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Political Science Test Series

TEST - 09

MOCK 2 PAPER - I

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

Roll No._____

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SECTION A

1. Answer the following questions: (150 Words Each) (10 × 5 = 50)

   (a) Parametric variations by Amartya Sen.

   (b) Relationship of Power, Legitimacy and Authority

   (c) How does Ambedkar envision the destruction of Caste System.

   (d) Compare Social Contract of Locke with that of Hobbes.

   (e) On what grounds can it be said that Machiavelli is amoral rather than immoral.

Q1 (a) Amartya Sen believes that income and resource equality and capacity equality are contradictory in nature. Thus, he proposes capability approach which is hinged on parameteric variations that cause capability inequality —

(1) Personal disparity such as gender, health, age results in disparity in capacity.

(2) Environmental factors - Sen gives the example of a man living in cold region earning same income as that of a man in tropical region will have to spend more to keep warm.

(3) Social factors such as education, health, security provided by state differs resulting

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in difference in capacity.

④ Social traditions may be affordable by a rich man but not by a poor man in the same society.

⑤ Distribution of family income within family will result in differential growth depending upon distribution.

Based on paraventic variations, Sen criticises Dworkin's resource equality and Rawls distribution of primary good for being procedural and only dealing with "equality of what?" and not desired outcomes.

9(b) Weber defines legitimacy as,

[Authority = Legitimacy + Power]

wherein, legitimacy expresses the government's power to rule and extract obedience. It is legitimacy that converts naked force / brute force (power)

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into authority that permits government to govern.

Likewise, legitimacy also conveys will of the people or consent to be governed and allow the government to formulate policies. TH Green says, "will not force is the basis of authority".

Thus, authority is a two way process where the government rules only when the consent is given by the people otherwise it results in delegitimisation or governability crisis (Atul Kohli).

To quote Rousseau—

"Even the strongest man is not strong enough unless he has the right and duty given by people."

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© Ambedkar saw caste and varna system as similar and central expression of Brahmanism unlike Gandhi who saw them differently and belived in moral persuasion of caste Hindus.

Ambedkar believed that a modern society cannot be forged unless the graded inequality propagated by caste is not destroyed.

For this purpose, he called for annihilation of caste. He exhorted Dalits to go for inter caste marriage and dining, educate themselves and participate in activities carried out by priests.

Ambedkar was against the principle of caste based on birth not on worth and, thus, asked Dalits to reject "varn ashram" and burn manusmriti

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that promotes exploitation of man by man.

He also recommended the state to take constitutionalist measure to abolish caste system and promote social justice amongst all to forge a truly modern society based on the ideal of social democracy that promotes equality and fraternity.

Q (d) Differences between social contract of Hobbes and Locke

Parameter	Hobbes	Locke
Social contract	All rights are transferred as state of nature was state of war against all.	They do not transfer right to life, liberty and property as Locke's state of nature is peaceful.
violation of contract	No action can be taken by people against state as they transfered all their rights	State is a representative of people and rules by consent. Thus, any violation of trust allows people to revolt.

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Rights	People ~~only~~ have no rights as they transferred all rights to the state	People have not transferred their right to life, liberty and property.
State	State is an absolute state called Leviathan that represents a ruler	State is a representative government, ruling by consent of people.

Q
(e) Machiavelli is a realist who suggests Prince to focus on what is rather than what ought to be.

He suggests that there will be situations when Prince will be in religious and ethical dilemma while taking a decision. However, Prince should remember, "If ends are good then means are good" i.e.

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state interest is above all the rest.

He, thus, gives the concept of "Double morality". He suggests that a Prince's morality is different from a common man.

A common man can afford to follow his principles but a Prince cannot. Prince cannot compromise state interest in favour of his religious or ethical principle.

Thus, Machiavelli separates politics from ethics and religion.

Machiavelli though dislike the corruption prevailing in the society due to corrupt practices of church resulting in disunity of Italy.

He does not dislike religion. He views religion as a disciplinary force that ensures oaths are kept. He

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advises Prince to use religion as a tool to govern and never appear appear anti or irreligious.

