

ISC Class 12 Political Science Specimen Paper 1

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Maximum Marks: 80 | Time Allowed: Three hours | Reading Time: 15 minutes

Section A is compulsory. From Section B attempt any five questions. This paper carries 80 marks, the remaining 20 being for the project work.

General Instructions

Write your answers on the separate answer paper provided. The first 15 minutes are for reading the paper and you may not write during that time. Section A is compulsory and must be attempted in full. From Section B you must attempt any five of the eight questions, and no credit is given for a sixth. Marks for each question, or part of a question, are shown in brackets. Answers should be in your own words and of a length suited to the marks offered, a one-mark part needing no more than a sentence and a four-mark part needing a short developed argument. Where a question asks you to examine arguments on both sides, credit is given for presenting each side fairly, not for the side you prefer. No diagrams, maps or printed extracts are used in this paper. This paper carries 80 of the 100 marks for the subject, the remaining 20 being for the project work.

SECTION A (30 Marks)

Attempt all parts of Question 1 and all parts of Question 2.

Question 1 [20]

Each part carries 1 mark. For the parts that offer four choices, write only the option you choose. For the rest, answer in a single sentence or give the single word, name or date asked for.

- (i) The words socialist and secular were inserted into the Preamble to the Constitution of India by:
 - (a) the Twenty-fourth Amendment (b) the Twenty-sixth Amendment
 - (c) the Forty-second Amendment (d) the Forty-fourth Amendment
- (ii) State what is meant by describing India in the Preamble as a sovereign state.
- (iii) The subjects that the states may entrust to the panchayats are listed in:
 - (a) the Ninth Schedule (b) the Eleventh Schedule
 - (c) the Twelfth Schedule (d) the Tenth Schedule
- (iv) Explain in one sentence what political theorists mean by negative liberty.
- (v) A financial emergency may be proclaimed under:
 - (a) Article 352 (b) Article 356
 - (c) Article 360 (d) Article 368
- (vi) Name the member of the Constituent Assembly who moved the Objectives Resolution, and give the month and year in which he moved it.
- (vii) The doctrine that Parliament may amend the Constitution but may not damage its basic structure was laid down by the Supreme Court in:
 - (a) the Shankari Prasad case (b) the Minerva Mills case
 - (c) the Golak Nath case (d) the Kesavananda Bharati case
- (viii) Give one difference between a unitary and a federal division of powers.
- (ix) The Warsaw Treaty Organisation was set up in:
 - (a) 1949 (b) 1955
 - (c) 1961 (d) 1972

- (x) Name the Asian-African conference of 1955 that is usually treated as a forerunner of the Non-Aligned Movement.
- (xi) The number of permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations is:
 (a) five (b) ten
 (c) fifteen (d) twenty
- (xii) State in one sentence what is meant by the veto in the Security Council.
- (xiii) The five principles known as Panchsheel were set out in 1954 in an agreement between India and:
 (a) the Soviet Union (b) the United States
 (c) Nepal (d) China
- (xiv) Expand the abbreviation WTO and give the year in which the organisation began to function.
- (xv) The provisions on disqualification of a legislator on the ground of defection are contained in:
 (a) the Seventh Schedule (b) the Eighth Schedule
 (c) the Ninth Schedule (d) the Tenth Schedule
- (xvi) Distinguish in one sentence between a national party and a state party.
- (xvii) The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in:
 (a) 1948 (b) 1945
 (c) 1966 (d) 1976
- (xviii) Name any one non-traditional threat to the security of a state.
- (xix) The principle of common but differentiated responsibilities was given formal shape at:
 (a) the Bretton Woods Conference of 1944 (b) the Bandung Conference of 1955
 (c) the Earth Summit held at Rio de Janeiro in 1992 (d) the Stockholm Conference of 1972
- (xx) Name the committee whose report of 1957 recommended a three-tier structure of democratic decentralisation in India.

Question 2 [10]

Each part carries 2 marks. Answer each part in two or three sentences.

