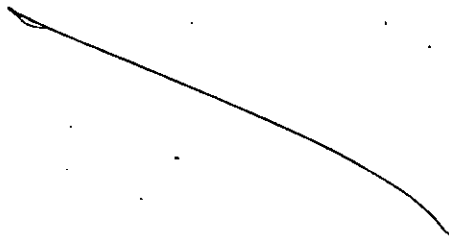
(250 Words) (20 Marks)

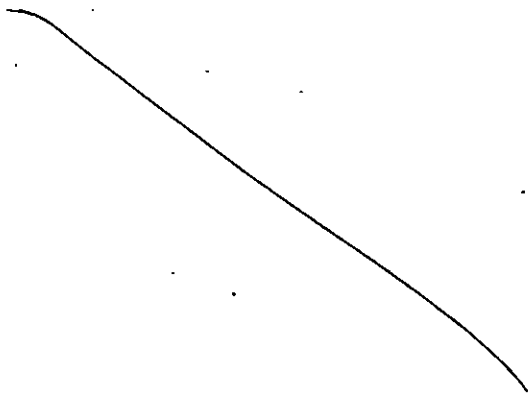
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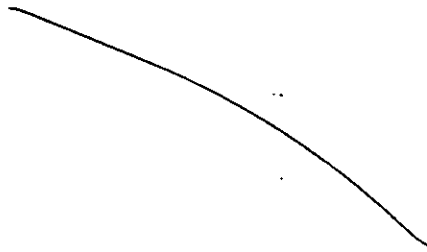
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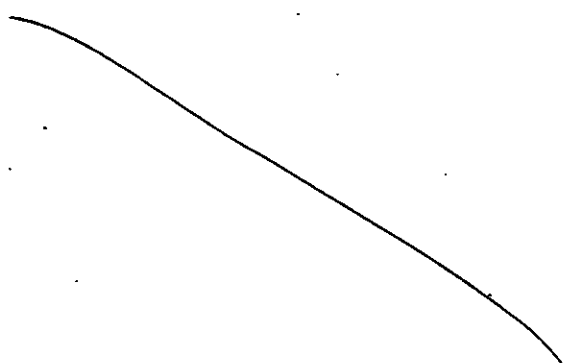
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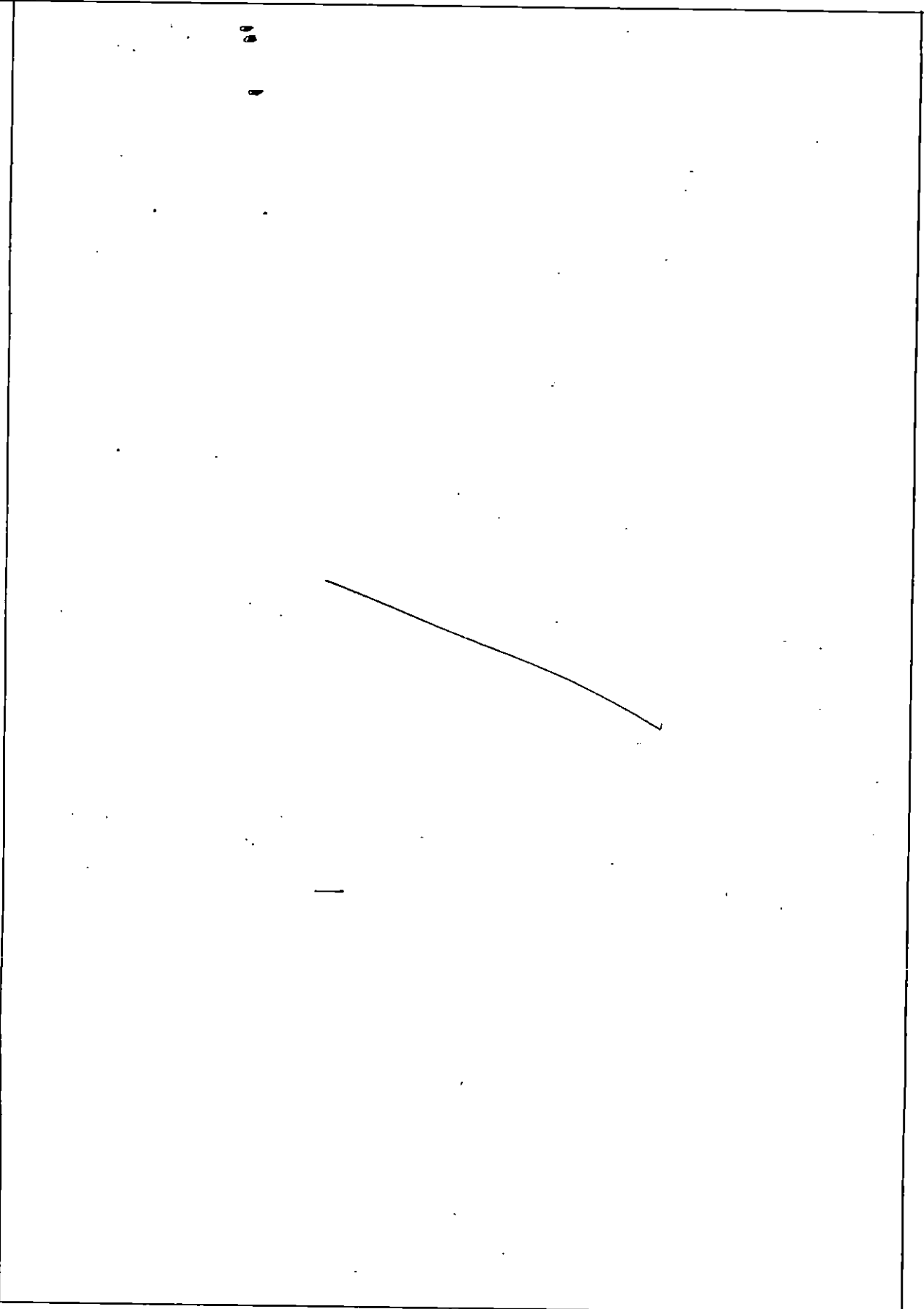
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8. Attempt all questions:

