



## Political Science & International Relations

### Crash Course & Test Series - 2022

#### Test 7

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name

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Test Date

9 SEP 2022

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UPSC Roll No

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#### Instructions:

1. There are EIGHT questions divided in TWO SECTIONS and candidate has to attempt five questions in all.
2. Question Nos. 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, any three are to be attempted choosing at least ONE question from each section.
3. Content of the answer is more important than its length.
4. Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the admission Certificate, which must be stated clearly on the cover of the booklet in the space provided.
5. Content of the answer is more important than its length.
6. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the Question-Cum-Answer Booklet must be clearly struck off.
7. All parts of the question should be written at one place itself.
8. Write the test in exam atmosphere.
9. **Filling all the details in BLOCK LETTERS is mandatory.**

S. No.	a	b	c	d	e	Total
1						
2				X	X	
3				X	X	
4				X	X	
5						
6				X	X	
7				X	X	
8				X	X	
<b>Grand Total</b>						

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# SHUBHRA RANJAN

Always Ahead

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	Poor	Average	Good	Very Good	Excellent
Understanding of Questions					
Structure & Flow					
(a) Introduction					
(b) Conclusion					
(c) Overall					
Subject Knowledge					
Presentation					
(a) Underline					
(b) Paragraph					
(c) Overall					

Overall Remarks:

Dear Student,

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All the best for next test...!!!



ue. 1 (a)

The communitarian critique of liberalism. (10 Marks)

Liberalism is a meta ideology and also with many schools of thought within it. It has been called as the victor in the ideological debate of cold war.

It focusses on individualism, liberty and has utilitarian tendencies. John Locke is the Father of liberalism and proclaims Natural Rights of life, liberty & property.

This has been criticised by communitarians who believe man is an 'embedded self'. They oppose the individualism as it creates isolation.

Michael Sandel in his book 'Liberalism and limits to justice' shows



the flawed nature of liberalism as we are rooted in our customs and traditions. In the 'Fyrranny of Merit' book, he reflects on how merit is a flawed concept if it excludes socio-economic background.

Michael Walzer in 'Spheres of Justice' exhibits how principles of liberalism cannot be uniformly applied in all spheres of life even within one sphere.

The Western values cannot be imposed via 'Liberalism' as eastern societies have their own way of life.

Eg - Discipline & order of Confucianism is advocated in soft authoritarianism of Lee Kuan Yew.

Communitarian critique enriches liberalism



Ques. 1(b)

Political theory cannot be confined to so called scientific knowledge.  
(10 Marks)

Political theory received impetus from  
the behavioural movement to  
overcome the criticism as 'armchair  
theories'.

The use of scaled, scoring,  
statistical tools became popular to  
bring it in line with scientific  
knowledge. This helped it overcome  
the 'theory tower syndrome'.

However it reduced the discipline  
to limited areas like voter behaviour.

It diminished the values and  
normativism and led to a divorce of  
theory from practice (J.D. Singer) .



This led to a second decline showcasing that political theory cannot be confined to scientific knowledge.

Rawls' Theory of Justice (1971) revived the discipline in light of the civil rights movement. The resurgence of political values was witnessed.

The post-behavioural movement has been important for enriching political theory with both 'norms and numbers'. A case in point is the 'Randomised control trials' of Nobel laureate Abhijit Banerjee.

Political theory finds its base in eternal political norms and ground level analysis.



Que.1(c)

"Ideology is the false consciousness." Karl Marx. (10 Marks)

Karl Marx's ideas were so monumental that they kept the world divided in two blocks. His 'Praxis' recommended theory based on action f vice versa.

He calls ideology as false consciousness. According to him, intellectuals have tried to understand the ideas of world , but what matters is to change the world.

'History of all hitherto mankind is a history of class struggle'

Ideology of the dominant class from lords and serfs, masters and slaves, capitalists and workers has led to the subjugation of the subordinate .

The dominant class has used ideology to enhance their needs. They showcase State as an important institution because it is an instrument of the bourgeoisie class.

Ideology isolates the worker who is unable to see his own exploitation. Only when he understands this, workers become a 'class in itself'.