- (i) Explain the difference between equality of opportunity and equality of outcome. [2]
- (ii) State two features that distinguish the Indian understanding of secularism from a strict separation of religion and state. [2]
- (iii) Mention two differences between the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha. [2]
- (iv) Give two reasons for the collapse of the bipolar order at the end of the 1980s. [2]
- (v) State two ways in which globalisation is said to have reduced the economic freedom of action of national governments. [2]

SECTION B (50 Marks)

Attempt any five questions from this Section. Each question carries 10 marks.

Question 3 [10]

- (a) Distinguish between power and authority, and give one example of each. [3]
- (b) Explain, with reasons, why much of the liberal tradition has treated liberty and equality as supporting each other rather than as opposed. [3]
- (c) Examine the arguments advanced for and against the view that the state should act to reduce inequality of income and wealth, and state what the disagreement finally turns on. [4]

Question 4 [10]

- (a) Explain three ways in which the Preamble is of use in reading and interpreting the Constitution. [3]
- (b) Explain the difference between the Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles of State Policy, and give one reason why the framers thought it right to include both. [3]
- (c) Examine the arguments for and against making some of the Directive Principles enforceable in the courts in the way that the Fundamental Rights are. [4]

Question 5 [10]

- (a) Explain how the President of India is elected and state the term of office. [3]
- (b) Explain the position of the Prime Minister within the Union executive. [3]
- (c) Explain the special powers of the Lok Sabha in financial matters and the restricted part played by the Rajya Sabha in them. Mention the provision for a joint sitting of the two Houses and state two kinds of Bill to which that provision does not apply. [4]

Question 6 [10]

- (a) Explain the composition of a gram panchayat and the place of the gram sabha in the panchayat system. [3]
- (b) Explain three changes brought about by the Seventy-third Amendment to the Constitution. [3]
- (c) Explain the main difficulties that have limited the working of panchayats in practice, and set out the arguments made on both sides about the reservation of seats for women in them. [4]

Question 7 [10]

- (a) Explain three features of the Constitution that are federal in character. [3]
- (b) Explain three features that give the Union the advantage over the states, and state why writers therefore describe the Indian system as quasi-federal. [3]
- (c) Explain the grounds and the procedure for the proclamation of a national emergency, the safeguards added by the Forty-fourth Amendment, and the arguments made on both sides about the use of President's rule in the states. [4]

Question 8 [10]

- (a) Explain three functions of the Election Commission of India. [3]
- (b) Explain three functions performed by political parties in a democracy. [3]
- (c) Explain the main criticisms of the first past the post method of election, the arguments put forward in favour of proportional representation, and the reasons offered for retaining the present system in India. [4]

Question 9 [10]

- (a) Explain three causes of the Cold War. [3]
- (b) Explain what is meant by non-alignment and state two criticisms that were made of it. [3]
- (c) Explain the composition of the Security Council of the United Nations and the nature of the veto, and examine the arguments for and against enlarging the Council. [4]

Question 10 [10]

- (a) Explain three continuing objectives of India's foreign policy. [3]
- (b) Explain the difference between traditional and non-traditional conceptions of security, with one example of each. [3]
- (c) Explain why the environment has become a political question in international relations, and set out the arguments made by industrialised states and by developing states about how the burden of action should be shared. [4]

ANSWER KEY AND MARKING SCHEME

Marks shown at the end of each answer are the step marks an examiner would award. Answers are given in full so that a candidate may see what a complete response looks like, and a shorter answer that carries the same substance earns the same marks. Where a part asks for arguments on both sides, no mark is attached to the view the candidate holds, and the marks go to the fair statement of each position and to the evidence offered. Accept any correct alternative example or any correct alternative reason not printed here.

Question 1 [20]

- (i) (c) the Forty-second Amendment. That amendment, passed in 1976, added the words socialist and secular to the description of the Republic and also added the word integrity to the phrase about the unity of the nation.

Correct option 1.

