

NEXT IAS

CSE (MAINS) TEST SERIES - 2024

(To be filled by candidate)

Name of Candidate : INDRARCHITHA P.

Roll No. : Date of Examination :

Mobile Number : E-mail

Exam Centre : Old Rajinder Nagar ☐

Online ☐

Test-04

POLITICAL SCIENCE &
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Dated : 21-07-2024

Time Allowed : Three Hours

Maximum Marks: 250

QUESTION PAPER SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS

(Please read each of the following instructions carefully before attempting questions)

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. Among these THREE questions, one should be from each section.

Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the Admission certification 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.

SECTION-A

Write the following question in about 150 words.

1. (a)

Discuss the factors responsible for the growth of regional parties in the Indian political system.

(10 marks, 150 words)

The 19th Lok Sabha elections have seen the resurgence of the co-alition politics indicating the increasing role of the regional parties. The rise of regional parties is attributed to many factors.

Initially after the breakdown of Congress system many regional parties emerged. Yogendra Yadav attributed the rise of regional parties to democratic upsurges. Linguistic reorganisation of the state led to rise of regional parties like AIADMK, TDP in the southern states.

Subas Palishikan attributes Green revolution as a cause for the rise of regional parties due to emergence of dominant castes through green revolution. Caste based regional mobilisation began to ex: BSP.

Increasing regional and ethnic conflicts and increasing regionalism among the people

being ~~more~~ used by the political parties thus
resulting into rise of regional parties.

Isolation and developmental deficit that the states
are facing, people are made to believe only
under a regional party such issues can be
resolved. The TRS party's growth can be attributed to
its struggle for the Telangana state.

Growth of regional parties can strengthen the
federal axis rather than centralising power
in the hands of one central party.

The consequences of regionalism by Paul Brass
as shift from class to class politics.

1. (b)

Discuss the reasons for the environmental movements in India. (10 marks, 150 words)

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Environmentalism is an inherent part of the Indian culture of conservation, worship of nature.

Environmental movement are a manifestation of this culture and growing environmental destruction.

Reasons:

- 1) Reasons can be attributed to the kind of planning model that India has adopted post independence. Instead of choosing a sustainable plan India went for maximum industrialisation and profit model.
- 2) The Western model of development has been criticised by Gadgil & Guha's book Unquiet Woods. We need to go back to the measure the traditional societies had laid to rights.
- 3) Arun Shrivastava has identified 5 reasons for the rise of environmental movement in India:
 - control over natural resources
 - false development strategy
 - socio-economic development reasons

- Environment degradation
- Spread of Environmental awareness and role of media

4) Growing awareness and exacerbated effects of the climate change has also resulted in environmental movement. SC in *Rajin Singh vs UoI* has declared right to Good life includes action against climate change as well.

5) Growth of Urban Environmentalism in and against developmental programmes have been the popular form of Environmental movements. like the Aarar forest, Narmada Bachao Andolan.

6) Growth of environmental organisations and NGOs vocalising their grievances. ~~It's~~ Soil the Soil Save The Soil Movement.

However environmental movement in India was largely shallow environmental movements

Q. (d)

Discuss the objectives of land reforms implemented in post independence India.

(10 marks, 150 words)

General Muzdal defines land reforms as the institutionalised method of redistribution of land.

In India land reforms was considered as a key to deal with the ~~poor~~ poverty and inequality in post independent India.

Objectives of land reforms in India:

- 1) Achieving of socio-economic objective of just redistribution of land among the poor and landless farmers. In 1950s 60% of the land was ~~occupied~~ owned by ~~Zamindars~~ 
- 2) To break away from the colonial setup and titles of Zamindars
- 3) Land reforms were considered as an essential element for propelling development in the country
- 4) It would fulfill the Gandhian dream of land to the tiller and ~~dece~~

Fulfillment of the democratic principles of the state policy of 39(b) & 39(c) which was

against accumulation of wealth in the hands of limited people.

