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Question No.
प्रश्न संख्या

U.P.S.C.

for practice use only
सिर्फ अभ्यास के लिए

PSIR Test-04

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Date- 30-07-024

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1.(a). Myron weiner describes growth of regional parties as "decentralization of politics" after the decline of Congress system (Rajni Kothari).

Factors

responsible for their growth are explained by Yogendra Yadav through his two democratic upsurges. First due to rise of OBCs and second due to rise of dalits.

Rise of Identity factor as explained by Rudolph and Rudolph in his "pursuit of Laxmi". He calls the importance of caste, religion and ethnicity became tools of mobilization of masses.

Rajni Kothari explained this rise through lens of

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caste (positive force) because it led to more democratization of politics.

Further, Christophe Jeffrelot in his "India's Silent revolution" described the rise of voice of dalits due to upsurges. It promoted to rise of regional parties.

eg: TDP, BSP, SP, RJD, JDU etc

MP Singh even categorized into 2 types, one is traditional (Akali Dal) and other is new regional parties like DMK.

Thus, growth of regional parties led to "Federal axis" (MP Singh) in the form of coalition government at centre.

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1(b). RC Guha traces the origin of environmental movements in India during 1970s in Chipko movement. It is a form of mobilization by groups to protect the environment from degradation.

As Indian movement are mainly "Empty stomach" (RC Guha) than "full stomach". Its reasons are in livelihood concerns. Indian wanted to protect their basic needs like food, shelter, fuel, water from these forests because they reside in these areas.

eg: Chipko movement is a mixture of both new social movement and old social movement.

Further, Guha and Gadgil classifies the reasons into

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4 categories as per environmentalists ideologies:-

Firstly, due to Gandhians, they called for protection as there is enough for need and not for greed.

Secondly, Marxists who wanted to protect from the axes of capitalists.

Thirdly, technocrats who wanted to use technology to protect the environment.

Fourthly, enthusiasts who preferred biosphere reserves, national parks to protect forests.

Thus, Sunita Narain calls Indian environmental movements as "new environmentalism".

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1(c). LPG was started in 1990s after a Balance of Payment crisis and a pressure from IMF.

As political economy approach (Adam smith) explains the role of economy of political discourse. There was huge impact of LPG too.

Suhas Palshikar noted the impact in terms of ideology as congress dropped the word "socialism" from its manifesto from 1996. It led to more towards neo-liberal economy with free trade and commerce.

The number of parties based on rightist agenda raised their voter base.

eg: BJP promotes developmental politics and won last 3 general elections.

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It Impacted negatively to the "left politics". As it is said that after LPG, they are facing agenda deprivation and now there is "no left, left in India". Praful Bidwai explains this in "Phoenix movement".

It opened the state government's path towards getting FDI. Bengluru and Hyderabad become the cyber city due to LPG reforms.

Several states benefitted due to coal and mineral exploration and its privatisation. (eg: odisha).

Thus, LPG reforms helped politically to mobilize women and dalits to vote in large numbers too.

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4(d). Land Reforms refers to the redistribution of land from landowners to the landless farmers to ensure social justice.

It was done due to pre-independence protests like Tebhaga and Telangana movements.

It was conducted in 1951 with 1st CAA by adding 9th schedule.

The objectives of land reforms were:- Firstly, to end the zamindari system, to ensure that there is no case of absentee landlordism.

Secondly, to provide security of tenure to the farmers and tenants.

Thirdly, Consolidation of lands to increase the productivity in agriculture.

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Fourth, reduce the tenancy rent on the peasants to secure better income.

Fifth, promote co-operative farming that will ensure better storage, marketing and transperation system.

However, Atul Kohli criticises government for its failure because they failed to confront the bourgeoise. Pranabh Bardan called this as semi-bourgeoise state led to its failure.

Thus, Swaminathan Committee suggests to finish the unfinished land reforms.

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1(c). Horton defines social movement as the collective effort to bring the social transformation.

It is divided into 2 categories based on its timeline ie old and new. Initially in western societies, old social movement started by workers to fulfill their basic needs like bread and butter. They were facing exploitation by capitalists society.

However, new social movements started in post-materialist world where they demands a better quality of life.

Eg: women rights, environmental rights, nuclear disarmament.

Therefore the differences are :-

Firstly, old SM are lead by workers and peasants whereas new SM led by elites and

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middle class Intellectuals.

