



An Institute for Civil Services

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AMRITPAL KAUR

Rank - 44

Political Science

TEST - 2

AMRITPAL KAUR

Political discourse has taken regionalistic hues, often sacrificing national priorities at the altar of coalitional compulsions, whether it is river water disputes or international agreements. (G/H)

With the BJP in power at the centre as well as dozen states, the era of coalitions seems to have come to an end with Shri Khilnani calling it the second one party dominant system.

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* Focus on
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Ans 7(c) Coalition system in India has had an ⁽¹²⁾ unequalled history. Congress, which Rajni Kothari went so far as to call India and India as Congress, has been described by Pradeep Chatterjee as coalition of parties during the phase 1947 to 1964.

Congress dominated the national scene, co-opting all opposition within itself. With 1967, came the watershed movement when Congress lost in 9 states and other parties formed coalition governments with as disparate parties as those belonging to the left and RGS in some government. At the national level, Morris Jones says it was a market of defectors.

The decisive victory of 1971 slowed coalition progress but the emergency resulted in an anti-Congress coalition ^{of Janata Party} in 1977 which could not survive its own contradiction by 1980. With Congress in power at centre by 1980, the real turn came in 1989 and the 1990s saw a variety of coalitions of all hues at the end of which NDA of 1999 managed to survive a full term.

In the meantime, states had already been deep in coalition politics. Coalition politics has brought in regional and diverse concerns at the national front.

Ans. Accord to the demand of the question with proper sub-heading

① Impact of Coalition

(21)
discriminations have found a voice as a result of linguistic politics. The imposition of Hindi project of govt central govt.

states from time to time have also led to political polarisation, especially in the southern states.

the language struggle for the time being is not particularly salient.

Ans-7) b) The Marxist perspective of

Indian national movement (INM) was:

basically premised on the upper caste and owning bourgeoisie nature of the Congress.

Ramswami Naicker left Congress to form

MN Roy called Gandhi a weak and watery man looking for an appointment with the viceroy because of the latter's nonviolent struggle.

The Marxists supported opposed and later supported the war cause during second world war based on USSR's position.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's influence

Rajni Palme Dutt was a bitter critic of INM for its pacifist and bourgeois character.

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Ans-7a) Language is one of the defining paradigms (20)
for any society with which it recognizes itself.
Linguistic politics in India has had phases of
intensity and calm. Beginning with the
1920's reorganization of Congress ~~pro~~ committees
based on language, rather than colonial
boundaries, language became a force of
mobilization in the 1950s.

Although the ~~Dhar~~ commission and JVP
commission were against linguistic organization
of states, the Potti Sreeramulu suicide
led to the 1953 bifurcation of Madras. It
has been said that the inferiority complex
among ruling Andhra Telugu Brahmins against
Tamil Brahmins was a major factor too.

The demand for a Gujarati speaking state
also had major commercial interests
associated with the powerful Marwadi
community. Then the demand for a
Sikh majority state was given a linguistic
hue. It was conceded in 1966, giving the
Akalis a kind of political monopoly in the state.
Post 1960's linguistic demands petered
out as the polity focused on other
concerns of development and religious
and caste identities got salience.
In the recent times, the imposition
of Bengali in ~~the~~ Gorkha dominated
Darjeeling, Siliguri, Kurseong and
other districts have led to a major
flap up. The ethnic and racial

Ans 5)e)

(A)

Pressure groups are groups of people motivated by similar interests who work in concert to pressure governments for policy change, so much so that ~~liter~~ has called them invisible empires.

Pressure groups such as Jat groups in Rajasthan forced government to give OBC quotas. FICCI and CII have lobbied the government to enhance ease of doing business.

Even projects can be stalled by pressure groups as seen in the Narmada Bachao Andolan. The Price Rise movements of 1970's saw anomic pressure groups put government on toes. Those during Nirbhaya agitation led to reform in criminal law and policies for women protection.

The Anti corruption movement resulted in the Lokpal Act.

It is evident that pressure groups can lead positive change as well as pursue iniquitous agenda also. The Jat agitation in Haryana led to deaths and loss of property. It is important to address their concerns for the government but prevent falling prey to arm twisting tactics.

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Ans-5) d) Electoral behaviour in India ⑩
is as diverse as the country is. A number of factors affect how electorate behaves, such as:

i) Religion: The onset in Kamandal politics in 1990s demonstrated it well as BJP's vote share doubled between 1989 and 1991.

ii) caste: Caste has been a salient factor, especially since the rise of what Rudolph & Rudolph calls the bullock capitalists. Mandal politics overwhelmed India and BJP emerged as the 1st all India caste based party.