However land reforms in India include abolition of Zamindari, Tenancy reforms, land ceiling acts, and redistribution act.

land reforms failed to achieve the extent of success that the government planned. Daniel

Thomen attributed the failure to:
lack of political will, loopholes in the law
and misuse of the law.

The result of failed land reforms manifested in the form of Naxalism. An active effort for land reforms continues in the form of digitization of land records and push for the co-operatives.

3. (e)

Difference between old and new social movements.

(10 marks, 150 words)

Social Movements refer to the expression of the people's grievances through a collective voice. It could be due to varied reasons - economic, political, social and cultural reasons. Some of the most famous social movements ever witnessed were, French & American revolution.

Differences between old and new social
movement:

Old Social Movements:

Old social movements are usually motivated by livelihood or political rights. Limited mostly to the basic rights.

The leadership for the Old Social Movements comes from the lower classes. The Indian Independence movement in India itself can be considered Old Social Movement but more specifically tribal movements and peasant movement.

old social movements use the methods of violence, petitions, rallies, satyagraha etc. to convey their grievances.

New social Movement:

New social movement are usually about environmental rights or the rights regarding enhancing the living of the people.

New social movements are led by the middle class or educated people. New social movements use the methods of art, literature, theatre to for raising consciousness.

They are not keen on capturing power but to give consciousness.

In India few movements have blurred the lines between old and New social Movements like the Environmental movements.

4. (a)

Identify the factors that have continued the use of religion in Indian politics. Analyze its impact on Indian politics.
(15 marks, 200 words)

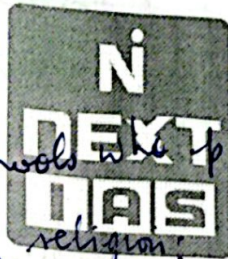
Religion has become an inherent characteristic of Indian politics. The period of elections is seen as the period of high communal activity showcasing the eminent role of religion in Indian politics.

FACTORS that have continued use of religion in Indian politics:

→ The use of religion is traced back to the end of ideology debate and Samuel P. Huntington's Clash of Civilisation idea. As ideologies are no more relevant political parties began to use religion as a means of political mobilisation.

→ Christophe Jaffrelot attributes communalisation of Indian politics to double appeasement policy of the Congress which has triggered the communal politics.

The independence movement itself have to planted the seeds of communalism. Romila Thapar believes that there was no communalism before the entry of British. British policy of divide and rule, formation of Hindu Mahasabha, Muslim League and various other movement brought out the communal colours leading to its continuation even in today's politics.



There are various schools which provided reasons for continued use of religion:

- The ^{Essentialist} Instrumentalist - Louis Dumont: two different communities, it is essential natural that they would be antagonistic.
- The Instrumentalist - Bipin Chandra - elites use it to exploit sentiments of people.
- Institutional - Ashgar Ali Engineer - communism is a socio-economic phenomenon it is a mark of class conflict.
- ~~social conflict~~ constructivist - People's perception.

Impact of Indian Politics:

→ Use of religion has resulted in rise and fall of the political parties. Christophe Jaffrelot criticised Congress for double appeasement, Hansen Bhoen spoke about subversion of Indian politics by B.J.P.

→ Use of religion as a institutionalised set up to create conflict during election period (Paul Brass)
He gives three stages of riots and both the parties benefit out of it.

→ Increased communal identity and teaching in increased frictions in the society. Resulting in crimes like mole lynching, isolation and stereotyping.

Religion has become engrained in the political fabric in India. Mohan Vaisnav points at the futility of achieving secularism in politics.

4. (b)

How effective has the National Human Rights Commission been in protecting and promoting human rights in India along the lines of the constraints it faces?

(15 marks, 200 words)

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National Human Rights Commission is the statutory body formed in 1995 for overview, protection of the human rights in the country. The recent controversy of Global National Human Rights Alliance refusing to renew its accreditation for the failure to maintain its independence - questions the effective functioning of National Human Rights Commission.

Functions of National Human Rights Commission.