"In order to think, man has to live, in order to live, man has to eat, in order to eat, man has to produce'

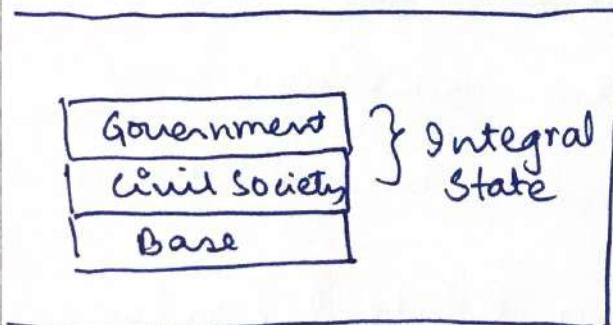
Thus ideology is false consciousness and production is the first act of any society. This makes task of labour more important than philosophy.

The recognition of a sort of autonomy as well as inter-dependence between base and superstructure is the focus of neo-Marxism. (10 Marks)

As per Chantal Mouffe, we have rightly entered the era of Gramscianism in Marxism.

Gramsci is the Father of Neo Marxism and the theorician of Superstructure. He shows the role of 'hegemony' in domination of weaker class.

Marx's ideas were criticised as economic reductionism. Gramsci shows the role of cultural factors along with economic factors.



Civil society is closer to the base and manufactures consent for

the state. This makes the society opaque. This shows the interdependence in the base and superstructure.

A sort of autonomy can be achieved with the 'War of Position' where workers find their own intellectual leaders.

Eg - the factory supervisor.

This can enable them to see how their interests are antagonistic. Once united, they can proceed with their 'War of Movement'

This has created the starting point of Neo Marxist scholars like Ismmanuel Wallerstein who show how capitalism has become a world system.

The autonomy & interdependence of base & superstructure is crucial starting point in <sup>Neo</sup>Marxism

Stripped to its essentials, fascism is the totalitarian organization of government and society. (10 Marks)

fascism is linked with socialism in west, and with imperialism by others.

Hannah Arendt in 'On Origins of Totalitarianism', shows how fascism emerges by advocating propaganda concentration of power in government reduces the public sphere. Evil becomes banal and acquires an unthinking & systemic character.

As per Nolte, external factors include economic crisis, social adversities which lead to fascism. Eric Fromm on the other hand holds the 'Fear of freedom' in man responsible for emergence of fascist leaders.

Fascism emerges from the word 'Fasii' which means a bundle of rods. This was the symbol of Mussolini's party for solidarity.

Hitler relied on essentialism, holism and historicism to leverage the insecurities by propagating myths.

'Vitality' of ideas is promoted. In present times Suhas Palshikar raises concern over 'Neo Fascism' hiding behind the disguise of democracy.

'Totalitarianism is Totalitarianism' as per Arendt. It becomes fascist as it loses rationality & reduces public sphere thereby leading to wholesale organisation of society and government.

As a moral philosopher, Gandhi treated ethics as a guiding star of all human behavior including politics. Discuss? (20 Marks)

For Gandhi, ethics is the architectonic value for all actions of individuals, society and politics.

This was elaborated in Gandhi's 7 sins which included 'politics without ethics', 'commerce without morality', 'science without humanity' etc.

All of his ideas recommend ethical conduct, and the common thread binding these ideas is 'Ahimsa'.

Non violence as a tool to assert one's rights reflects a watershed moment in a history defined by wars. In his words

'Hate the sin, not the sinner'

He believed we cannot degrade others without degrading ourselves. So, we must first destroy the enemy within.

This encourages ethical conduct as 'We do unto others as we would have them do by us'.

These ideas sparked the largest civil rights movement of the world - The Indian freedom struggle. Prof. Humayun Kabir calls Gandhi a mass strategist and not just a philosopher.

Political conduct emanates from communities. In 'hind Swaraj', Gandhi exhibits how ethics in public sphere is rooted in harmony in communities. He is a crusader for the rights of 'Harijans'.

Even in the field of 'commerce', his 'Sarvodaya' appeals to the ethical conscience of capitalists to become 'trustees' of society. This has inspired a generation of cooperatives in India.

The scientific progress of humanity with 'nuclear weapons' was called the diabolical use of science by Gandhi. Modern life is unsustainable wherein 'we produce not for our need, but greed' ethical 'oneness with nature' is necessary or even 9 earths wouldn't suffice.

In 'My Experiments with truth' he shows how self sufficient entities (like Tolstoy Farm) can promote vocational learning, inclusivity and peace.

He also recommends profound commitment to our values. Calling off the 'Non Cooperation Movement' in light of the chauri chaura incident shows his belief in how

'An eye for an eye can make the whole world blind'

These learnings gain relevance today as we face the climate catastrophe, Ukraine crisis, pandemic etc. We must abide by his ethical principle of 'Antyodaya' for the welfare of all.