Secondly, Old SM uses coercive methods like protests whereas New SM uses peaceful methods like theaters, art and literature

Old SM	New SM
① Aim is political power.	① Aim is consciousness raising.
② Cultural demands are missing	② Focus on cultural issues

Alberto Melluci called new social movement as "new politics". However, such distinctions do not exist in developing Countries. eg: Chipko movement has both livelihood concern and environment protection.

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4(a). Political sociology approach (SM Lipset) studies the interface between religion (culture) and politics.

India is a prismatic society (FW Riggs), so there is a mix of traditional and modern values. It has prompted the politicians to use the religion as a tool to mobilize the voters.

There are various factors that have led to increase in use of religion in Indian politics.

CP Bhambri explained the role of identity politics, when the section uses caste as a tool to mobilize, others will use religion.

eg: In the backdrop of democratic upsurges (Yogendra Yadav), there was rise of OBCs, Dalits, so BJP used religion as a tool.

TH Blom in his "Saffron Wave" explained the

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rise of BJP by Ram-Janam bhoomi movement. It led to Ramandal politics over mandal politics.

Bipin Chandra explained the importance of elites, when masses became tool of elites to get mobilized on the basis of communalism.

eg: Hindus → for BJP
Muslims → for congress.

It has created two faced Impacts on Indian politics. Firstly, it led to 2nd democratic upsurge in the case of Mandal-Kamandal (Yogendra Yadav).

It helped to increase the more participation of voters in the election preferably to vote their caste. BR Ambedkar explained this as not to ignore

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the religion because it is like ignoring a live wire.

Its negative impact was minority appeasement policies and schemes for minorities. It further divided the Hindus-Muslims. It is evident from the recent CSDS survey that BJP has increased its voters-share from every religion but could not increase its muslim vote's shares.

Thus, Indian politics need a new guidance to end the religion and identity tools as whole to get democratized.

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4(b). NHRC has been created after the Paris principles of HR in 1993 as a statutory body.

It upholds the human rights as Thomas paine (in his "Rights of Man)" writes that human rights are entitled via virtue of human beings.

NHRC effectiveness can be judged through its achievements:-

Firstly, they have started visiting suo-moto jails for human rights issue. It has led to improvement in jails conditions.

They are indulging into foreign policy agenda formation for India. It helps India to adhere to Universal declaration of Human rights - 1948.

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NHRC helped to question the illegal encounters in Uttar pradesh and other states. Even in case of death of Santoshi Kumari in Jharkhand due to hunger as her adhar card authentication failed. Here to NHRC intervined that stopped further such incidents.

Questions raised for Kota's suicide cases due to pressure cooker syndrome in the factory of education Hub.

However, Soli Sorabjee called NHRC as toothless tiger because it does not have enough powers.

eg: It can't question army thoroughly due to certain restrictions. There were questions

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regarding rapes by armed forces in Jammu-Kashmir, but it could not do much.

There is restriction over filing cases, as they can not entertain cases older than 1 year. Issues of own investigation team, infrastructure, funds and even use of technology are lacking.

PB Mehta calls they usually are lazy and lethargic because they can't take actions swiftly.

Thus, NHRC needs a overhaul, a constitutional status can make it a real tiger from paper tiger.

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4(c). BR Ambedkar called CAG as the most important office in India. CAG heads the audit and account department. His office is established under Article-148.

CAG is appointed by the president to oversee the financial accounts in India and to provide the reports regarding this to president. President lays out these reports to the respective houses.

CAG enhances the **governmental accountability** as Vinod Rai in his book writes that CAG is the supreme to ensure transparency and accountability of the government.

He over-sees the 3 accounts such as financial account, appropriation account,

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and accounts of public undertaking. He audits the consolidated fund of centre (India), states and also Contigency fund and public account of India - states.

For this, he is called as guardian of the financial system of India. His role in Public Account Committee (PAC) is supreme to oversee all the functions. For this, he is called as friend, philospher and guide to PAC.

He is also the watch dog over public finances. He discretionally conducts efficient audit (propriety audit) to ensure good - governance in India.

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In the past, CAG has found various irregularities such as Army Jeep scams - 1962, Augusta westland case, Bofors case, Adarsh Housing society.

Recently 2G scam, Coal scam were result of CAG audits that found corruption in such areas. Even, questions over Rafale was raised by him over the irregularities.

However, CAG's power is limited in India. Unlike Britain, Indian CAG has only auditing power but has no controlling power. So, he is just a auditor general and not a comptroller in true sense.

In the past few years,

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his reports were delayed in parliament and also due to its non-binding recommendations, many advices were ignored.

He is even termed as a mascot of ruling party due to its appointment on the advice of PM.

Thus, CAG has to be given wide power to ensure its transparency and accountability.