- To review cases which involves human rights violations
- To visit jails and check the conditions of jails
- To check if the current rules, laws and regulations need any changes in order to align with human rights conventions
- To recommend appropriate punishments for human rights violations

Effectiveness of National Human Rights Commission

Nat. NHRC has institutionalised and become a single forum for addressing human rights issues.

NHRC has ~~rest~~ disposed 517 lakh cases and provided compensation > 1 billion for victims

NHRC's role is most noteworthy in the Chakmas refugee and ensuring that they are provided protection in the country.

- Abolition of Bonded labourer and in the case of fake encounters - NHRC was successful.

However it has been highly criticised for various reasons:

1) Lack of independence: Gonsalves calls NHRC as the lapdog instead of watch dog. ~~so~~.

2) Limited on investigation power Cannot investigate cases where 1 year has passed. limited power on investigation in the cases of armed forces

3) Limited powers for enforcement: After investigation as well, the recommendations are only advisory on the government but not binding. so Government can ignore the recommendations as well.

4) Supreme Court called NHRC in the case of Manipur violence case as toothless tiger. NHRC has not been very effective in stopping the growing violence in the country.

5) Justice H. D. Dattu former chief of NHRC considers that the lack of separate investigative body is also hampering investigation process of NHRC.

6) Lack of representation - inclusion of women, backward classes for inclusive functioning of NHRC.

The following recommendations can be made by H. D. Dattu:

- 1) Independent cadre of officials
- 2) A culture of HRs needs to be promoted through education.
- Sh. Amadi committee recommended - include civil society and human rights activists. Give it contempt powers so that authorities implement its recommendation.

It is necessary that NHRC has the teeth to bite when necessary and hands to nurture when needed.

4. (c)

Examine how the Comptroller and Auditor General of India enhances governmental accountability and acts as a watchdog over public finances. (20 marks, 250 words)

Comptroller and Auditor General is a constitutional body under article 148 of the constitution. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar called it the bulwark of the Indian Constitution.

Comptroller and Auditor General's role is to audit the various accounts of the government like the consolidated fund of India, Contingency fund and Public accounts, also mandated to audit the profit and loss accounts of the government ~~orgs~~ Public sector enterprises. Any other ~~orgs~~ public entity can be asked to be audited by CAG by the President.

CAG not only carries out performance audit they can also carry out the audit of efficiency ~~that~~. However it is not within its compulsory audits.

Comptroller and Auditor General ensures it checks upon the purse of the government by ensuring that there is no misuse or diversion of the funds for other purposes.

CAG was also effective in exposing the corruption

scandals like the 2G spectrum scam, Adani scam, Housing scam, Coal Gate scam.

C&AG reports & also aids the functioning of the Public accounts committee. C&AG acts as a friend and guide of the PAC. They conduct proficiency audits as well.

The reports of C&AG can initiate discussions and awareness among people about various issues. For example - anomalies in the implementation of Ayushman Bharat - high fake beneficiaries, non-functional toilets under Swachh Bharat (40%) ensures that there is increased accountability of the C&AG over the public finances.

C&AG also advises the formats within which the accounts / reports by Government entities should be made and published.

C&AG role is also restricted because in India it only acts as the Co. Auditor and not comptroller as is the case with UK. Only post assessment

powers have been provided not actual control on the public purse.

According to Paul Appleby criticises CAG for its restrictive nature of reports. The International Institute of Supreme auditing nations also discloses the name issues by analysing reports of CAG - 50% of the ~~reports~~ reports of CAG only criticise the policies without any actionable recommendations, 25% of the reports have accusation without backed by data. So criticises the sub-standard quality of reports -

CAG powers at holding government accountable is also limited by reactive prices of and the audit of reports of the secret services, the appointment of CAG is done exclusively by the executive.

Vinod Rai in his book "Not just an accountant" has made a few suggestions to improve the working of CAG:

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- (i) They should be given control of auditing of PPP projects as well.
- (ii) In exceptional limited time frame for tabling of the reports of CAG & PAC in the parliament
- (iii) Collegium system for selecting of the CAG.