- (ii) Sovereignty means that India is subject to no external authority and that its government takes its own decisions, internal and external, without being answerable to any power outside the country.

Freedom from external control, with internal supremacy of the state 1.

- (iii) (b) the Eleventh Schedule. It was added by the Seventy-third Amendment and lists the subjects, agriculture, minor irrigation, rural housing and the rest, that a state legislature may devolve on the panchayats.

Correct option 1.

- (iv) Negative liberty means the absence of external restraint, that is, the existence of an area of a person's life in which others, and the state in particular, may not interfere.

Absence of interference or restraint identified 1.

- (v) (c) Article 360. A national emergency is proclaimed under Article 352 and the failure of the constitutional machinery in a state is dealt with under Article 356.

Correct option 1.

- (vi) Jawaharlal Nehru moved the Objectives Resolution in December 1946. It set out the aims that the Assembly meant to pursue and its language was later carried into the Preamble.

Nehru named, with December 1946 1.

- (vii) (d) the Kesavananda Bharati case. The Court decided in 1973 that the amending power under Article 368 is wide but does not extend to destroying the basic features of the Constitution.

Correct option 1.

- (viii) In a unitary state all power belongs in law to the central government, which may create or abolish lower authorities at will, whereas in a federal state the Constitution itself divides power between the centre and the units and neither can take the other's subjects away by an ordinary law.

One clear difference stated 1.

- (ix) (b) 1955. It was the military alliance of the Soviet Union and the states of eastern Europe, formed six years after the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation of 1949.

Correct option 1.

- (x) The Bandung Conference, held in Indonesia in 1955, where Asian and African states met and set out principles of cooperation that the Non-Aligned Movement later took up.

Bandung named 1.

- (xi) (a) five. The Council has fifteen members in all, five of them permanent and ten elected by the General Assembly for terms of two years.

Correct option 1.

- (xii) The veto is the power of a permanent member of the Security Council to prevent the adoption of a substantive resolution by voting against it, so that a single negative vote by such a member defeats the proposal however many others support it.

Negative vote of a permanent member blocking a substantive decision 1.

- (xiii) (d) China. The five principles of mutual respect, non-aggression, non-interference, equality and peaceful coexistence were set out in the agreement of 1954 relating to trade with the Tibet region of China.

Correct option 1.

(xiv) World Trade Organisation. It began to function on 1 January 1995, taking the place of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Name expanded and the year 1995 given 1.

(xv) (d) the Tenth Schedule. It was added by the Fifty-second Amendment of 1985 and sets out the grounds on which a member of a legislature may be disqualified for defecting from the party on whose ticket he was elected.

Correct option 1.

(xvi) A national party is one recognised by the Election Commission as having a measure of support spread across several states, while a state party is recognised only within one state and contests mainly there.

Spread of recognised support across states against recognition in a single state 1.

(xvii) (a) 1948. The Declaration was adopted on 10 December 1948 and the two Covenants that gave its contents treaty form were adopted in 1966.

Correct option 1.

(xviii) Any one of the following is acceptable: terrorism, the spread of epidemic disease, climate change and environmental degradation, large movements of refugees, food or water scarcity, poverty and economic insecurity, or attacks on computer networks.

One acceptable non-traditional threat named 1.

(xix) (c) the Earth Summit held at Rio de Janeiro in 1992. The documents agreed there accepted that all states share responsibility for the global environment but that the industrialised states, having contributed most to the damage and having greater means, must carry a heavier share of the burden.

Correct option 1.

(xx) The Balwant Rai Mehta Committee, whose report of 1957 proposed democratic decentralisation through a three-tier structure of village, block and district bodies.

Committee correctly named 1.

Question 2 [10]

(i) Equality of opportunity means that every person should face the same rules and the same starting conditions, so that offices, education and employment are open to all and are distributed by merit rather than by birth or connection. Equality of outcome looks instead at results, and asks that the actual shares of income, wealth or well-being that people end with should not differ greatly. The first is satisfied by a fair race even if the finishing positions are very unequal, while the second is satisfied only if the finishing positions are brought closer together, which may require unequal treatment of the starters.