Radical feminism focuses on all pervading male domination in the society and calls for over-turning of gender oppression.

Comment. (15 Marks)

Simone de Beauvoir is often called the Mother of Radical Feminism. In her book 'The Second Sex', she reflects on how

'One is not born woman.  
One becomes a woman'

While the first wave of feminism focussed on 'suffrage movement' with JS Mill, Mary Wollstonecraft, the second wave focuses on how 'Patriarchy is the basic structure of society'. Shulashmit Firestone called for 'dialectics of sex' rather than class.

Beauvoir showcases how women are not just the second sex but also



the secondary sex who cannot be defined in isolation from men. These ideas keep women in a state of immanence, and does not allow transcendence.

Betty Friedan in 'The feminine mystique' criticises how certain ideas of women are promoted in women magazine and by society. They are asked to marry early which starts the vicious cycle of subjugation - low wages, pink collar jobs etc.

They criticise Sigmund Freud for his psychology about women. Overturning this gender oppression is essential as despite 'equal rights', 'equal status' is a

far cry. Less than 25% women hold  
representatives seats globally).

Radical feminists are criticised  
for criticising the state on one hand &  
asking states to enforce their rights on  
the other. They also diverge from  
eternal feminists like Susan Faludi  
(in 'Backlash')

Yet their role has been monumental  
in initiating sexual politics (Kate Millet)

and emphasising on how

'Personal is Political' (Carole  
Hansch)

Only this can overturn the systemic &  
systematic gendered oppression.

Que.2(c)

In what way 102nd and 105th amendment acts shape India's policy towards the backward classes? (15 Marks)

The 102<sup>nd</sup> Constitutional Amendment Act created the 'National Commission for Backward Castes'. (NCBC)

This fulfilled the long standing demand of a constitutional body to address and investigate issues pertaining to the other Backward Castes (OBC).

Satish Deshpande in 'The OBC Primer of Indian Politics' shows how OBCs are strategically unavoidable as they form 42% of the population.

Yet the 102<sup>nd</sup> Amendment ran into controversy as it impacted the



federal axis. Centre's list of OBCs denied the States the opportunity to create their own list.

As per 2<sup>nd</sup> ARC's 'Principle of Subsidiarity', States are better positioned to identify the regional backward classes. This necessitated the 105<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendment Act restoring this right of the states in light of the statements of Supreme Court.

Together, these amendments can shape India's policy of welfare and inclusivity in political sphere. The NBC will be a bulwark of democratic rights of OBC and will act as a 'watchdog' for their inclusion.

Yogendra Yadav's Teerst Democratic  
upsurge initiated their journey of  
individuality and these amendments  
will fulfil their socioeconomic aspirations.

The timely implementation of  
Justice Rohini commission's sub  
categorisation of OBC will further  
ensure that all sections of OBCs benefit,  
along with these amendments.

e.3(a)

What are the main points of debate between Ambedkar and Gandhi?  
Evaluate Ambedkar's view on different aspects of Democracy? (20 Marks)

While Gandhi is revered as the father of our Nation, Ambedkar is the father of our Constitution. They have both been tall leaders in our nationbuilding endeavour.

The debates between these leaders have been like dialectics for the listeners. While Gandhi believed in 'self sufficient village republics' as state as an institution represented violence.

Ambedkar on the other hand believed villages to be dens of ignorance. For him, Gandhi's 'Gram Rajya' would only mean

perpetuation of the caste based oppression. He then subscribed a modern state based on constitutional and legal safeguards.

In the Simon Commission, Ambedkar recommended separate electorate for Dalits. But due to Gandhi's fast, the two leaders agreed on 'Poona Pact'. This was called a 'Himalayan blunder' by Ambedkar, but Gandhi believed it would prevent the disintegration of our social fabric.

Gandhi's subsequent campaign for 'Harijans' via the Harijan Sevak Sangh was disliked by Ambedkar. He preferred to call them as 'Dalits' or 'Depressed

classes' to highlight the intergenerational atrocities faced by them without diluting it as 'Harijan' or 'God's children'.

The two leaders also differed on the role of 'social mobility' via Varnas. Ambedkar believed it to be a myth. His idea of democracy centered around 'One Man. One vote. One Value'. He believed 'There can be no political democracy without a social democracy at its base'.

He decried the extra constitutional mass struggles of Gandhi. Instead, he believed democracy must be faith in the institutions.

However, he was vocal against

the social oppressions - in Mahat Satyagrah,  
burning of Manusmriti and the  
Hindu Code Bill.