As the 5th pillar of democracy CAG's independence and increased functionality is of absolute essentiality.



SECTION-B

5. (a)

Discuss the key factors contributing to the agricultural crisis in India?

(10 marks, 150 words)

Agriculture in India provides occupation to 49% of the people however contributes to only 14% of GDP contribution. Many issues have marred agriculture which have led to crisis in agriculture.

Key factors contributing to the agricultural crisis:

1) Failure of land reforms in India:

Land reforms attempted at redistribution of the land and ensuring better status of landless and tenant farmers failed - leading to large inequalities.

The worst offshoot of failed reforms is the Nagaland movement. Yogender Yadav pointed that it led to first democratic upsurge.

2) Handkerchief sized land holding:

~ 80% of the farmers hold < 2 hectares of land, leading to which affects the efforts of mechanisation or increasing productivity.

3) Failure of Green revolution in bringing equality among

farmers: benefitted only large farmers that too belonging to states of Punjab, Haryana, Andhra Pradesh.

Kohli believes that the disparities and shift towards HYVs have effected the diversity of Indian farms

y) Lack of mechanisms, High quality seeds etc: lead to decrease in productivity of the crops

5) Lack of agriculture extension services

6) Increasing effects of climate change on agriculture and no protection (insurance) against these effects

7) High post harvest losses due to lack of proper facilities for storage and transportation (Shanku Kumar committee)



8) No proper price realisation due to unavailability of capacity of farmers for standardisation.

9) Exploitation of the local Traditional knowledge and vulnerabilities of the farmers by the big MNCs. (B)

The pressure on against the farmers

Indian agriculture's issues keeps rising in the form of farmer's protest, however only Comprehensive land reforms may provide solutions for it

5. (b)

Write a short note on - Nature of pressure groups in India. (10 marks, 150 words)

Pressure groups are termed as invisible empires by Finer. Pressure groups perform the function of interest aggregation.

Nature of pressure groups in India:

- In India the pressure groups are institutionalised that is pressure groups related to the government institutions like the committees. Because it is a overdeveloped state (Kempson).
- In India non-associational pressure groups dominate. Non associations are based on identities like caste, religion etc. E.g. RSS, Muslim League.
- Pressure groups function as the junior partners of the political parties of itself. BJP has Vishwa Hindu Parishad.
- Pressure groups have evolved to become anonymous and associational currently. For example movements of protesters against the Kolkata type case case.

→ Earlier pressure groups have evolved to become political parties and contest for power. The Congress was a pressure group during independence movement and now it is one of the leading political party.

→ Pressure groups are considered as agents of modernisation in India by K. J. Somaiya.

NALSA groups fighting the LGBTQ issue.

Pressure groups are transforming the face of India and finding more issues and but unless they

break away from the overarching control of the political parties they cannot function independently.

3. (c)

Mention primary reasons for the emergence of human rights movements in post independence India.
(10 marks, 150 words)

Human rights movements existed in India even pre independence in the form of Civil and Political rights. Human rights post independence were strengthened due to growth of civil societies and greater awareness of the issues.

Reasons for emergence of human rights movements post independence:

1) Constitution: Constitution itself provided for various Human Rights in the form of fundamental and other legal rights however it also continued colonial practices of sedition, Official Secrets Act, Preventive Detention etc giving rise of Human Rights movements.

2) Pre and Post Emergency: Pre emergency Human rights organisations existed however they were trampled by the state. Emergency was seen as a phase of extreme darkness for human rights. The political movements and rise of Human Rights organisation as:

ADR, PUCL have strengthened voices for Human rights

3) Role of Supreme Courts: It has been the bulwark of human right movement in India through the tools of PIL, Special Leave Petition. They have enlarged the meanings of the fundamental rights and instructed executive for implementation of human rights.

4) Post L.P.G. Reforms: The surge of International NGOs such as Amnesty International have amplified the cause of HRM in India. They acquired new positions in post India.