Equality of opportunity explained as fair access and uniform rules 1. Equality of outcome explained as the narrowing of actual shares 1.

(ii) First, the Indian state does not keep wholly out of the affairs of religion. It has intervened to abolish untouchability, to open temples, to regulate religious endowments and to reform personal law, so the relation is one of principled distance rather than of a wall between the two. Second, the Constitution combines the freedom of religion in Articles 25 to 28 with group rights for religious and linguistic minorities to run their own institutions, so secularism here protects communities as well as individuals, and the state treats all faiths with equal regard instead of refusing to notice any of them.

Intervention for reform, described as principled distance rather than strict separation 1. Equal regard for all faiths together with minority rights, rather than official indifference 1.

(iii) The Lok Sabha is directly elected by the voters in territorial constituencies, while the members of the Rajya Sabha for the states are elected by the elected members of the state legislative assemblies and twelve members are nominated by the President. The Lok Sabha is dissolvable and sits for a fixed term unless dissolved earlier, while the Rajya Sabha is a permanent body that is never dissolved and a proportion of whose members retire in rotation. A further difference is that the Council of Ministers is responsible to the Lok Sabha alone and that the Lok Sabha has the final say over Money Bills.

One correct difference 1. A second correct difference 1.

- (iv) First, the Soviet economy had fallen badly behind, the burden of the arms race and of its commitments abroad was heavy, and the reforms of glasnost and perestroika loosened the controls that had held the system together without putting anything in their place. Second, the peoples of eastern Europe withdrew their consent in 1989 and the Soviet Union chose not to send in troops to hold the governments up, so the bloc dissolved, Germany was reunited and the Soviet Union itself broke into fifteen states at the end of 1991.

One sound reason, economic strain or the effect of reform 1. A second sound reason, the revolutions of 1989 and the dissolution of the Soviet Union 1.

- (v) First, capital now moves quickly across borders, so a government that raises taxes or tightens regulation faces the threat that investment will leave, and this narrows the range of policies that it can follow without penalty. Second, membership of international economic institutions and of trade and investment agreements carries obligations about tariffs, subsidies, intellectual property and the treatment of foreign firms, and these limit what a legislature may lawfully do. It may be added that decisions taken in a few financial centres and by large firms with operations in many countries now affect employment and prices in states that had no part in making them.

One way, mobility of capital limiting tax and regulatory choices 1. A second way, binding obligations under international economic agreements and institutions 1.

Question 3 [10]

- (a) Power is the capacity to make others act as one wishes, whatever the source of that capacity may be, and it may rest on force, on wealth, on knowledge or on the control of information. Authority is power that is accepted as rightful, so that those who obey do so because they regard the command as legitimately given and not merely because they fear the consequences of refusal. The difference is therefore one of legitimacy: authority carries a title to be obeyed, while bare power carries only the ability to compel. An armed group that collects money from shopkeepers under threat exercises power without authority. A properly elected municipal body that levies a tax under a law exercises authority, and the taxpayer who pays it is acknowledging a right to command even where he dislikes the tax.

Power defined as the capacity to secure compliance 1. Authority defined as power accepted as legitimate 1. One apt example of each 1.

- (b) The liberal case rests on the thought that liberty is worth having only if a person is actually able to use it. A right to education, to enter a profession or to stand for office is formally held by everyone, but a person without schooling, health or income cannot act on it, so great inequality empties the right of content for those at the bottom. Equality of this kind, in the basic conditions of life, is therefore treated as the ground on which liberty stands rather than as its rival. A second reason is that extreme inequality itself becomes a source of domination, because the very rich can shape law, press and opinion and so reduce the freedom of others. A third is that both values derive from the same premise, the equal moral worth of persons, so that a doctrine which valued the liberty of some while denying others the means to use theirs would be inconsistent with its own starting point.