Thus, we can say Machiavelli is neither anti religious or immoral but is rather amoral.

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2. Attempt all questions:

(a) 'Ambedkar wants democratic form of government which will uphold the idea of equality'. Discuss his views on socialism and identify his suggestions for removal of untouchability. (200 Words) (15 Marks)

(b) Generally believed to be the equivalents of each other, there exists deep differences between Machiavelli and Kautilya, it would be unjust to replace one with another. Discuss. (200 Words) (15 Marks)

(c) The class struggle does not disappear under the Dictatorship of Proletariat, it merely assumes different forms. With reference to the statement, explain the major features of Dictatorship of Proletariat and its impact on class relations, democracy, state and administration. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

Q2

(a) Ambedkar is regarded as the greatest Dalit leader (Gopalguru). He viewed democracy not in terms of representational government or government by the people. For Ambedkar, democracy stood for political democracy based on principle of "one man, one vote".

However, Ambedkar believed democracy and equality as in politics is an extension of a just and democratic society.

In case of India, there was a persisting caste based inequality. Thus, to achieve political democracy and equality, Ambedkar called for social democracy based on

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equality, fraternity, solidarity.

Ambedkar, thus, called for a socialist democracy where the state owned all the key and public industries. State would then lead rapid industrialisation and redistribute earnings amongst people.

He also called for state organised contract farming wherein the state would receive part of the produce as a levy, rest would remain with peasants.

Ambedkar on untouchability

Ambedkar viewed untouchability as an extension of Hindu caste system and thus, called for annihilation of caste to end untouchability unlike Gandhi who believed in precept and example.

Ambedkar asked Dalits to organise and educate themselves, participate as

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priests for performing rituals.

He exhorted Dalits to abandon varn ashram and adopt buddhism, indulge in inter caste marriage and dining.

Ambedkar, a constitutionalist, called for state to undertake affirmative action for upliftment of Dalits by banning untouchability.

Thus, Ambedkar's main goal was social justice for all.

Q(5) Nehru in Discovery of India describes Kautilya as Indian Machiavelli. Even Weber and Bottazi view both of them i.e. Machiavelli and Kautilya similar.

Both are seen to be realists who separated ethics from politics for national interest, both support expansionist foreign policy. However, these similarities

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are superficial than the differences—

① Machiavelli belongs to the Western tradition and follows empirical methodology based on history. Kautilya is a believer of ancient scriptures and books for causal explanation. He belongs to ancient India.

② Both support use of religion, however, Machiavelli only views it as a disciplinary force whereas Kautilya views religion as a source of Dharma to guide actions of King.

③ Machiavelli takes a pessimistic view of man and calls him selfish, fickleminded and avaricious. Kautilya is optimistic and sees good in a man despite him being selfish.

④ Machiavelli views Prince as a manifestation of state whose objective is only preserving national interest.

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Kautilya asks King to follow Dharma and work for welfare of his subjects.

(5) For Machiavelli, power is a means and state interest is an end, man is subordinate to state. For Kautilya, state is a means for welfare of the subjects.

R Rangarajan opines that Kautilya's work has universal application similar to Machiavelli, however, both have their own importance and it would be unjust to replace one with another.

Q Dictatorship of proletariat is a major concept of Marxist literature.

Marx viewed it a transition stage from abolition of capitalism till a communist society.

For Engels, dictatorship proletariat signifies end of class relations and

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emergence of state less society.

The above thoughts influenced Lenin who sees Dictatorship of proletariat as a ruthless war against bourgeois.

Bourgeois tend to gather international support and leverage their capital to counter revolution. Thus, Dictatorship of proletariat does not immediately result in end of class relations.

It uses state power to suppress counter revolution.

This requires bourgeois democracy to be replaced by proletariat democracy which is a genuine representation of peasants and workers i.e. majority.

Lenin views bourgeois democracy as talking shops and representatives as parliamentarian prostitutes. Lenin

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seeks to reform these institutions to be truly representational.

To achieve the above objectives, he aims the state to act as accounting unit that captures means of production and redistributes amongst it among people.