Human rights movements according to Smriti Kothari have been successful in struggling against the ills of the state like fake encounters, police excesses, institutionalising NHRC

5. SHRC.

Upender Baxi feels that Human Rights forum movements however face dilemmas in adherence of its Universal Values and implementation and mode of implementation

5. (d)

Influence of economic factors on electoral behaviour of Indian Voters.

(10 marks, 150 words)

Mulan Vaishnavi states that it is very difficult to analyse the ~~see~~ factors for the effecting the electoral behaviour in India. As there are diverse factors which can have an effect on voting behaviour. Economic factor is increasingly playing a greater role in electoral behaviour.

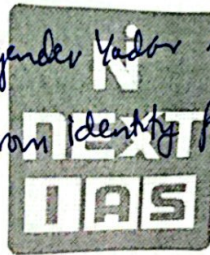
Influence of economic factor on electoral behaviour

- 1) The increasing cost of conducting Indian elections is greater than the cost of USA elections signifying the need for money to win an election.
- 2) The 18th LS members asset history shows that >80% had a minimum wealth & assets of 2 crore rupees.
- 3) Arun Jaitley states the class is increasingly becoming a relevant in Indian politics than caste.
- 4) BJP's appeasement for the economic middle class through EWS reservation shows that

economic factors have been important factor
influencing electoral behaviour

- 5) The decrease in the voter share of the BJP
in the 18th Lok Sabha was due to the factors such as
increasing inflation, high unemployment rates.
Economic factors were influence voter's behaviour.

Voting behaviour but still continues to be largely
based on identity. Yogender Yadav says that voter
behaviour shifted from identity politics to identity +
politics.



5. (e)

Comment on : Role of Union Public Service Commission.

(10 marks, 150 words)

The recent controversy about the has raised questions on the independence and role of Union Public Service Commission. UPSC is a constitutional body under article 315 to 323.

Role of UPSC:

- Responsible for recruitment, ^{conducting examinations} promotion and ~~transfer~~ of officials for All India Services & Central services
- Recommend government ~~state~~ ^{central} on criteria for promotion
- UPSC recommendations are not binding upon the government.

UPSC's functions are limited due to the

following provisions:

- 1) Recruitment for a period less than 2 year is not under the purview of UPSC
- 2) Only recommendatory role of UPSC
- 3) Establishment of Central Vigilance Commission has limited the functions of UPSC in taking disciplinary

action against the public servants

- g) While making reservations or appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens.

Civil servants are considered to be the steel frame of the country. And UPSC is the backbone backbone of Indian civil service ensuring protecting its necessity.

Following reforms can be implemented:

- 1) Involvement of Research Institute and Universities in the operations of UPSC to conduct and design administrative courses
- 2) Rehauling of the examination system limiting the age and number of attempts.

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7. (a)

Discuss changing profile of Indian legislators. Analyse its impact on the role of the parliament as a deliberative and legislative body. (15 marks, 200 words)

According to Association for democratic reforms - the 10th Lok Sabha has 43% of the legislators with criminal records, 23% with accusation of serious crime, 14% women and 50% above 1 crore of income. India's legislators have evolved since the constituent assembly. Constituent assembly was accused of being Congress dominant, lawyers paradise and upper class hindus dominated.

Till 1967 Congress functioned as a rainbow coalition (Rajni Kothari). Legislators were dominated by middle class, educated members of the firm the Congress party. Post 1967 the Congress dominance began to decline and emergence of mobilization coalition politics. The mobilization of the votes began on caste, religion - emergence of identity politics. This movement provided scope for people belonging different section entry into legislature - like people belonging SC/ST and others classes as well.

The emergence of 1990s can be regarded as the peak of coalition politics. Yogender Yadav called this period as identity + politics. The two democratic upsurges and emergence of dominant caste (Christophe Jefferlot) have impacted the composition of the legislators by making it more inclusive.

In the current period we see the issue of criminalization of politics, more number of people with criminal backgrounds and increasing use of money in elections, thus making it difficult for the lower classes to rise to power.