Formal liberty shown to be empty without the means to exercise it 1. Extreme inequality identified as itself a source of domination 1. Both values traced to the equal moral worth of persons, or any other sound reason 1.

- (c) Those who support state action argue, first, that large inequalities of income arise substantially from circumstances the individual did not choose, such as the family and the region into which he was born, and that it is unjust for these to decide the course of a life. Second, they argue that redistribution through taxation, public education, health care and social security raises the real freedom of the poor and so increases liberty overall rather than reducing it. Third, they point to the political argument that a society split into very unequal parts cannot sustain equal citizenship, since wealth buys influence and the poor are left without a voice. Those who oppose it argue, first, that income is in large part the return on effort, risk and skill, so that taking it away penalises exactly the behaviour a society needs. Second, they argue that heavy taxation and extensive regulation weaken the incentive to work, save and invest, so that the total product is smaller and the poor are worse off in absolute terms even if the gap narrows. Third, they warn that the apparatus needed to redistribute gives officials wide discretionary power, which may be used badly or captured by organised interests, so that the benefit does not reach those for whom it was intended. The disagreement finally turns on two questions

which the arguments do not settle: how far a person's earnings can properly be said to be deserved rather than the product of luck and of social arrangements, and what the real effect of redistribution is on the size of the product to be shared. Both are partly questions of value and partly questions of evidence, and a candidate is not expected to decide them.

Two sound arguments for state action, such as unchosen circumstances and the real freedom of the poor 1. Two sound arguments against, such as desert and the effect on incentives 1. Each side stated fairly and in its own strongest form 1. The point of disagreement identified as the question of desert and the disputed evidence on incentives, without the question being settled 1.

Question 4 [10]

- (a) First, the Preamble states the source of the Constitution's authority. The words declaring that the people of India adopt and give to themselves this Constitution establish that the document rests on popular will and not on a grant from any other body, and courts have used this in reading provisions about the limits of power. Second, it states the objects the Constitution is meant to serve, justice, liberty, equality and fraternity, and when the words of a provision are capable of more than one meaning the meaning that advances these objects is preferred. Third, it describes the character of the polity as sovereign, socialist, secular, democratic and republican, and these terms have been treated as pointing to features so central that an amendment destroying them would be open to challenge.

Source of authority in the people 1. Objects of the Constitution used to resolve ambiguity 1. Character of the polity, used in identifying essential features 1.

- (b) The Fundamental Rights in Part III are enforceable, which means that a person whose right is infringed may move the High Court or the Supreme Court directly and obtain a remedy, and a law that violates them may be struck down. The Directive Principles in Part IV are expressly not enforceable by any court. They are addressed to the legislature and the executive as instructions about the ends of policy, and their force is political rather than judicial. The purposes also differ. The Rights are mainly protections of the individual against the state and set limits to what government may do, while the Principles set out positive tasks, the securing of a living wage, of the health of workers, of free legal aid, of village panchayats, which require money, administration and time. The framers kept both because a constitution confined to enforceable restraints would have said nothing about the social and economic transformation the country needed, while making the whole programme justiciable at once would have placed on the courts decisions about the allocation of scarce resources that properly belong to an elected legislature.

Enforceability of Part III against the non-justiciable character of Part IV 1. Difference of purpose, restraint on the state against direction of policy 1. A sound reason for retaining both 1.

- (c) In favour of making some Principles enforceable it is argued, first, that a right that cannot be claimed is of little use to a poor person, and that rights to food, work, shelter and health matter more in daily life than many of the liberties already protected. Second, that the distinction is not as firm as it looks, since the courts have in practice read parts of Part IV into the right to life and have dealt with questions of livelihood, environment and education in that way, so a clearer rule would be more honest than an indirect route. Third, that the framers themselves regarded the Principles as commitments and expected them to be acted upon, and that treating them as optional has allowed governments to postpone them indefinitely. Against the proposal it is argued, first, that these objects need large and continuing expenditure, that the money available is limited, and that a judge deciding one claim cannot see the whole budget or the competing claims upon it. Second, that handing such choices to courts weakens the responsibility of the elected legislature, which can be removed by the voters, in favour of a body that cannot. Third, that a right declared enforceable but incapable of being delivered brings the Constitution itself into disrespect and may produce orders that cannot be carried out. A middle position, which several writers take, is that particular Principles may be converted into enforceable rights by ordinary legislation when the means to deliver them exist, as was done for elementary education, and that this keeps the decision with the legislature while giving the citizen a remedy.

