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ARNAV SHIVENDU

RANK - 283

**GS MAINS
POLITICAL SCIENCE**



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POLITICAL SCIENCE

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

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 ARNAV SHIVENDU

Mobile No. _____

Date _____

Signature Arnav

1. Invigilator Signature _____

2. Invigilator Signature _____

REMARKS**GS SCORE**

Roll No. _____

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

Q(b) Political parties are an essential component of representative democracy.

Paul Webb views political parties as an avenue for citizens to administer and control the political elites.

Recently, the demand of internal democracy has been raised by the public backed by Election Commission. Even Prime Minister Modi has supported this view.

It has been regarded that in the absence of internal democracy, party remains in the hands of a few elites who do not focus on inculcating loyalty but focus alone on broad

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basing. There is no focus on securing livelihoods of party workers or on ideology but only on securing office.

Party promotes the interests of a few elites, based on economic might.

Paul Brass terms it paradoxes of political parties. This rigid and biased functioning is said to be a cause of decline in the legislators efficiency.

It is also seen to be cause of corruption.

Aam Aadmi Party and Swaraj Party are an offshoot against this very phenomena.

Q(C) Secularism, according to Charles Taylor, is a necessary condition to secure democratic interests in a pluralistic society like India.

Indian secularism, according to Rajeev Bhargava is contextual secularism

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which is based on Gandhi's principle of Sarva Dharma Sambhava (Equality of all religions). In India, secularism state maintains a principled distance from religion and only involves itself to undertake social reforms.

DE Smith, hence, calls Indian secularism incomplete. Galleck criticises this view saying Western concept of separation of state from religion is does not necessitate the need of India necessarily is suitable for India.

Ashish Nandy and TN Madan also endorse Gandhi's view and reject secularism in its true form. They advocate tolerance and believe in religion.

Thus, the above debate shows how secularism remains a contested debate in India.

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(Q4) A Representative Democracy in general and parliamentary democracy in particular is only truly democratic if a strong opposition exists.

Many scholars regard the opposition leader as the 2nd Prime Minister:

Strong and vocal opposition ensures the accountability of the government.

In many nations, in case a government falls, it is the opposition that is invited to form the government.

In India, Opposition is involved in selection of important bodies such as NHRCC, Lokpal etc.

- Even during the Emergency, it was the opposition that stood for democracy and fought against authoritarianism.

Opposition ensures there is sufficient deliberation so that no law is passed in haste. It exercises parliamentary instruments like calling attention motion, zero hour discussion to ensure public interest.

Thus, we can say, role of strong opposition is a necessary condition to ensure a vibrant democracy. However, it must be ensured that political interests should not become the cause of opposition functioning and thus harming public interest in the long run.

Q(e) Fiber regards pressure groups as "anonymous empires". Lambert without whom calls them unofficial govt for policy formulation cannot take place.

Pressure groups promote interests of a particular class or common cause. They ensure if rules are not in their favour, they are at least not against them. Pressure groups can be trade unions, peasants unions, student unions etc. Business groups like FICCI and CII are also pressure groups.

They provide expert opinion and information to policy makers for any policy / legislation formulation.

Some scholars regard them as 4th organ of the government.

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Rajni Kothari called them reservoir of leadership.

However, since the economic reforms of 1990^s, ^{in India} role of trade unions has dwindled. Business groups have become more prominent. This has led to the demand of regulating lobbying in India.

Hence, as we can observe, role of pressure groups is vital in ^{not} policy formulation but also in providing non-party political participation to the citizens, thus, opening new avenues for democratic participation.

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)

Q(a) The colonial rule of over 150 years on India has left a deep impact on India's political, administrative and social system in the post independence era. Some of them are -

(i) Political system

(a) Parliamentary democracy with responsible democracy government.

(b) Institution of speaker.

(c) Rule of law and legislative procedure; Ordinance making power.

(d) Single citizenship

(e) Emergency provisions

All of the above

(f) Division of powers between centre and state

Remarks

(ii) Administrative system

- (a) Modern day civil services is modeled on erstwhile ICS (Indian Civil Services)
- (b) Government of India Act (GOI Act), 1935 provided for a Public Service Commission for recruitment both at centre, state which forms the basis of present day UPSC and SPSC.
- (c) Criminal and Civil Procedure Code, Indian Penal Code are colonial in origin.

(iii) Judicial system

Supreme courts and high courts based on common-law and adversarial system originated in colonial times to ensure rule of law.

(iv) Social impact

- (a) Introduced reservation in constituencies for depressed classes and women.
- (b) Suppression of civil liberties during colonial times resulted in formulation

Remarks

of fundamental rights presently.

(3) Instrument of institutions from GOI Act 1935 inspire present day Directive Principles.