A consociational democracy that includes all members of society was his ideal for restoring dignity and fraternity.

Both leaders have been monumental in upholding the rights of Dalits. Even with their differences, they have strived to unite 'India and Bharat' via a democracy.

3(b)

Can liberty be called as a precondition for equality? Explicate the relationship between equality and liberty? (15 Marks)

liberty and equality are foundational and interrelated ideas in political science.

Modern Scholars like Locke have held liberty to be a natural right.

This was based on the Hobbesian assumption that all of us are born equal, no one is a Philosopher or a Prince.

Liberty as a precondition for equality is seen in Rawls' Lexical order.

This is so because there can be maximum equal liberty in society.

However Marx calls liberty as false consciousness and a bourgeois concept.

For him equality is the precondition for any sort of 'freedom'. Only when classes end, class struggle ends, and one can enjoy freedom. This is why he calls Hobbes as the 'Father of All of Us' as Hobbes established natural equality.

While West believes liberty to be the precondition of equality, this is not universally accepted.

The relationship between the two ideas is both mutually reinforcing and contradictory. Liberty without any check on it can lead to rampant inequalities, as seen in the neoliberal era. (Oxfam Time to care report)

Yet positive liberty can enhance equality as state intervenes for welfare.

As per T.H Green

'The role of the state is to hinder the hindrances that come in the way of freedom'

Even Amartha Sen's capability approach in 'Development as freedom' shows a positive relation between the two.

Thus negative liberty may stand in contrast to equality but positive liberty can ensure equality in society.

This was even held in Rawl's difference principle and Dworkin's initial equality.

Que.3(c)

Mill's essay of liberty is perhaps the most famous vindication of freedom of thought and the most powerful plea for the toleration of opinions. Discuss. (15 Marks)

JS Mill in his book 'On Liberty' proclaims freedom of thought and expression to all. He says

"If all but one has a difference of opinion,  
the majority must listen. If we don't accept the tyranny of one over majority, we must also not accept the tyranny of majority over one."

According to Mill, the truth of society can emerge from anywhere. By denying the freedom of expression to anyone, we are only postponing the discovery of truth.

This is an essential value of democracy. Mill was called a 'champion

of democracy' as he proclaimed freedom of thought. He envisioned man as a progressive being'. ~~He~~

Perhaps this freedom pushed him to demand Suffrage Rights for women in his book 'The Subjection of Women'. The presence of women in public sphere can enhance societal progress.

For both minorities and women, Mill's ideas have been the most powerful plea for toleration. This is now a paramount value in any successful democracy.

However Mill was even criticised as a 'reluctant democrat' as he



limited his ideas to the west. He held 'Benevolent despotism is best for barbarians' in light of Alex de Tocqueville's fear of a mobocracy.

The present day 'infodemic' (Somya Swaminathan, WHO) feels his fears.

However, Mill's ideas on freedom of thought & expression and tolerance are the fundamental basis of many modern constitutions, eg - Art 19 in Indian Constitution. But this is subject to the 'harm principle' or 'reasonable restrictions' which acts as a safeguard.

Que.5(a)

Discuss Gandhian view on grassroots democracy and its relevance in contemporary India. (10 Marks)

As per Gandhi, 'democracy is the art and science of mobilising the physical, economic and spiritual resources for common good'.

Gandhi's grassroots democracy in the form of 'Gram Rajya' envisioned self sufficient village republics. This reflects his values of 'Ahimsa' as he viewed state as an instrument of violence.

This even ensured 'Oneness with nature' and harmony between the communities. His focus of vocational learning would ensure a dignified life.

The 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992 fulfilled this Gandhian dream.



by empowering the villages.

It has ushered in a new dawn of 'pro people good governance' with 2<sup>nd</sup> ARC's 'Principle of Subsidiarity'

However reports of Manishankar Ayar committee show that Ambedkar's fears of villages being 'dens of ignorance' wasn't wrong.

The inclusion of disadvantaged sections has been half baked. It has led to 'Goss without Roots'.

To align with Gandhian ideals, there is a need to devolve funds, functions and functionaries. To usher an Amarit Kaal, grassroots democracy & 'Antyodaya' principle are sine qua non.

e.5(b)

Bring the differences between the moderates and extremists in the National Movement. (10 Marks)

The Indian National Movement was one of the largest civil rights movements. It demanded 'Swaraj' whose meaning evolved from Moderates to Extremists.