Two sound arguments for enforceability 1. Two sound arguments against 1. The judicial reading of Part IV into the right to life, or another accurate illustration of the blurring of the line 1. Both positions stated fairly, with a middle course noted and no side declared correct 1.

Question 5 [10]

- (a) The President is elected indirectly by an electoral college. It consists of the elected members of both Houses of Parliament and the elected members of the legislative assemblies of the states, and the elected members of the assemblies of the National Capital Territory of Delhi and of Puducherry also take part. Nominated members do not vote. The election is held by the system of proportional representation through the single transferable vote, and voting is by secret ballot. The value of the votes is weighted so that there is parity between the whole body of members of Parliament and the whole body of state legislators, and so that the states count in proportion to population, which is intended to reflect the federal character of the office. The term is five years from the date of entering office, the holder is eligible for re-election, and he may resign earlier or be removed by impeachment for violation of the Constitution.

Electoral college correctly described, with nominated members excluded 1. Proportional representation by single transferable vote, with the weighting of votes 1. Term of five years, with eligibility for re-election 1.

- (b) The Prime Minister is appointed by the President, who in practice must call the person able to command the confidence of a majority in the Lok Sabha, and the other ministers are appointed on the Prime Minister's advice. He allots and reallots portfolios, presides over the Cabinet, settles its agenda and so decides what comes before it, and he is the principal channel between the Council of Ministers and the President. Because the resignation or death of the Prime Minister dissolves the whole Council, while the resignation of another minister does not, his position is not merely first in a list of equals. His authority is nevertheless conditional. He holds office only while his majority holds, he is answerable with his colleagues to the Lok Sabha, and in a government of several parties his freedom in choosing ministers and settling policy is limited by what his allies will accept. Writers have therefore described the office as ranging from something close to dominance when a single party has a large majority to something much nearer coordination when it does not.

Appointment, and the formation of the Council on his advice 1. Powers over portfolios and over the business of the Cabinet, and the effect of his resignation on the whole Council 1. Dependence on the confidence of the Lok Sabha, and the limits set by coalition 1.

- (c) A Money Bill may be introduced only in the Lok Sabha, and only on the recommendation of the President. When the Lok Sabha has passed it the Bill goes to the Rajya Sabha, which may not reject it or amend it. It may make recommendations within fourteen days, and the Lok Sabha may accept or refuse them. If the Rajya Sabha does not return the Bill within that period, it is deemed to have been passed by both Houses in the form in which the Lok Sabha passed it. The question whether a Bill is a Money Bill is decided by the Speaker, and his certificate is conclusive. The Annual Financial Statement is laid before both Houses, but the demands for grants are voted only by the Lok Sabha. Where the two Houses disagree over an ordinary Bill, the President may summon a joint sitting of both Houses, at which the matter is decided by a majority of the members present and voting, so that the larger House carries the greater weight. The provision does not apply to a Money Bill, over which the Lok Sabha prevails in any event, and it does not apply to a Bill to amend the Constitution, which must be passed separately by each House by the required special majority.

Introduction only in the Lok Sabha, on the President's recommendation 1. Rajya Sabha limited to recommendations within fourteen days, with the Lok Sabha free to refuse them 1. Joint sitting as the means of resolving disagreement over an ordinary Bill 1. Money Bills and constitutional amendment Bills correctly named as the exceptions 1.