He wants to abolish administration but realises that it cannot be immediate. He, thus, proposes its abolition and replacing it by people who are trained by the state.

However, his ideas have been criticised by Hunter and Liebel.

Hunter views Lenin's view of state being simply an accountant as naieve.

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Liebel questions Lenin's belief that there would be no compromise reached between proletariat and bourgeois.

Lenin, however, implemented his ideology and established USSR but never progressed towards a truly communist society.

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3. Attempt all questions:

(a) How does Aristotle view the activity of Politics? What role does a Constitution serve in his theory? (200 Words) (15 Marks)

(b) Discuss the major aspects of Locke's defence of property along with its major scholarly critiques. (200 Words) (15 Marks)

(c) Women's predominant role in childrearing and domestic labour is their biological destiny. Discuss the major arguments given by various feminist approaches against this notion. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

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4. Attempt all questions:

(a) Legitimation crisis and Jürgen Habermas idea of legitimacy based on ideal speech situation (200 Words) (15 Marks)

(b) Explain the major arguments of the Communitarian approach with special reference to its feminist critique. (200 Words) (15 Marks)

(c) Equality of Resources consists of redistribution being done as continuous process rather than being a one time phenomenon. Discuss. Also bring out the salient features of "Equality of Capabilities" approach by Dr. Amartya Sen (250 Words) (20 Marks)

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SECTION B

5. Answer the following questions: (150 Words each) (10 × 5 = 50)

(a) Issues related to special status under Article 371.

(b) National Commission for Minorities.

(c) Debate on simultaneous elections.

(d) Justice delayed is justice denied: issue and need for reforms.

(e) What are the major criticisms of the Constitutional amendment procedure in India?

Q5 (a) Article 371 under Part XXI titled, "Temporary, Transitional and Special provisions" deals with states of Sikkim, Assam, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Arunachal Pradesh, Gujrat, Maharashtra, ~~Gujrat~~, Goa, Karnataka, Telangana and Andhra Pradesh

Purpose of Article 371 —

① protect of interests of local people.
② meet aspirations and needs of natives.
③ protecting traditions and culture of tribal population.

Some of the associated issues are —

① Article 371A - Naga community has not allowed for 33% reservation for women in Panchayats calling it a violation of their traditional rights.

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② Article 371 J → Recent Karnata elections witnessed demands for reservation in jobs and education for political gains.

③ Article 371 D → Allows for reservation for jobs and education along with special funding. It has been used in Telangana for 62% reservation against Supreme Court's mandated 50% reservation.

④ There have been demands for funding by states under Article 371.

5 (B) National Commission for ~~Women~~ Minorities (NCM) —

NCM was established by Union Government under National Commission for minorities Act with following mandate —

① Evaluate progress of minorities.

② Receive complaints against minority rights and redress the grievances.

③ Monitor constitutional and legal safeguards under state and centre goverment

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④ Suggest measures to improve ~~so~~ implementation of safeguards.
⑤ Conduct research into minority rights.

Challenges faced by NCM –

① Lack of man power, usage of technology resulting in delay in grievance redressal.
② Lack of constitutional mandate to NCM resulting in non fulfilment of mandate.
③ State commissions have overlapping powers and mandate.
④ Lack of funding as majority utilised in payment of salary → lack of research funding

Reforms suggested

① Baseline targetting for addressing pendency in cases.
⑤ Stakeholder survey for getting feedback in solving grievance redressal.
③ Independent cadree management.
④ Delineating the mandate, power and

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functions of national and state minority commissions based on fine, extent of threat etc.

Q. Simultaneous election refers to conducting elections of Lok Sabha and State Assembly once in 5 years. Arguments in favour of simultaneous election -

1. Less expenditure by election Commission and political parties on elections.
2. Less expenditure on public ~~expenditure~~ exchequer.
3. Imposition of model code of conduct hinders new development schemes.
4. government can focus on governance rather than elections.
5. State machinery such as security forces and teachers are not diverted from duty.