Governance issues: Requirements of jobs and development guide people's voting behaviour: Garibi Hatao won Indira Gandhi the 1971 election.

iii) An intersection of multiple concerns motivates electoral behaviour. Yogendra Yadav says we have moved into identity politics mode. The conflation of governance, nationalism and growth has led to the rise of BJP who according to Shril Khilnani is the second one party dominant system, after the UP election win.

① Attach Voter % based on various factors to particular party

② Commentaries

Give

Present pattern

Ans-5) c) A number of factors have contributed to the decline of legislatures. These can be enumerated as:

- i) the proliferation of ordinance making
- ii) anti defection law basically silences contrary opinions
- iii) the complexity of governance requires special knowledge which our legislature members lack
- iv) adversarial politics has increased leading to frequent adjournments
- v) televised sessions enhance incentives for members for members to score brownie points by disruption
- vi) there is no research staff attached to members to help them gather information and understand issues
- vii) No mandatory days of working / year (Odisha has fixed 60 days)

MR Madhavan has proposed repeal of anti defection law to encourage real debates. According to PRS legislative research, Indian Parliament works for 69 days on an average. (140 days for UK)

Wide sweeping reforms backed by political will are required.

considerations of caste, religion, sex etc. (16)

democracy requires that all are enabled to participate fully in its processes. It is for this end that Article 15 prohibits any discrimination and Article 16 provides of equality of opportunity to all to realize their potential.

Similarly Articles 25-28 protect the religious diversity of the country; giving people freedom to give their lives meanings by locating themselves within their communities.

The fundamental rights in so far as they fail to address the material inequalities due to disability, exploitation or other disadvantage, have not been contributed to economic democracy. With increasing inequalities (1% Indians own 58% wealth) according to Oxfam

this ideal remains far. However, by securing basic rights, Indian democracy protects individuals from state overreach (right to privacy) and social disqualification (prohibition of untouchability)

SECTION - B

(15)

Ans-5) 1) The Indian electoral system has been giving us democratically elected governments for the past 70 years. It is not without its drawbacks and weaknesses:

i) Just past the past discounts the percentage of people who support the winner.

A party with sizeable vote share may end up getting no representation in the Lok Sabha. eg. BSP in the current Lok Sabha. It is due to territorial representation.

ii) It is skewed towards males with poor representation of females.

iii) The people have little connection with politicians as they are accountable only after their terms.

Despite these weaknesses, the largest democracy in the world that India is, has a remarkable example. The election commission's report has highlighted the example India has set for other developing countries.

Ans-6) b) : Fundamental Rights (FRs) are available to all citizens and some also to non citizens. The foundation of Indian democracy itself lies in the right to equality before law and equal protection of laws enshrined in Art 14 that gives franchise to all adults without considerations.

development.

As far as financial powers are concerned, the Union still retains the exclusive authority to regulate and formulate FDI policies, mobilization of loans by states and legislation regarding the same.

The pressure of global institutions such as WHO to enhance sanitation or UNICEF to fight child labour in the centre can be helped by efforts of states only. To states become a stakeholder in the centre's ability to retain a reputation abroad. This enhances states' leverage. Similarly, the globalization of terrorism, drug trafficking and organized crime requires modernization of surveillance and law enforcement mechanism which may threaten federal relations - This has been the reason behind non materialization of National counter terrorism center.

It is clear that the power dynamic shifts slightly towards the states but only when the Union enables them. But, due to constitutional constraints, the Union may not be able to handle subsidiary outcomes of globalization as if states do not agree.

Show Historical trend of Globalization and power politics

Focus more on Content rather examples

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Comments on the issue

For Critique

moral authority of their office to send ⁽¹³⁾ back an ordinance for reconsideration if it is clear that there is no urgency.

Ans 4) (i) globalization has been defined by Anthony Giddens as the intensification of world social relations linking people so that events are affected by happenings from afar. Globalization has enhanced the flow of pace and intensity of financial, commercial, political and social interactions.

As such, states and the Union get opportunities to interact with the world on their own, without mediation. Capital mobilization no longer remains the sole prerogative of the Union when the country liberalizes under economic globalization. For example, Vibrant Gujarat held a road show in South Korea and Andhra Pradesh has engaged Singapore for construction consultancy of Amaravati. These states have interacted with global players such as MNCs (Microsoft and Karnataka, Google and Andhra Pradesh etc.).

In such circumstances, states become powerful economic players, no longer totally dependent on central funds for

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Ans-4) b) Ordinance making power of President¹² has been provided for in Article 123, to be used when circumstances arise and the house/houses are not in session.

The ordinance making power has to be used in cases of emergency but it has been seen that sessions of Parliament were ended for re-promulgating ordinances. Failure to place an ordinance in front of legislature has been deemed unconstitutional by Supreme Court in D.C. Wadhwa case and repeated re-promulgation a fraud on the constitution. It is clear that this power threatens the domain of constitutional legislative authorities because:

- i) it obviates the need to build consensus
- ii) legislature's primary function is overtaken by the executive
- iii) there is no democratic discussion or opposition's opinion
- iv) No inclusion of parliamentary committees or joint committees
- v) Actions done under an ordinance are irrevocable even if ordinance is later rejected by the legislature. This amounts to a backdoor for the executive.