Question 6 [10]

- (a) A gram panchayat is the elected body at the village level. Its members, usually called panches, are chosen directly by the voters of the village from wards into which the panchayat area is divided, and its head, usually called the sarpanch or pradhan, is chosen either directly by the voters or by the elected members, according to the law of the state. Seats are reserved for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in proportion to their population in the area, and not less than one third of the seats, and of the offices of chairperson, are reserved for women. The gram sabha is not a committee of the panchayat but the general body of all persons whose names are on the electoral roll of the village. It is the panchayat's point of accountability. The accounts, the annual plan and the list of beneficiaries of schemes are placed before it, it meets at intervals fixed by state law, and where its powers have been strengthened it approves works and certifies their completion. The panchayat is thus the executive and the gram sabha the assembly of the whole village to which that executive must answer.

Directly elected members with the chairperson, and the reservation of seats 1. Gram sabha defined as the whole body of registered voters of the village 1. Its function of scrutiny and approval, and the relation between the two bodies 1.

- (b) First, the amendment made local self government a constitutional obligation instead of a matter for each state to decide. Panchayats had existed before, but a state could leave them unformed or postpone their elections indefinitely, and after 1992 a three-tier structure at village, intermediate and district level, with the intermediate tier excused in the smaller states, became a requirement, and a five-year term was fixed with fresh elections before it expires and within six months of any earlier dissolution. Second, it required reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in proportion to population and for women in not less than one third of all seats and of the offices of chairperson, which altered the composition of rural bodies very considerably. Third, it put the conduct of panchayat elections in the hands of a State Election Commission and required the appointment of a State Finance Commission every five years to recommend how revenues should be shared with the panchayats, and it added the Eleventh Schedule listing the subjects a state legislature may devolve on them.

Constitutional status with a fixed three-tier structure and a secure five-year term 1. Reservation for the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and women 1. State Election Commission, State Finance Commission and the Eleventh Schedule 1.

- (c) The difficulties are mainly of means rather than of form. Panchayats have few sources of revenue of their own, since the taxes open to them are small and unpopular to collect, so they depend on grants that arrive late and are tied to particular schemes, which leaves little room for local priorities. The listing of subjects in the Eleventh Schedule is permissive, so the actual transfer of functions, of the staff to perform them and of the funds to pay for them has been uneven between the states and in many places incomplete. Where functions have been transferred, the officials who do the work often remain answerable to departments of the state government rather than to the elected body, so authority and responsibility are separated. There are also social obstacles, since existing inequalities of caste, landholding and literacy within a village can be carried into the panchayat, and attendance at the gram sabha is frequently poor. On the reservation of seats for women, those in favour argue that without it the number of women in rural bodies would have remained negligible, that the measure has brought very large numbers of women into public life and given visibility to matters such as water, fuel, schooling and health that were previously neglected, and that holding office itself builds the confidence and the skill that formal equality alone does not supply. Those who criticise it argue that in some places the seat is won by a woman while decisions are taken by a male relative, that rotation of reserved seats discourages the building of a record over more than one term, and that reservation by itself cannot remove the underlying inequalities of property and education on which the dependence rests. Both sides commonly accept that the measure has altered who is present in rural government, and disagree about how far presence has yet become influence.

Two sound difficulties, such as weak revenue and incomplete devolution of functions, funds and staff 1. A third difficulty, such as officials answerable elsewhere or social inequality within the village 1. Arguments in favour of reservation for women, stated fairly 1. Criticisms stated fairly, with the common ground identified and no verdict given 1.

Question 7 [10]

- (a) First, there are two sets of government, a Union government for the whole country and a government in each state, each resting on its own election and each acting directly on the same citizens within its own field. Second, powers are divided by the Constitution itself through the Seventh Schedule, which sets out a Union List, a State List and a Concurrent List, so that the states do not hold their subjects at the pleasure of the Union. Third, the Constitution is written and supreme and the division it makes is guarded by an independent judiciary, the Supreme Court being able to decide disputes between the Union and a state and to declare a law void if the legislature that passed it had no competence. It may be added that the Constitution cannot be amended in respect of the federal features by the Union Parliament alone, since certain amendments require ratification by the legislatures of at least half the states.