One section of people who haven't seen great progress are the women. Women continue to be limited below 15%, in order to deal with this issue - Indian Parliament came up with Nav Shakti Vandan Act - to provide 33% reservation in Lok Sabha and Assembly for women.

Impact and role in Parliament

- 1) Increased the diversity and representation in the parliament - this leading to increased debate and discussion in the parliament

- 2) It lead to increased disruption and as well due to increased differences. Lok Sabha lost 40% and Rajya Sabha 52% of the time due to disruptions in the 17th LS.
- 3) Due to communalisation has led to loss of faith of people in the parliament - regarded as self serving and self perpetuating body (Re-thinking public institutions)
- 4) Due to majoritarian Government and lack of proper opposition in the 15 & 17th LS some bills have been passed without due discussion & deliberation. The Nani Shakti Kandan act, Kashmir re-organisation were passed within 2 days
- 5) Bypassing legislature to avoid disruptions through the measures of a money bill (Adhaar Act), Ordinances and delegated legislations

Shankar and Rodrigues believe that Parliament continues to remain important and the disruptions are due to civil participation.

More debate and not less debate is the solution.

(17)

Discuss the nature of women's movements in India. Also evaluate their successes and limitations.
(15 marks, 200 words)

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women movement in India has evolved through the years attempting to bring women and women rights at the forefront of the discussions.

Nature of Women movements in India.

- 1) Women movements in India had both violent and non-violent movement. During the independence movement women took part in revolutionary movements as well - Bina Das, Pratibha Patil, etc., Sarojini Naidu led Non-violent movement.
- 2) Women movement initially was led by the male - women were just silent recipients of the benefits - Ex the Sati and Widow remarriage act. However post independence women became more involved in women movements, anti-liquor, anti-rape movements.
- 3) Women movements were atomic and associational movements. The women movements organisations like National Council for women, International women's organisations have brought

for women's right, anomic movements like
Shiksha movement, Nisthaya rape movement,
Reclaim the night movement have been anomic.

4) Intersexuality in women's movements -
Feminism is currently divided on the basis of
region and caste. Women cannot be considered
as a homogenous group.

5) Women Movement have been both old social
movement and new social movements. Women
continue to fight for basic rights and status
of equality and better standard of living as well

Success of Indian Women Movement,

Legislations:

→ Abolition of sati, Widows Remarriage Act,
Dowry prohibition Act, Nirbhaya Fund, POH -
Vishaka guidelines.

→ Stricter punishments for rape

Institutional → Reservation for women at local self
Government

→ Mahila Shakti Vandan a - reservation for the
women in decision making

Institutional:

- Nalchaya Fund
- Fast Track courts

Awareness and Improved discussion

- Through the Nee too movement
- Chipko movement
- Anti - liquor movement

Niveditha Menon in her book being like a feminist spoke about need for 3rd Generation women movement - sexual liberation, extension of meaning of rape.

With the resurgence of the issue of women safety and security in the country, women movements need to take newer roles and to enhance the and emancipate the lives of women in the country.

7. (c)

To what extent do civil liberties and human rights movements shape the functioning of democracy in India?

(20 marks, 250 words)

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Civil liberties and human rights movement in any country has formed the base for the independence movements. As these rights are inalienable rights of an individual. In India as well these movements have played a great role in shaping the democracy of the country.

Civil and human rights movements shaping democracy:

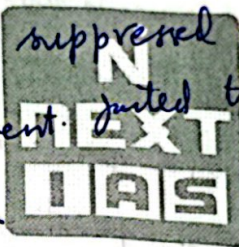
Pre independence: The Civil and human rights movements pre-independence took the form of independence movement in the form of Non-cooperation, Civil-disobedience. They were highly successful in enhancing the democratic principles of Indians in the legislative and executive council through the Council and Government of India Act.

Post independence: - pre-Emergency.

Constitution was regarded as a revolutionary document providing the civil and human

rights within the fundamental and ~~also~~ DPSPs. However also legitimized the the colonial legacies of Sedition, Preventive detention. Thus constitution mostly enhanced the democratic principles may have provided provisions for suppressing them as well.