(4) Social evils like Sati, child marriage etc were curbed by the colonial administrators.

Thus, as seen above, colonial administration of India gave a rise to a unified administrative, political, judicial and social system. It moulded the modern nation-state of India. Hence, it is said Indian constitution is result of evolution and not of revolution.

(5) Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act 1989 was formulated by the Parliament to secure civil and political rights to the SCs and STs by giving effect to Article 17 (Abolition of untouchability) under the Indian Constitution.

Famously called the SC/STs Act, recently the Supreme Court in its judgement has revised its stand on certain provisions. Existing provision of the Act made untouchability a cognisable & non-bailable offence. It holds a civil servant guilty in case if he fails to secure justice to the victim.

However, with the recent cases of unscrupulous nature with the intention of maligning of a civil servant's career, to draw leverage, Supreme court ordered that any case registered under SC/STs Act against a civil servant shall not come immediately into effect. There shall be an enquiry by the appointing authority before the provisions come into effect.

Similarly, for an ordinary citizen,

The Superintendent of Police (SP) shall enquire into the case.

Against this order, many organisations working for SC/STs have come out and demanded a reversal as it would hinder the intention of social justice envisaged under the constitution.

However, Justice Thakur upheld the order.

(C) Parliament as envisaged by our founding fathers is the core institution of our democracy. It is responsible for deliberation, ensuring accountability of the executive among other duties. However, in the recent times, there is a decline in the functioning and Parliamentary

efficiency. Reasons attributed are the following -

- (1) With time job of legislators has grown more complex, to handle this, there is increasing trend of delegated legislation. Executive ~~passes~~ is made responsible for framing rules.
- (2) Provisions of an act are never discussed in full especially budget. They are passed majorly via guillotine.
- (3) Due to absence of internal democracy and strict centralised leadership in the parties, party members are forced to follow decisions are taken by the party high command.
- (4) Provisions of anti defection corresponding whip instructions etc have made the Parliamentarians lazy who simply follow the directives issued by the party.

Remarks

(5) With the executive commanding majority in Parliament, private member bills are generally not passed. Private members are also not assisted by the ministries. In India, only 4 private member bills have been passed.

(6) Ordinance making power of the executive has overshadowed the work of legislatures.

(7) Criminal - Politician nexus, low attendance etc.

Solution to improve these issues are -

(1) Vaishn Gandhi suggests linking of Parliamentarian's salary to the number of days he attends the session, questions asked etc.

(2) Anti-defection laws to be revisited and revised.

(3) Parliamentarians should be provided with modern day technology and expert

Remarks

Opinion to overcome his/her handicap regarding an issue.

- (4) As per Supreme Court's guidelines, ordinance should be exercised only if the situation demands.
- (5) There should be stricter penal provisions to break the criminal politician nexus.
- (6) Internal democracy and transparency should be promoted by parties. They should be brought under RTI.

The implementation of these measures will go a long way in ensuring faith of the people in the Parliament and create a truly vibrant democracy.

Remarks

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)

(a) Elections are the signpost of democracy. It is the duty of the election commission to conduct and free and fair elections.

Article 324 of the Indian Constitution establishes the Election Commission as an independent body. Issues related to appointment of Election Commissioner are —

- (1) election commissioner is appointed on the sole discretion of the Executive.
- (2) Except the chief election commissioner, all other election commissioners can be removed by the President.
- (3) There is no qualification prescribed for the appointment of election commission

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Senior bureaucrats ~~of~~ are usually appointed.

(G) After retirement, election commissioners can be again employed under state or central government.

Solutions proposed by 2nd Administrative Reforms Commission, Election Commission are

(1) Election Commissioners should be selected by a ^{selection} committee consisting of Opposition leader, speakers of Lok Sabha etc similar to the office of Lokpal.

(2) Election Commissioners should be given secure tenure of office similar to Chief Election Commissioner.

(3) The Election Commissioner should have a prescribed qualification.

(4) Employment under the centre or the state government should be barred for Election Commissioners.

These proposed reforms will go a long way in ensuring free and fair elections to

Remarks

transform India into a truly vibrant democracy.

Q(b) The perspective of Indian National movement is different for different classes of society. The agrarian and peasant perspective are classified by scholars like Bipan Chandra in 4 phases—

(i) Phase I (1857-1899)

- (i) Peasant movements, like Indigo revolt, ~~Sant~~ were localised.
- (ii) They were against the immediate exploiters i.e. zamindars, money lenders, foreign planters and not against Colonialism.
- (iii) These revolts were under old Order with no futuristic outlook towards government.

(2) Phase 2 (1900-1930)

- (i) Champaran Satyagraha, Kheda Satyagraha were a consequence of -
- (a) awakened national consciousness
 - (b) adoption of gandian method of non-violence and satyagraha.
- (ii) They mainly demanded fair pricing and rent and end against exploitation.