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Arguments against simultaneous elections

① Requires either curtailment or extension of term of state assemblies or Lok Sabha which is in violation of Article 83(1), 172(1).

② It may result in overlap of national and regional interest.

③ Even if simultaneous elections are adopted, what happens if an assembly or Parliament is dissolved.

Recommendations

① Nachiappan Committee and NITI AAYOG recommend elections in 2 phases. Some states undergo election in mid term of Parliament, others at the end of term.

② **Law Commission** suggests —

ⓐ election of Prime Minister like Speaker to keep government stable.

ⓑ if an assembly is dissolved, it is re-elected only for remainder of the

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term.

(c) A ~~no~~ constructive no confidence motion to allow opposition form the government in cases present government loses trust.

Q

(d) As per Law Commission, there are 5 lakh pending judicial cases that requires 464 years for disposal with present rate.

Issues resulting in judicial pendency

(a) There is 17 judges per million people compared to recommended 50 judges per million people (Law Commission).

(b) Lack of proper police investigation resulting in poor evidence.

(c) No consensus between Executive and Judiciary over Memorandum of Procedure (MOP) resulting in vacancies in High court (500) and lower judiciary (15000).

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(d) Weak alternate dispute resolution mechanism
(e) Judicial benches only for 188 days against 225 days.

Suggested reforms —

(1) Police reforms for better evidence
(2) All India Judicial Service to handle cases at ground level.
(3) Strengthening alternate dispute resolution mechanism.
(4) Increasing judicial bench presence to 225 days (Malimath Report).
(5) Pass Memorandum of Procedure.
(6) Establishing case management system
(7) Passing National Judicial Accountability Bill.

Delay in justice is a violation of Article 21 as right to speedy trial has been envisaged by Supreme court as a fundamental right. Thus, above reforms should be implemented to protect these rights.

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2 (e) Article 368 under XX allow Parliament to undertake amendment, repealing of constitutional provisions. Some of the criticisms are—

① Only Parliament can initiate the amendment unlike USA, where states are also allowed.
② There is no time frame in which states are suppose to ratify an amendment.
③ Most of the provisions can be amended by simple majority or special majority of Parliament. Only in certain cases are states involved.
④ There is no joint sitting permitted for a constitutional amendment.

Despite these criticisms, Sir Ivor Jennings calls it "rigid but flexible". Jawaharlal Nehru in Constituent Assembly said, "A constitution should be permanent but not so much so that it cannot accomodate changes. Constitution needs to allow development as an organic component, people".

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6. Attempt all questions:

(a) Discuss the major functions, powers and controversies associated with the post of Presiding officer(e.g. Speaker) of legislatures? (200 Words) (15 Marks)

(b) Why the National Human Rights Commission was recently called 'A toothless tiger' by its chairperson? How valid is this comment and suggest possible measures which will make the body more effective and relevant for the victims of Human rights violation. (200 Words) (15 Marks)

(c) Discuss the evolution, nature and impact of Dalit Politics in India? To what extent it means a different experience for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes respectively? (250 Words) (20 Marks)

Q (a) Speaker or other presiding officer is regarded as the Head of the house who has the final authority for all decisions.

Major powers and functions are—

(1) He is responsible for interpreting
(a) Rules and procedure of House
(b) Constitution of India
(c) Conventions.

(2) He possess the power to disqualify a member under X^th schedule.

(3) He adjourns the House in absence of quorum.

(4) All powers and privileges of the members, Houses and Committees are vested in him.

(5) It is he who decides the amount of time a legislature can address.

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However, in the recent times, there have been allegations against post of presiding officer such as —

① Unlike in UK, speaker in India does not resign from membership of his party as he/she is not certain of re-election.

② Over the years, a convention has developed wherein the speaker is from ruling party and is viewed as partisan or biased.

③ With the increase in number of parties, speaker is unable to allocate time to all interested members.

④ Speaker has been questioned for accepting bills like Aadhar as money bill without meeting strict criteria.

⑤ In Nabam Rebia case, speaker misutilised his discretionary power under X Schedule to disqualify members.