Pre-emergency, at & during ~~the~~ emergency:

State has violently suppressed all the civil and human right movement.  joined the opposition and civil society members.

Resurgence & Resurgence of the movement through - Total revolution - Giving voices to democracy.

Post Emergency:

• The dark period of emergency led to evolution of organisations like APR, PUCL who have become the forerunners of the civil and human rights movement in India.

Role of judiciary in Human Rights Movements:

Judiciary through PIL, special leave petition, and article 32 was able to enhance the Human and Civil Rights. ~~The~~ Rights list - Maneka Gandhi's, Unnikrishnan, M.C. Mehta cases, ADR vs UOI case 2002.

Post Globalisation: Involvement of the foreign NGOs and internationalisation of the Human rights and civil movements have occurred.

The success of these movements as stated by Smita Kotali can be said as:

1) ~~to~~ successful in raising awareness in issues against the state - against custodial deaths, fake encounters, etc.

- Constitution of NHRC & SHRC
- structural constraints like caste, class violence which restricts the realisation of HRS.

The role of ADR & PUCL in enhancing democracy especially in the aspects election

Lily Thomas case, ADR vs UOI ^{criminal} India case - provided transparency in the funding and antecedents of the ~~person~~ and the contestants for the votes to

make informed choices

Judiciary through various measures have put a check upon the unbridled executive and legislature thus protecting the democracy. The recent case of *Sorris Sen* - limited the parliamentary privileges. The unconstitutional status of electoral bonds, protection against the misuse of powers of Governor and speaker were few of the methods judiciary has played an active role in protecting Human & Civil rights...

Universal Periodic Review of human rights have also highlighted the failures in critical issues like

- Undetectables → Refugee crisis
- Use of AFSPA → drug like Sedition
- Manual scavenging → Moblynchings
- Blackouts and internet shutting down

There are existing dilemmas in civil and human rights movements. It is necessary more than ever to protect human rights.

8. (a)

Discuss the role of the Election Commission in generating awareness among voters to ensure free and fair elections. (15 marks, 200 words)

S.Y. Qureshi regarded that India is famous for three things - Raj, Khat, Gandhiji and the elections. India has seen smooth transition of power unlike its neighbours it was only possible because of the role of Election Commission.

Role of Election Commission:

- Election Commission in India is constituted under article 324 responsible for conducting elections for the Lok Sabha, Rajyasabha and the state elections.
- Election Commission under T.N. Seshan came up with the concept of EPIC - voter id so that no misuse of or fake voters could be eliminated a step in the direction towards free and fair elections.
- Election Commission has introduced technology through EVMs and VVPAT to ensure better transparency among the voters regarding the voting among voters.

- Moral Conduct Code of Conduct non-statutory enforcement guidelines for the candidates to be followed which provides a level playing field for all the parties during elections.
- Election Commission following orders of the Supreme Court has mandated the publishing of the information regarding the candidates for informed decision making.
- Election Commission also has strict guidelines regarding forwarding the election expenditure and expenses to the EC. So the spending limits of 75 lakhs for Lok Sabha and 45 lakhs for Legislative assembly ensuring fair elections.
- For increasing voter awareness Election Commission took up Electoral Literacy Club - platform for school student through interesting activities and hands on experience to sensitize them on electoral rights. ENCORE - (Enabling Communication on Real time Environment) - a software solution designed to enhance management of candidates and election processes.

Despite these efforts of the election commission, it has been criticised for its functioning:

Supreme Court recently struck down the Electoral Bonds and instructed to the government for a bi-partisan mode of appointment of the Election Commission.

→ Election Commission was also criticised recently for by the opposition for its ^{alleged} biased nature in implementation of the Moral Code of conduct.

The powers of the election Commission is also limited by its as it doesn't have the power to de-register political party, MCE is not backed by law, increasing use of social media - growing times of fake news.

David Gilmanchin reg in his book the Great man of democracy has said that tel is not just important for maintaining efficiency in conduct of elections but also central role it plays in balancing politics.