- (a) The 'Nehruvian Consensus' was mix of principle and pragmatism. Substantiate with examples. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Discuss the constitutional challenges arising out of the issue of Office of Profit with recent examples. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Analyse the factors which have led to tussle of power between centrally appointed Lt. Governors and popularly elected Chief Ministers in Union territories. In what ways do Union territories differ from States in executive and legislative process? (250 Words) (20 Marks)

Remarks

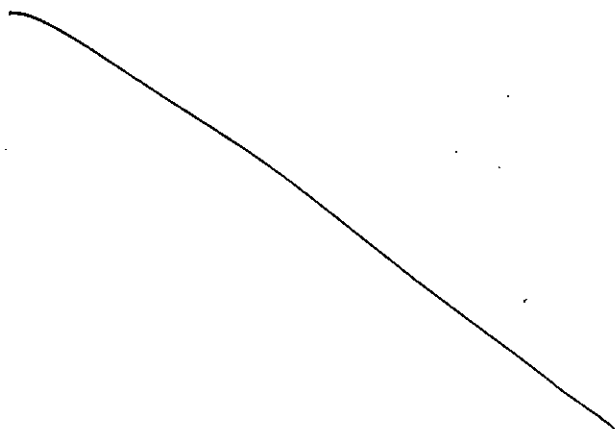
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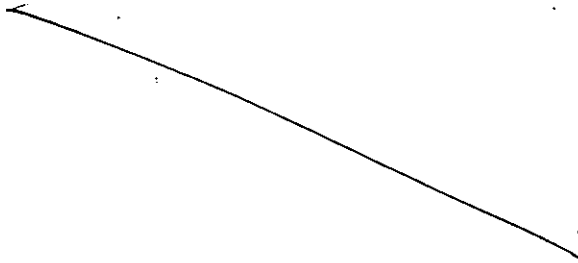


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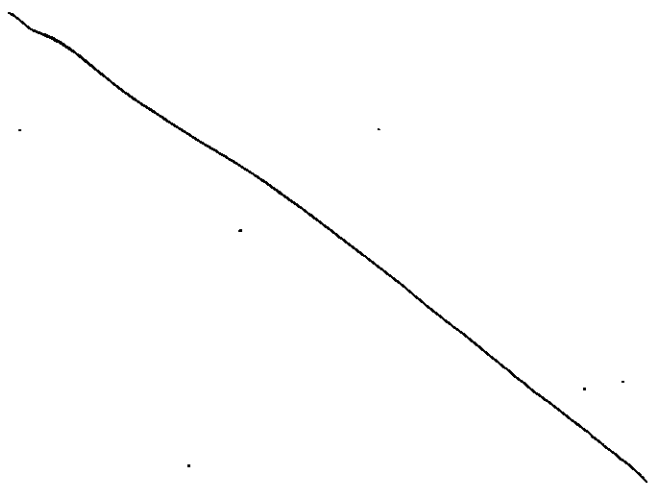


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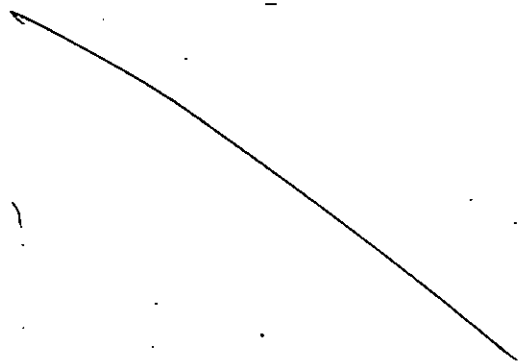
**Remarks**



Remarks



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