The moderates like M G Ranade, S N Banerjee, Dadabhai Naoroji believed in the British sense of justice. They considered it to be a 'blessing in disguise'. They used the methods of 'Prayer', Petitions of Protest'.

They believed that the masses lacked understanding for inclusion in the struggle. Their demands were limited to Indianisation of services & greater representation.

The extremists on the other hand

included 'Lal, Bal, Pal' who believed in extraconstitutional struggle. Their methods were more violent and assertive. As per Tilak in 'Kesari'

'Swaraj is the birthright of Indians'

Aurobindo interpreted Swaraj as complete independence. He said the moderates lacked intellectual & imaginative capacity. They believed the masses needed to be included as they were ready.

These differences led to the Surat split of 1907. Despite criticism of moderates, Gokhale held

'It is through the failures of moderates that the struggle will emerge'.

They paved the way for extremists who in turn set the ground for Gandhi.



Que.5(c)

Discuss the relevance of Dalit perspective of the Indian National Movement. (10 Marks)

As per RC Pradhan, interpreting the Indian National Movement is like six blind men trying to understand an elephant.

Dalit Perspective is one of the many such interpretations. ~~British~~ Initial leaders like Jyotiba Phule empowered the Dalits via his 'Satyashodhak Samaj'. They thanked the British for their sense of 'equality' as they introduced 'Equality before Law', common modes of transport and communication.

Ambedkar believed in British as he believed India formed segmented communities which lacked any sense



of fraternity. If Dalits followed the INC's Swaraj, they would remain 'hewers of wood & drawers of water'

He was inspired by John Dewey's democratic socialism in opposition to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

His demand for separate electorate shows his belief that Dalits were a separate community from Hindus.

He strongly opposed Gandhi's use of 'Harijan'.

This school has fostered a better understanding of the National Movement from Dalit's perspective

Examine the evolution of peasant movements in India before Independence? (10 Marks)

Peasant Movements in the pre-Independence era emerged from the exploitation of British policies as well as coercive landlords.

As per Bankim Chandra's "Anandmati" the Sanyasi revolt of 18th century witnessed Hindu - Muslim unity as well as participation of women (Debi Chandhrani).

These movements were sporadic and against both British & Indian exploiters. Gyanendra Pandey believes they were independent of the national movement and emerged "

their own.

20<sup>th</sup> century Moplah Revolt was due to communal disharmony. The Hindu gentry's were labelled exploitative.

In other areas, British policy of Indigo, Zamindari led to revolts. It is said that by 20<sup>th</sup> century, half of Bengal's lands were in new hands (Bipin Chandra).

With establishment of All India Kisan Sabha in 1936 by Sahaianand Saraswati, the peasants were formally included in the fold of the movement.

Gandhi's Champaran Satyagraha, Patel's Kheda endeavour united them into a mass movement.

Ques. 5(e)

Critically examine the nature of representativeness in the Constituent Assembly. (10 Marks)

The Constituent Assembly was formed with the Cabinet Mission Plan of 1946.

The elections of 1944-45 did not carry the mandate that the leaders will draft the constitution. Further, only 5% of the population was enfranchised.

This created concerns of the representativeness of the Constituent Assembly. Winston Churchill called it an 'Assembly of Brahmins' as it had over 25% Brahmins and over 75% upper castes.

However, the Father of the Constitution is B R Ambedkar, a crusader



of Dalit Rights. This shows the inclusivity of Dalit Perspective seen in provisions like Art 15, 17, 29, 30.

Further, the composition did not change even after the first general elections addressing concerns of members being nominated (Princely States) and members being elected on low franchise.

The survival of India despite 'Second Democratic Reversal' wave of SP Huntington shows that Constitution is the source of 'social revolution' (PB Mehta)

21<sup>st</sup> century Nehru also did not suggest changes despite being set up by Non-Congress government.

This shows wisdom and foresightedness of our Constitution makers as they represented India.



ue.8(a)

The study of electoral politics and political behaviour in India reflect the centrality of distributive politics, role of ethnicity, deinstitutionalisation of political parties and the subnational dynamics. Discuss (20 Marks)

India's diversity makes its electoral politics and political behaviour a wide area of study. In this 'Prismatic Society', (FW Riggs), many unique features exist.

The centrality of distributive politics emanates from the 'welfare state' nature. Given the large population, poverty (22% as per Tendulkar committee), distributive justice takes centre stage.

However this becomes a 'vote bank' politics. Rajni Kothari believes that as long as secular benefits will depend on ethnic identities, we will see



the politicisation of caste and religion

Owing to the wide diversity,  
Yogendra Yadav shows how political  
parties are experiencing simultaneous  
institutionalisation and deinstitutionalisation.  
They are increasing in width but, not  
depth.