(3) Phase 3 (1930s)

- (i) This phase was marked by the establishment of All India Kisan Sabha.
- (ii) Pan India demands of land reforms, tenancy laws, reduction in rent was demanded.
- (iii) These demands were also adopted by Congress at Faizabad Session in 1936.
- Er - Moplah rebellion.
- This phase also saw communal color.

Remarks

Phase 4 (1940 - 47)

- (i) This phase saw radicalisation of peasantry.
- (ii) Under the leadership of Communist party, peasantry denounced the gandhian ideals.
- (iii) They started adopting violent means to end the exploitation by zamindars as in case of Tebhaga movement in Bengal (or Telangana movement).

Thus, it can be seen that peasant movement broadened the perspective of national movement which was initially rejected by the Congress.

These movements were the consequence of the inequitable relation between the peasant and the zamindar.

Q) (C) Hybrid Electoral System is the electoral system that involves a combination of electoral systems such as first past the post and proportional representation working in tandem for different constituencies.

There is recently a demand for the adoption of this ^{in India} system for the following reasons -

(a) First past the post system does not give clear relation between the share of votes won and the seats secured in legislature.

For example, BJP though won only 31% seats in 2014 general elections, it won 282 seats in the Parliament.

(b) First past the post system is not inclusive of all sections of the society. It only reflects the mandate of the majority section of the

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society.

- (c) Hybrid system is advocated instead of Proportional representation (PR) because —
 - (i) Indians are not used to PR. Therefore, it would cause a lot of confusion.
 - (ii) Not all seats constituencies are pluralistic.
- (d) Votes of the losing candidate shall not be wasted.

Last year, the idea of Hybrid Electoral system was mooted by the Parliamentary standing committee and has asked for Parliamentarians ~~opp~~ views.

This is one of the many electoral reforms apart from simultaneous elections and state funding of elections being discussed to make elections

and the electoral system more fair,
transparent and inclusive.

Remarks

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)

(a) National Commission for Women was established by the National Commission for Women Act to secure the rights of women enshrined in the constitution and other legislations. It has taken the following steps to protect and empower the women —

(i) established Parivar Mahila Lok Adalat to investigate the working of legal and constitutional safeguards for women.

(ii) Complain and counselling cell to receive oral or written complaint of women.

(iii) Exhorts investigation agencies to expedite the process to bring swift justice to women.

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- (ii) It analyses the trends in crimes against women and shares this data for sensitising Police, policy makers, judiciary etc.
- (v) It conducts seminars, workshops to promote awareness regarding women issues.
- (vi) NCW has also established a library containing books and journals on women related issues for research purpose.
- (vii) NCW itself publishes books and also incentivises other NGOs and civil societies to do the same on women rights.

As seen above, NCW plays a major role in securing gender justice for women and ensures that the women are given their rightful place in the society. NCW has also played a major role in cases like *Bishakha v/s State of Rajasthan*, *Sarla Mudgal case* etc.

Q (b) Land reforms, according to M Ghatak, means redistribution of land from rich to the poor. It broadly involves ownership transfer, tenancy laws etc.

The Congress under the leadership of Nehru decided to take up land reforms in Post-independence India on the recommendation of Kumarappa Committee. It broadly involved following -

(i) Abolition of Zamindari

Scholars, however, contest that only 20 mn people benefitted. Zamindari still exists in informal sense.

(ii) Tenancy reforms

It involved granting secure tenancy, fixed rent to the peasants.

(iii) Land ceiling

A fixed land size was to be left with every landowner. However, land

Revenue officials and zamindars did not permit it to be implemented in full measure. Bewari transactions took place to circumvent land ceiling.

(iv) Cooperatives proved to be most misunderstood aspect of land reforms. N G Ranga and C Rajagopalachari termed it as communism. Those cooperatives which were implemented, mainly remained an instrument of the dominant class.

Atul Kohli blames the Congress leaders for not implementing the reforms properly. He calls them bureaucratic party. He points out to states like Bengal and Kerala where the Communist party successfully implemented it.

Indira Gandhi later in 1970s appointed a commission but land reforms took off.

These reforms gave rise to kulaks or Bullock capitalists - Rudolph & Rudolph

Remarks

Recently, the government has appointed a new mission - digital India Land Record modernisation to record land-holder relationship which has always been a challenge.

Scholars attribute failure of land reforms as the reason for left wing extremism.

(Q) From the time of independence till 1967, India was under a Congress dominant system (Rajni Kothari).

In 1967, Congress lost in as many as 9 states. This was the period marked by personalised and centralised administration of Indira Gandhi. Regional governments started concentrating more power. Regional landed bourgeoisie started aligning themselves with regional governments to secure more benefits...