PM Modi called office of CAG as heritage and we must cherish it.

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Section-B

Question No. प्रश्न संख्या

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5.(a) Agriculture accounts for over 18% of India's GDP and 40% workforce are involved in this.

Agricultural crisis

is evident after the Independence firstly in food crisis and now in terms of its low GDP- workforce ratio.

Factors are:- firstly, low productivity due to marginal and small farmers (86% have less than 2 hectares).

secondly, Vandana Shiva claims "de-peasantization and environmental degradation" after green revolution.

Thirdly, P. Sainath blames the "neo-liberal policies" for this crisis. LPG reforms made agricultural imports cheap that

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impacted agriculture sector.

Fourthly, Amartya Sen blames stagnant agricultural HDP from past 30-odd years to around 20%.

Other factors include monsoon dependency, overuse of fertilizers, lack of formal credit and money lenders dependency, low subsidy after LPG reforms are the main reason behind this crisis.

This has caused farmer suicides and farmer protests near Delhi-Tikri Border.

Thus, Swaminathan Committee recommends rainbow and evergreen revolution to end this agricultural crisis.

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5(b). Samuel Finer defines pressure groups as Invisible empire. They do the task of interest articulation (Almond and Powell).

There are mainly 4 types of pressure groups in India :-

First, Institutional pressure groups consists of officers like IAS, IPS etc to demand their wishes.

Second, Associational pressure groups which are based on particular interests of the groups.

eg: Business man.

Third, Non-associational which are based on identity like caste, religion, culture

eg: RSS

Fourth, Anomic which are sporadic and temporary based on short events.

eg: Mobs to Lynch.

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Pressure groups in India has been called as reservoir of leaders by Rajni Kothari. Arvind Kejriwal is a great example.

In India, it changes its characteristic, as initially it is a social movement, then became pressure groups and finally a political party.

eg: Aam Aadmi Party from Ana Andolan

However, it is not legally recognisible. They do the task of education of masses, agitation through electioneering, lobbying and propagandizing.

Thus, pressure groups do the task to ensure public participation in public sphere. (Hannah Arendt).

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5(c). Human rights are those values which are provided by being virtue of human beings (Thomas Paine in his "The Rights of man").

Human right movements in India emerged due to several primary reasons such as emergency during 1975. It led to creation several organizations such people union of democratic rights and civil liberties, association of democratic rights (ADR), etc

Neera Chandoky gave the same reason of emergency behind emergence of human right movements. Similar views of SD Muni & HS Bhalla.

However, judicial activism by several

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Jurists like PN Bhagwati provided Public Interest Litigation (PIL). This ensured human rights movement sustain with the help of judiciary

eg: Maneka Gandhi case provided "due process of law" in Article-21.

However, Nandita Haksar calls them to limit their areas. Upendra Baxi calls these movements as human rights industry due to its biasness.

However, UNHRC's UPR was initiated in India and even NHRC was created based on paris principles to protect human rights.

Thus, human rights movements ensure civil liberties.

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5(d). Plano and Riggs defines electoral behaviour as how people vote and why they vote.

India is a primordial society (as Riggs), so there is a co-existence of modernity and tradition. It shows several identity factor as a tool for mobilization.

It includes economic factor too as Indian voters are like customers. Politicians gave money before election to buy their votes.

eg: ₹ 500 per vote.

This economic influence gave rise to criminalization of politics after LPG era.

This was explained by Milan Vaishnava who gave reasons

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of rise of "Goondas and Mafias" in the Indian political setup.

Christophe Jaffrelot calls Indian voters are not under "rule of law" but under rule of money and muscle power.

Therefore Dinesh Goswami has recommend State funding to reduce its impact on criminalization of politics and also to reduce expenditure.

Thus economic factor is a crucial to ensure winnability in Indian election.

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5(e). Article 315-323 provides the role, function, establishment of Union public service commission. (UPSC).

It is a constitutional body consists of generally 9-11 members, appointed by president of India. Their tenure is 6 years until 65 years of age

Role of UPSC are multifolded. They conduct the examination of various services including 14 examinations every year.

eg: Civil services examination, CAPF, EPFO, NDA, CDS etc

They also conduct examination for states if requested by governors and approved by president.

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Even they advice on the disciplinary matters like suspension of offices, their termination of services.

eg: recent Puja Khedkar was suspended and terminated after his illegal means.

They made report on the various matter and give it to the president though it is not binding but not rejected generally.

However, their role is limited in case of reservation and shortterm appointment of less than 1 year.