(b)

Examine how the caste system in India shaped and influenced the formulation of political strategies for mobilizing electoral support? (13 marks, 200 words)

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"Caste is the mosaic of Indian political system" according to Christophe Jefferlot. Caste has become an inherent part of the political system - it is said that Indians do not vote the cast their vote but vote their caste.

Rajini Kothari believes that caste is the reason why democracy did not collapse in India like it did in other third world countries. Caste acted as the means of mobilization of people.

The resultant of the land reforms and Green revolution was strengthening of caste identities and caste becoming forces of a part of Political system.

Yogender Yadav said that Green revolution led to the emergence of 1 democratic upsurge,

Rudolf & Rudolf regarded it leading to the rise of dominant castes - who controlled the regional politics

The 80's politics was about appeasement of various caste groups through mandal and mandalisation of politics. Reservation formed

basis of appeasement of caste groups. Increasing the strengthening caste identities in the politics.

Globalisation led to end of ideology - caste religion became the basis of election. Caste based parties emerged. Caste casts were played both at national and regional level. OBCs associated with BJP, Dalits left the Congress in second democratic upsurge.

Caste has strengthened democracy and influenced political functions:

Rajni Kothari - believes that democracy only survived because of caste identities in India.

Christophe Jaffrelot - stated caste led to silent revolution in India.

However James Manor believes that the importance of caste has been overstated besides caste, religion, party leadership, development

also play a key role in political mobilisation
it cannot be limited to caste.

However commentators like
G. P. Bhambhani believe that caste based mobilisation
can lead to communalisation in society

Schubashy Varshney: India's improbable democracy
did not lead to concrete transformation of distribution of
power in society.

so caste As much as caste forms the basic
structure of the society, leaders like Nehru and
B. R. Ambedkar wanted to distance caste from
politics for the sake of India's development.

8. (c)

Analyze how the formation of coalition governments has diverged from the traditional centralizing tendencies associated with Indian federalism. (20 marks, 250 words)

Coalition governments are a regular feature in a diverse country like India. However India has not witnessed the coalitions in proper sense until 1970s. Coalition government were successful in diluting the centralising tendencies of the Indian federation.

Evolution of Coalition Government in India:

- Post independence - 1 party dominance existed Congress itself was considered rainbow coalition ~ of many diverse groups and interests.
- Post 1967 - due to breakdown of Congress - emergence of Janta Government is regarded as the first coalition movement in India
- 1980s and 1990s have witnessed a steady growth of coalition politics
- Since the Globalisation coalition has become a regular feature of Indian politics

Role of coalition government in diverging from factional centralising tendencies:

- 1) Coalition government is more diverse and representative of the regional parties as well. Hence increasing the role and say of regional parties in decision making. The role of TDP and JDS in the current coalition led to bargaining say/privileges for the state of AP.
- 2) Since coalition governments do not enjoy absolute majority, it is difficult to unilaterally pass laws and legislations in the house. Checking the powers of the federal governments.
- 3) Representation of the regional parties in the cabinet increases their voice in decision making. M. P Singh says that there is no 1 PM in coalition governments but many PMs.
- 4) Coalition government is both cause and result of regionalism - democratic upsurges rise of dominant castes.

5) ~~Automatic~~ go. Majoritarian governments have missed the article 356 against those states which did not share same ideology as the central government. However post 1995 the use of article 356 is limited 27 times.

Indian coalition has not ~~been~~ been different from the coalitions of the West. Bidyut Chakrabarty points at the differences:

- 1) Western Countries - coalition by design, India's coalition is by political calculations
- 2) West coalition - Ideological coherence is India's Rainbow coalition.
- 3) West - Minimal winning coalitions, India - oversized coalitions.

Due to these reasons the coalitions have created more instability than development in India.

The increasing misuse of anti-defection laws, lack of intra party democracy,

large sized cabinet ministries, the increasing bargaining of the federal and regional axis have all resulted into mixed experience with coalition politics

Coalition for nonemergency emergency as emerged as the popular form of coalition.