Remarks

After the end of Emergency in 1977, coalition government led by Janata Party at the centre was formed. It was the first non-Congress government at the centre. Now all dominant system of Congress was broken both at the centre and states. Land reforms and regional power allowed previously backward castes to secure more power and money. There were also ethnic movements in Assam, Punjab etc.

By 1990, emerged a new trend. Regional parties started emerging at the centre to form government. This ensured that policies by the coalition was all inclusive of regional sentiments. Earlier backward castes became Kulaks who started wielding both political and economic

Remarks

power. Parties like DMK in Tamil Nadu started influencing foreign policy. Reservation scheme of 27% in public sector jobs was made.

Critics argue that instead of political parties focusing on governance have started focusing on stability and office securing political office.

Yogendra Yadav, however, disagrees. He terms the above development as democratic upsurge with an inclusive agenda.

Christophe Jaffrelot, on the other hand, contests that the coalition politics has only strengthened the federation by giving sufficient focus and power to states.

<i>Remarks</i>	

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.

(a) Indian national movement is characterised by different shades of opinion. Marxist perspective was characterised by the opinions of Marx. Marx called 1857 as feudal revolt.

On similar lines, R C Palme Dutt and A R Desai criticised national movement for being in favour of and having ignored peasants and workers of the elite class. MN Roy called Congress, a bourgeoisie party and Gandhi, a bourgeoisie leader.

However, later Marxists, like S N Mukherjee criticised reversed their view.

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Sr Mukherjee termed Palme's views as class reductionist in nature.

Sunit Sarkar defends the Congress. He says that it was not an intentional act of Congress to not undertake peasant and workers issues.

Bipan Chandra, believes says that primary concern of Congress was independence of India. Class, caste or religious concerns were secondary.

Thus, Marxist perspective itself is divided. However, one has to credit them for broadening the national movement by incorporating peasant and workers issues.

(b) Article 35A of the Indian Constitution gives special rights to the citizens of Jammu and Kashmir (J and K)

It allows the J and K legislature, to define the special rights of the J and K citizens and provide the special

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privileges such as ownership rights, reservation in jobs etc. It also denies women her inheritance rights and her children, the inheritance rights in case a woman marries outside the state.

The above provision of Article 35A has been questioned in the Supreme Court by a petition on the basis of violation of discrimination of fundamental right of equality under Article 14, 15, 16. It is also been questioned by the petitioner for being gender discriminatory.

(Q) MN Roy was a Marxist scholar.
He is known for his philosophy of Radical humanism which was his last major work which he undertook.

MN Roy under his philosophy of radical humanism, makes man,

Remarks

the centre of everything.

MN Roy was bitten by the idea of Renaissance. He believed that man is a rational being. He is enlightened and thus, should be the centre of any system, social or political.

On the basis of radical humanism, Roy proposed the concept of radical democracy. Radical democracy was suppose to promote grassroot democracy which can be seen in the Panchayati Raj today.

MN Roy's idea of radical humanism comes very close to Gandhi's idea of Oceanic circle of power and D' Dayal Upadhyaya's humanism.

(Q) CAG (Comptroller and Auditor General) is a constitutional body established under Article 148. ~~He is~~ B R Ambedkar called it the "bulwark of financial accountability". However, it is not without its shortcomings -

- (1) CAG only undertakes postmortem audit unlike its counterpart in Britain which is also involved approval of expenditure from the exchequer.
- (2) CAG does not have the mandate to audit many legislative agencies like SBI, LIC etc on its own.
- (3) Its financial independence is compromised since it needs to request Finance ministry every budget to secure its fund.

(e) There is no qualification prescribed for the appointment of CAG. Generally, IAS officers are appointed.

Vinod Rai, former CAG, has pointed out these functional defects in the functioning CAG and suggested remedial measures. These measures need to be implemented in order to secure the financial integrity of the government and ensure correct utilisation of public money.

Q (e) Indian judiciary is one of the oldest legal systems of the world. It is based on the English system and follows common law adversarial process. It is guarantor of civil rights of the citizens and defender of the constitution. However, in the recent times, there have been questions

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around judicial accountability. Some of them are -

- ① No criminal/civil case can be filed against a judge of SC unless a permission is granted by the Chief Justice of India.
- ② Judiciary doesn't fall under the ambit of RTI.
- ③ Collegium system has been criticised for promoting opacity in judicial appointments.
- ④ Master of Roster has been declared as a discretionary power by Supreme Court which is being questioned for being unitary and all supreme.
- ⑤ All India judicial service needs to be implemented with essential perks to attract best talent. This will ensure better quality of judgements and

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thus, reduction in judicial pendency.

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)

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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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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)

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