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Recommended Reforms –

(1) Guarantee for the presiding officer for re-election.

(2) Time to speak should not be based on party strength but as per demand.

(3) Election Commission recommends that disqualification power should be under Election Commission.

Speaker is the guardian of parliament. He should act in an unbiased manner to uphold the constitution and serve the people.

9(b) National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) is a statutory body established by Union government under Protection of Human Rights Act, 1992 with the following mandate –

(1) monitor all constitutional and legal

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safeguards for protection of human rights.
② Receive complaints for violation of human rights and suggest remedial measures.
③ Intervene in judicial proceedings with permission of court.
④ Visit jails to monitor human rights of detainees.

However, it has been called "A Toothless Tiger" by its chairperson because—

① the recommendations of NHRC are only advisory and it has no punitive power.

② It has vacancies and judicial positions do not require a proven track record of human rights activism.
③ Non judicial posts are filled by retired bureaucrats.
④ It lacks sufficient funds as most of it is paid as staff salary.

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(5) It cannot investigates complaints received after 1 year of incidents.
(6) It cannot investigate private parties.
(7) It has restricted powers against Indian Army.
(8) It cannot investigate cases in Jammu and Kashmir.

Suggested Reforms are

(1) Sub committee on Accrediation of Global Alliance of National Human Rights Institutions (GANHRI) suggests more
(a) publicity of vacancies.
(b) independent cadre management.
(2) Ahmadi committee recommends investigation power beyond 1 year of incident.
(3) It should have contempt power to enforce its decisions on authorities.
(4) It should be permitted cases in Jammu and Kashmir and by Army

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more flexibly and freely.

In this content, Justice UU Lalit has said "Democracy in peril if mechanism for Human rights thrives". Thus, NHRC should be reformed to protect the fundamental rights of the citizens.

Q. Dalit politics emerged in pre-independent India with the formation of Scheduled Caste Federation and Bahishkrit Sabha by Ambedkar.

British tried to introduce separate electorates for Dalits but was thwarted by Poona Pact signed between Gandhi and Ambedkar that resulted in reservation of seats.

This policy has been continued in post-independence India. Ambedkar in 1957 formed the Republican Party of

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India (RPI). However, it failed to gather attention because of internal conflicts.

This resulted in the formation of Dalit Panthers, a militia organisation in 1972 which led procession against the Parliament for being unrepresentative. It followed Buddhism and majorly had semi urban Dalits who promoted identity politics.

Rora argues that after Ambedkar there has been no Dalit leader to work for landless Dalits for whom economic exploitation is the major concern.

Kanshi Rao in 1982 established Dalit Shoshit Sangharsh Samaj which later became the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) which propelled Mayawati to Chief Minister 4 times but in the recent UP elections lost to BJP's 40% vote share of Dalits compared to its tally of 24%.

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However, ~~its~~ experience ~~has~~ of SCs has been different from STs. Xaxa opines that in India, not all STs are backward as many in the North East like Nagas were ruling clans. Also, some have left forests and entered mainstream society.

However, still in central India and North East, STs are regionally concentrated unlike SCs who ~~have~~ are sparsely populated across India.

This has resulted in the formation of two tribal states – Jharkhand and Chattisgarh.

Despite this, Xaxa opines that STs have been less successful in getting their demands fulfilled compared to SCs as the SCs are embedded within the Hindu society and adept in voicing their demands.

Remarks

7. Attempt all questions:

(a) What was the controversy regarding Preamble being a part of the constitution? Elaborate on the significance of the Preamble with special references to views of constitutional experts. (200 Words) (15 Marks)

(b) Discuss the evolution, nature and demands of the ethnic movements in North East & Since independence. (200 Words) (15 Marks)

(c) Caste and class in India have their distinct identities in terms of structure and economic status. Is this a universal truth in India or it has certain exceptions ? Give your views. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

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8. Attempt all questions:

(a) Continuity of Religion in Indian politics. Discuss. (200 Words) (15 Marks)

(b) Discuss the nature of New Social movement in India. What are the specific challenges faced by Human Rights movement in India? (200 Words) (15 Marks)

(c) Reservation for some is the most potent tool for social justice and empowerment but for others it is just a mechanism to gain political advantage over rivals. Address the debate from both view points with recent examples. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

Q@ India is multi-religious nation, thus, role of religion is automatic. During British rule, post 1857 rebellion, British started using the policy of Divide and Rule.