Thus, UPSC is a watch dog of merit system in India. Need to empower to tackle recent controversies.

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6.(a). Anoop Baranwal case - 2023 by supreme court decided that Election commissioners will be recommended by 3 member committee including PM, LOP and CJI.

Recently, Parliament has overruled this judgment by their own legislation. In the recently passed CEC and other ECs (Appointment, Conditions of service and Term of office) Act-2023 provided that Chief justice of India as a member will not be there in the committee. It will be replaced by a Cabinet minister. So, now it includes

- PM
- LOP
- Cabinet Minister.

It provided that this 3-member committee

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will recommend the name of CEC and EC to president who will appoint the same.

These changed provisions will ensure the free and fair election of India, it can't be said in true sense. But, it has raised several eyebrows because there will be monopoly of ruling party in the committee. It needs 2 votes to choose a member and in the recent change, PM and Cabinet minister can have monopoly. The voice of leader of opposition will not matter now.

Earlier, CJI was the neutral person who could have helped to establish the neutrality. But the changes are

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there to support the ruling party.

On the other hand, arguments have been given regarding separation of power (Montesque) because CJI was part of judiciary, so it might had led intrusion into executive.

Also, the overload of work is already on the shoulder of CJI due to 11000 pending cases in supreme court. so, CJI should not divert his attention in executive matters.

Thus, CEC and EC appointments are needed to make robust to avoid any discretionary power to the ruling party.

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6(b). Political System of India has been various phases in its early years due to nostalgic nature of freedom struggle

[Nature] of political system has been explained by MP Singh :- Initially, there was a congress system (Rajni Kothari) due to one-party dominant system from 1947 to 1967. It was totally captured by congress at both national level and state level. It had various factions in it, so it was called a rain-bow party full of inner-democratic culture.

eg: Nehru era - there was regular president election within congress.

In the 2nd phase,

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there was divide b/w congress that led to tussle between Indira Gandia Congress and other factions. Congress was divided into 2 groups, one was called as Indira - Congress (I) and other was called as simple Indian national congress.

In between, there was struggle between JP Narayan and government. It was called as total revolution (Sampoorna Kranti) by JP Narayan. It was started in the back drop of war, famines, poverty, inequality.

In between, there was a case filed by Raj Narain over irregularities done by Indira Gandhi in Lok-Sabha election. In Raj Narain Vs Indira Gandhi case - 1975, Supreme Court nullified the election of

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Indira Gandhi. It prompted her to impose emergency in 1975 using Article-352.

However, Yogendra views differently, he says first phase as one-party system and second phase as first democratic upsurge. It was because it had led to rise of democracy after mobilization of OBCs due to land reforms, green-revolution and linguistic reorganization of states.

Thus, initial 30 years of Indian political system were full of surprises including a national emergency

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6.(c). Cristophe Jeffrelot argued that Indian people are not under rule of law but under rule of money-muscle power.

Milan Vaishnav explains the rise of "goondas-mafias" in the Indian politics after liberization. He found the reason to be money that ensures the winnability in the election.

eg: Bahubali's won elections from the jail using money through buying the voters.

This creates the criminalization of politics that leads to politicization of criminals. Current Lokshaba (18th) has 46% criminals and 31% serious criminals (ADR report).

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It is often attributed to the nexus between money, muscle and politics. Money ensures that voters can be bought using ₹500 or ₹1000. This can be provided by criminals using organised crimes.

Muscle power is important in Indian politics because they can use gun-power to afraid people to vote in their favour.

These both money and muscle created an opportunity for criminals to directly enter into politics. It led to huge criminalization of politics as data suggests.

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Dinesh Goswami committee and Indrajit committee of electoral reforms have recommended state funding for political campaigns.

State funding refers to money provided by government to fight the election generally to recognized political parties.

This state funding could help mitigate this issue because it can reduce the expenditure by political candidates.

eg: recent Lokshabha (17th) saw highest ever expenditure of ₹1.35 lakh crores (CMS report) that increased twice from 17th Lok Sabha (₹60000 crores).

Further it will create a level playing field for all the parties by

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providing the equal money to all the candidates.

Reduce the anonymous funding that creates another nexus between politicians and businessman.

eg: 66% fundings are anonymous in nature.

Recent ADR case-2024 nullified the electoral bond due to anonymity and less transparency.

This will lead to decrease in criminalization in politics as their money will not be required to win elections.

Thus, Rambabu singh Thakoor, Lilly Thomas case, ADR case provided the safeguards against criminalization of politics.

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7.(a). Edmund Burke defines parliament as the true representative of society. It reflects the "general will" and the changing trends of society.