It becomes the duty of the governor or President to exercise the dignity and

②

Muhammad Bilgrami criticizes Nandy for indulging in nostalgia. Achir Varshak advocates miniaturization of religion from society rather than its open dialogue among religions. It is in this light that Rajeev Bhargava says that secularism in India ~~is~~ can should be contextualized as per the requirement of circumstances i.e. i) intervention ii) equidistance iii) wall of separation.

Neera Chandoke is categorical that individual should not be subordinated to community. People such as Arum Shastri have also said that religious rights do not make sense because rights can be given only to individuals.

Anandya Sen has perceptively held that the ideal of political equality can be achieved through non equal treatment and would not violate ideal of secularism.

Although the idea of secularism is contested, it is clear that this contestation shows up new challenges and opportunities.

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Nabam Tuki case reiterated the ~~pross~~ importance of the role of governor in such cases to ~~act~~ act only in light to true circumstances and of tangible material and not own subjective understanding or overestimating own role in the working of state legislature.

11
The Sarkaria commission and 2nd ARC have also proposed provisions to overcome misuse of Art. 356 for political purposes wherein the state government and central government are at odds or loggerheads.

Ans 4) a) Secularism, as an idea derived from western political tradition in the words of Thomas Jefferson means a 'wall of separation' ~~exists~~ between the state and religion.

India, on the other hand, moved gradually from equidistance from all religions to Sarva Dharma Samabhava or equal respect for all religions.

Ashis Nandy in 'An anti secularist manifesto' advocates greater dialogue between religions and condemns the sidelining of religion as if politics is higher in hierarchy. IN Madan points that religion has a deep meaning for people in South Asia and secularism promotes the fundamentalism of zealots.

Ans-3) The President's rule as envisaged in Article 356 was supposed to be a dead letter according to Dr. Ambedkar. Article 355 mandates the state central government to ensure that state government is run as per the Constitution and 365 lays down that inability to follow direction of central government would be considered a breakdown of constitutional machinery.

Now, instead of making President's rule for such a constitutional crisis management, it has itself become a crisis making constitutionally elected state governments.

The recent cases of President's rule history of Art. 356 began with 1950's only when Nehru used it in Kerala against communist government. Continuing through the 60's and 70's with the famous sit for tat President's rule in Congress ruled states by Janata Party government in 1977 and vice versa in 1980, Art. 356 has been much alive.

In the most recent examples of Uttar Pradesh and Arunachal case, it was clear that this provision is prone to misuse.

It is these circumstances that the Supreme Court has in cases such as Rameshwar Prasad vs. State of Bihar

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As ~~Burhan~~ and ~~Mukherjee~~ have shown, the ideology of the state governments was crucial for success as in West Bengal where operation Barga was successful. ⑧

According to Francine Frankel, as she writes in The Paradox of accommodative politics and radical change, the Congress could not afford to upset its traditional supporters for economic change. Kenneth Nielsen has pointed out that land was a state subject and within states it was stuck with the ruling upper landed castes.

Kotovsky points out that actions like Ex Bhodan movement were meant to put a brake on peasant struggle rather than real reforms.

Cooperativization could not work due to fear of ownership loss by people who could not understand what it meant and land ceilings were set high, for individuals and had vague criteria such as efficiently managed farms.

However, as Daniel Thomas has pointed out, under tenancy reforms 20 million people got ownership rights and 4.5 million got land from redistribution. Hanumantha Rao said that land ceiling prevented concentration of ownership. But the fact remains that success was limited.

elections to fight money power.

⑦

Religious organisations such as All India Muslim Personal Law Board has been at the forefront in preventing politically sensitive changes in muslim personal law through exploitation of the threat of loss of muslim vote. Similarly VHP and RSS are at the forefront in support of Ram Mandir, enabling political support of the Hindus for electoral cause.

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Explanation

In this entire scenario, political parties have sustained their salience by staying as the legitimate channel for people's representation and voice. Although non party institutions are active, they also end up negotiating with the democratically elected representatives from political parties only.

Ans 2) b Land Reforms in the form of zamindari abolition, tenancy reforms, land ceiling laws and cooperativization were envisaged for social justice, equality, agriculture growth, self sufficiency in food and protection of farmers. These were good intentions but a number of shortcomings in implementation led to less than satisfactory outcomes.

Ans 3) a) Non Party institutions such as associational⁶ pressure groups have come to play a very crucial role in Indian politics. In this, constitutional bodies such as the Election Commission have effectively reigned in the impulses of Indian politics too.