This resulted in the formation of All India Muslim League (1907) and adoption of separate electorate (1909).

In 1945 elections, Muslim League secured all muslim seats. However, post partition, India adopted the ideal of secularism and with creation of ~~partition~~ Pakistan, it was expected that political function of religion would end.

However, it instead became a tool

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for solidarity and unity amongst all sections of Hindus and Muslims.

Muslims support parties like Jamaat-ul-Islam, whereas, BJP adopted the goal of Hindutva in 1988 and declared itself a party of Hindus.

Rajeev Gandhi government of Congress was alledged for "Double appeasement" for passing Muslim (Protection of Rights) Act in 1984 to appease conservative Muslims and to have opened Ram Janmabhoomi for appeasing the Hindus.

Even during the 2014 Lok Sabha elections, as per Centre for Societal Development Studies, 38% of seats of Muslims was secured by Congress compared to BJP's 7%.

During recent UP and Gujrat elections,

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BJP though witnessed an increase in Muslim votes but opposition parties continue to polarise them.

Thus, usage of religion as political tool continues unabated. Many experts have opined to end this and opt for politics of development.

Q (b) New social movements unlike old movements have expanded their scope and deal with issues of peace, disarmament, health, nutrition, education, shelter etc.

In case of India, New social movements are characterised by —

(1) It is led primarily by oppressed sections — Dalits, women, STs etc.

(2) It is characterised as anti industrialisation, West opposed and anti globalisation.

(3) It is against world indices of development and progress of health,

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education etc and demands local yardsticks.

④ Till 1980s, the movements were suppressed in the name of national development. However, post 1980s, Chipko movement, Silent valley agitation have been successful with support from international support, environmental and human rights group.

However, close analysis of ROSOCO agitation etc reveals these movements have not been entirely successfully and reflect defeat of women, SCs, STs as it is them who lead such movements.

Challenges faced by Human Rights movements —

Universal Periodic Review points the following —

① Restriction on NGOs for foreign funds who are seen to criticise government

② LGBT continue to struggle for their rights.

③ Racist attacks against Africans.

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④ Imposition of AFSPA resulting in human rights violation in Kashmir.

⑤ Human Rights Watch opines against the continued atrocities against women, SCs, STs.

Government of India has appointed a committee to look into issues of foreign funding, mob lynch. It has also passed Domestic Violence Act, SC/STs Act. However, progress towards other challenges continue to face hurdles.

Q (c) Article 15 and Article 16 was inserted in the Constitution to provide reservation to marginalised communities to provide social justice. However, it is being criticised as a mechanism to gain political advantages because

① Reservation was viewed by constitution makers to promote equality of opportunity but instead

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affluent communities like Patels, Jats are demanding reservation. This phenomenon is run to the bottom (Yogendra Yadav).

② The demands for reservation is only raised during elections. For eg, Patel agitation before Gujrat assembly elections.

③ Only 25% gross enrolment ratio with 90% informal sector calls for lack of data to justify benefits of reservation. There are no political debates on this issue.

④ Globalisation has reduced the caste consciousness, thus, new parameters such as economic, educational etc should define criteria for reservation.

⑤ As per constitutional debates, reservation was to be a temporary measure. Recently, Supreme court asked Central government, whether reservation is supposed to be perpetual?

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Arguments in favour of reservation-

① Attorney Geeer Veerugopal said that caste is an Indian institution and continues to place social stigma on communities.

② Political and socially communities such as Patels, Jats face deprivation in education, employment.

③ Post LPG reforms, private sector is the job provider. Thus, reservation becomes necessary for marginalised communities.

④ It is also pointed that only a few sections continue to do well in private sector while rest continue to face deprivation.

Remarks

Remarks