BL Shankar and Rodrigues explained the changing profile of Indian legislatures into 3 trends :-

Firstly, from 1950 - 1970s, there was huge number of MPs who were lawyers and intellectuals.

eg: Sardar Patel, BR Ambedkar, KM Munshi, AK Iyer etc

Secondly, from 1970 - 1989, there was rise of OBC due to 1st democratic upsurge (Y. Yadav).

eg: Lohia, Chaudhary Charan Singh, Karpoori Thakur, VP Singh etc.

Thirdly,

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from 1990s till today, there has been rise of agriculturalists, social workers and full time politicians.

eg: in the recent 18th lokSabha 48% are social-political workers, 27% are agriculturalists and just 7% are lawyers (ADR).

Women accounts 14%, 78% are graduates and 93% are corepatis. Just 11% are under 40 years of age.

For the first time in lokSabha history, OBC (26% MPs) equals to 26% upper caste MPs. It shows a changing trend. It also includes several civil servants as MPs.

This has impacted the partiament as a deliberative and legislative body.

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The deliberation and laws are also witnessing the changing trends as voice of agriculture, marginalized and even backward classes are being heard on the table of the house.

eg: 106th CAA to provide the 33% reservations indicates their importance in the parliament.

Even, the 103rd CAA to provide reservation to Economically weaker section (EWS) are proves to be a result of changing trend.

However, these changes also brought criminals to politics as 46% are criminals in 18th Lok-sabha

Thus, changing trends have dual effect on the nation.

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7.(b). Neera Desai calls women movement as the collective effort to get the equal status to women and freedom and opportunity in society.

Women movements started with socio-religious reforms by RR Roy, Vidyasagar, KC Sen, Vivekananda. They advocated for child education, no purdah, no sati, widow-remmarriage.

Its nature changes during freedom struggle under Gandhian phase as they develop consciousness regarding their own rights.

eg: political rights as mentioned by Kamala devi Chattopday, Annie Besant, Sarojini Naidu, etc

However after independence it was changed again. Aparna Mahto calls 1950-70 phase

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as grey years because women did not want to upset their own government. But, after 1975 - Towards equality report, they demanded socio-economic rights as they were facing discrimination, social evils like sati, child marriage, dowry etc.

Therefore, the nature of Indian movement were quite changing throughout years. It led to several success such as :-

First, they got the opportunity to represent themselves in Parliament as now there strength is 14% (ADR).

secondly, social evils like Sati was legally banned through law in 1986, dowry prohibition act - 1961, domestic violence act - 2005, vishakha

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guidelines and sexual harassment at workplace act-2013, etc.

Medha calls this success as just bizarre piece of legislations. They even got divided on the caste-religion lines.

Its limitations also noted by Usha Thakkar during 1990s-2000s era, women movement is facing crisis of legitimacy.

Thus, there is a need to get united as a women force ("Nari Shakti") to end the "sexual politics" and discrimination.

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7(c). Civil right and human rights are the two broad liberty-oriented movements that ensures no-misuse of power by any arbitary government.

These are based on the idea of natural ~~natural~~ rights given by John locke (life, liberty, property). These movements were present in pre-independence era too.

eg: JL Nehru formed civil liberty union in 1936 and called to end all black laws from India.

After post-independence era, from 1950-70, there was no such movements due to indigenous government. But when the nostalgia of freedom ended,

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it led to total revolution like movement to demand civil liberties.

So, these movements can be traced during 1970s especially after emergency. They have helped to shape the functioning of democracy in India. It led to creation of several civil rights organization like ADR, PUCL and PUDR. These organizations through social movements or using judiciary fought for the basic human rights.

They raised the questions regarding rape issues, judicial reforms, prision reforms, Armed forces special protection act (AFSPA) raisues in North-east etc.

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They raised the concerns regarding inhuman conditions in jails due to over-occupancy (120%) and huge number of undertrails (66%).

Democracy get strengthened due to their demands of social justice and inclusive growth. The gender justice was the key demands from the initial phases.

SD Muni argued that emergency has led to increasing the base of civil rights movements.

However, Nandita Haper calls for these movements to be in limit. As still the success can't be seen clearly. Still the prisons are overcrowded, rapes happens etc

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Upendra Baxi even called these human rights movements as human rights industry because they are biased

eg: questions armed forces but not militants.

Their agendas are not grounded but made in universities. They are mainly run by elites to fulfill their modus-operandi like urban naxals.

Thus, both civil and human rights movements need to be democratic in nature to fulfil broader goals.