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The core concern of any institution, say business representative bodies such as FICCI or CII or caste representative organizations such as Bhim Army or Patidar Anamat Andolan Samiti, when they contribute to political narrative, is the advancement of their respective interest. It could come at the cost of social justice or equity; but it is pursued through funding of political parties, pressurising the local representatives, taking to destruction of public property, campaigns in social media or by self annihilation to make a moral impact.

Mention
Behavioural
Perspective

Politics as the management of power or fulfillment of society wide objectives is effectively practised through these methods. When it comes to institutions such as the election commission, it has increasingly strengthened its the norms of conduct of politics whether in the form of penalising paid news, tackling or criminalization of politics through mandatory disclosure of criminal antecedents or postponing

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Ans-1) e) Public Interest Litigation (PIL) is a unique judicial innovation of supreme court (SC) that was reaffirmed in SP Gupta case has become a key tool in the hands of civil society as well as the judiciary to tackle otherwise unaddressed issues of governance and accountability.

Its merits are many:

- i) Poor and marginalised communities can be helped by socially active citizens.
(eg. right to shelter of roadside dwellers)
- ii) Democratizes the dispensation of justice through access to all
- iii) Has helped judiciary actively take up socially relevant causes where executive and legislature lag (rights of mine workers)

However, the demerits remain, such as:

- i) frivolous cases registered by parties to get publicity
- ii) has been associated with promotion of commercial interests through funds to NGOs who file PIL.
- iii) can slow down government projects unduly
- iv) judiciary has often overreached its mandate.

The PIL has however served as a rescuer of the ignored sections of society. With stricter norms for admission and penalty for frivolous ones, PIL can continue to serve society.

of J&K a consequence of autonomy granted under Article 370, it needs to be removed immediately. ④

Others, including the successive governments of J&K have emphasized the retention of Article 370 as a guarantee of preservation of rights of the residents against an Indian state they see as hostile and militarist.

The importance of Article 370 lies in its potential to rile both the above parties and the unique constitutional conundrum that the requirement of constitutional assembly approval for its revocation that is required. It was dissolved in 1957. Now it requires approval.

It remains a fact that any attempt to repeal Article 370 has aroused widespread public unrest in J&K and it has to stay. All people of J&K have confidence. Article 370 itself can nurture and strengthen that confidence due to its constitutional and historical status.

Give scholars comment over A370

Ans 1) c) The constitutional office of governor^③ has been frequently used as a political tool by the national government. In case of a mutual disagreement, the centre transfers or removes a governor of a state.

This has created a skewed power structure where the misuse of Article 200, 356 etc. becomes common. The Supreme Court has, however held in a number of cases that the governor is not an employee of the centre.

The Punchhi commission had given a number of recommendations to correct this misuse such as fixing the tenure of the governor, appointment after consultation with the CM and appointment of politically non active people.

Still, the legal framework has loopholes which have not been addressed due to lack of political will.

Ans 2) d) Article (370) in Part XXI of the constitution contains temporary provisions giving the state of Jammu and Kashmir certain special powers which are not available to other states.

For those who consider the lack of solidarity with the Indian state among the residents

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Ans 1) b) Mahatma Gandhi was a firm votary of non violence and it was through his leadership that it became the guiding light of freedom struggle.

He had a number of moral as well as political reasons for non violence. The opposition to unjust laws of a repressive state non violently served to expose the exploitation. Secondly, if violence was used, a powerful state would use even more violence to suppress the protesters.

Gandhi believed in the continuity of means and ends. A non violent struggle only could ensure a non violent independent India. It was one of the reasons that the Congress never had a military arm. The violence into which countries such as Algeria, Indonesia descended after independence from colonists proved Gandhi right.

However, Gandhi, during the last phase of the national struggle, the Quit India movement gave the call of 'do or die' saying that it was no use either freedom or death. He also preferred violence to cowardice. This points towards the strategic use of non violence to rally people around a cause. The only failure was the violence during partition, a huge blot on the struggle's legacy.

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SECTION A

①

Ans-1)

(a) Judicial activism is the expansion of judiciary's activity into the domain of legislature and executive.

A number of factors have been responsible for this, such as:

- 1) the failure of executive to implement laws.
- 2) the fall in the government agencies to deliver public services
- 3) expansion of remit of judiciary through PIL and dilution of locus standi norms
- 4) the activism of an ever more informed civil society.

Judicial activism has been visible in the industrial restrictions around the Taj, banning of liquor ^{bars} around highways, banning of high power SUVs running on diesel in NCR etc.

However, in certain cases such as mandating national anthem before movie in theatres have been termed beyond constitution by Soli Sorabjee and Rajeev Sharan.

Pratap Bhanu Mehta has said that the judiciary is doing a great job but should steer clear of the overreach derived from the public opinion of it being the last hope in today's society.

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