This can be attributed to the  
two democratic upsurges (Y.Yadav).  
First when OBCs left the fold of  
Congress f next with Dalits in 1990s.  
The Mandal - Kamandal politics has  
fuelled defections (over 500 in 2016-20  
in MPs and MLAs as per ADR)

Further, regional parties have  
emerged. E Shreedharan points out



institutional factors like the delinking of elections, States reorganisation, as well as seco-economic factors like the rise of OBCs.

Christophe Jaffrelot believes the dominant castes strengthened themselves with demand for statehood. As per Satish Deshpande in 'The OBC primer of Indian Politics', the OBC are strategically unavoidable with over 42% population.

This showcases a unique mix of distributive politics, ethnicities and subnationalism. However Sudha Pai believes these trends in political parties are in their own right & not owing to any external push.

MN Srinivas holds caste to be the subconscious of Indian political participants. The same can be said for religion (TN Madan). There is a fear of communalisation in long term. (CP Bhambri).

Yet India's plural and inclusive democracy stands tall globally. We must ensure that it is more than just a head counting principle (Dworkin) and electoral. Political behaviour must strive for

'Unity without Uniformity' and 'Diversity without Fragmentation'



Que. 8(b)

There has been an opinion that the ethos of Indian Judicial system continues to be colonial. Suggest measures for raising the level of Judicial excellence for achieving speedy justice. (15 Marks)

Judiciary is one of the three most important pillars of democracy as it has the fundamental task of upholding the constitution and its values.

In Constituent Assembly Debates, B R Ambedkar emphasised on the value of 'constitutionalism'. However P B Mehta believes that judiciary has become a 'self perpetuating' institution.

This reflects the 'colonialism' in the system where we see an 'Ancle Judge Syndrome'. This fuels the fear of 'Imperium in Imperio' expressed



by Ambedkar.

The principle of natural justice that 'no one shall be a judge in their own case' was denied in the sexual harassment charges as per lawyer activist Maneka Gandhi.

The large pendency of cases is ignored as the judiciary enlarges its mandate with judicial activism which has now become overreach and adventurism (Ban on alcohol on highways)

Bhikhu Parekh calls this as judicial cogovernance. However, it has ensured in forwarding the socioeconomic ideals and fulfilled legislative vacuum (Vishabha Guidelines)



It has upheld rights of women (Shah Bano case) and minorities (Nawej S. Johar).

Yet it is in need of reforms.

Speedy justice can be ensured with e-courts, strengthening National Judicial Grid for data exchange and filling vacancies.

Gram Nyayalays and Alternative Dispute Resolution mechanisms can reduce unnecessary pendencies as 'Justice delayed is justice denied'

We can even follow the US model of a 'single bench' to prevent individual judges with divergent approach.

Lastly, the fast representation of women and minorities is paramount & must be fast tracked as per Justice NV Ramana.



Que.8(c)

Various commissions have reiterated the crucial role of Governor in the Indian system of governance, but successive governments have not heeded to make governor's office apolitical. Examine with the help of recent examples. (15 Marks)

The Governor's office was construed as the lynchpin between the Centre and the State.

While many questioned the lack of qualifications in constitution or appointment committee for this office - Pt. Nehru made a gentleman's promise that following conventions will prevent politicisation of Governor.

Yet, after 75 years of independence, the question remains:

'Sage or Saboteur' - Soli Sababji.

This is because of the controversial nature of the office. Instances include

the midnight swearing-in of Maharashtra CM in 2019, or the continuous animosity in West Bengal, Kerala. It has even become a ' plush old home' for post-retirement. Sarkaria Commission recommended

dignity of the office to be maintained. This can ensure amicable Centre-State relations. A list of eminent persons can be created in line with conventions like - does not belong to the state, holds record in public service.

Punjab Commission suggests this list should be created in consultation with the Inter State Council. This can ensure federal cooperation.

Mannohan Singh's 4 principles



can ensure the government's office remains apolitical. They include doing what's best for people, abiding by constitution, spirit of nation and personal conscience.

However this remains a nonstarter as successive governments have used it to further their agenda. From calling C. Rajagopalachari to form government without holding an MLA seat to today when governments in MP, Rajasthan are toppled overnight.

As per Neerja Chowdhry, the governor is neither a rival nor a rubber stamp. S/he must act as the friend, philosopher & guide for national unity.