Two governments, each with its own electoral base and acting directly on citizens 1. Division of powers by the Constitution through the three Lists 1. A written and supreme Constitution with an independent judiciary to guard the division, or the special amendment procedure 1.

- (b) First, the Union List is the longest and holds the most important subjects, residuary powers belong to the Union, and in the Concurrent field a Union law prevails over a state law where the two conflict. Second, the Union can alter the states themselves. Parliament may by ordinary law form a new state, change the boundaries of a state or change its name, and the state concerned need only be consulted, so the units have no guaranteed territorial existence. Third, the emergency provisions allow the normal division to be set aside. During a national emergency Parliament may legislate on State List subjects and the executive power of the Union extends to directing a state, and under Article 356 the government of a state may be taken over by the Union. The Governor is appointed by the Union and holds office during the pleasure of the President, and the higher services and the election machinery are organised on an all-India basis. Writers call the system quasi-federal because the structure is federal in its division of powers and its two orders of government, while the balance within that structure leans heavily towards the centre and can be moved further by the centre in an emergency, so the Constitution has been described as federal in normal times and capable of becoming unitary when circumstances demand.

Weight of the Union List, residuary power and Union primacy in the Concurrent field 1. Power of Parliament to alter the boundaries, names or existence of states, or the position of the Governor 1. Emergency provisions, with the term quasi-federal explained from the combination of federal form and central weight 1.

- (c) A national emergency may be proclaimed by the President under Article 352 when the security of India or of any part of it is threatened by war, by external aggression or by armed rebellion, and the threat may be met by a proclamation before the event has actually occurred. The Forty-fourth Amendment, passed in 1978 after the experience of the emergency of the preceding years, tightened the procedure. The vague ground of internal disturbance was replaced by armed rebellion, the President may act only on the written advice of the Cabinet and not on that of the Prime Minister alone, the proclamation must be approved by both Houses by a majority of the total membership and by two thirds of those present and voting, and the approval holds it for six months only, so that continuation requires fresh approval. Provision was also made for the Lok Sabha to require the revocation of a proclamation by a simple majority on the demand of a tenth of its members. On President's rule in the states, the criticism is that Article 356 was meant for the genuine breakdown of constitutional government but has been used to dismiss state governments for party advantage, to deal with the ordinary instability of coalitions or to pre-empt a change of majority, that a Governor appointed by the Union has sometimes reported in terms convenient to the party in office at the centre, and that the practice undermines the mandate of the state electorate. In defence of the provision it is said that a state government may genuinely lose the capacity to govern, through the collapse of law and order, the loss of a working majority or the refusal of the state to carry out binding constitutional obligations, and that some reserve power is necessary in a country of this size, that the two Houses must approve the proclamation, and that the courts have since held the proclamation open to judicial review and have required the ground to be tested on the floor of the House rather than on the Governor's opinion alone. Most commentators now accept both that the power is needed and that its earlier use went well beyond its purpose, and the dispute is about where the line should be drawn.

Grounds under Article 352 correctly stated 1. Procedure of approval by both Houses, with the safeguards added in 1978 1. Criticism of the use of Article 356, stated fairly 1. Defence of the provision, with the parliamentary and judicial checks, and the question left open 1.

Question 8 [10]

- (a) First, it prepares, maintains and revises the electoral rolls, so that the register on which an election is fought is its responsibility and not that of any government. Second, it conducts the elections to Parliament, to the state legislatures and to the offices of President and Vice-President, which includes notifying the election, fixing the schedule, scrutinising nominations, allotting symbols, appointing observers, arranging the poll and the count and declaring the result. Third, it recognises political parties and allots them symbols, and in doing so decides which parties are national and which are state parties, and it also enforces the model code of conduct during the period of an election. It may be added that the Commission advises on questions of the disqualification of sitting members referred to it and that it has power to postpone or countermand a poll where the election cannot be held freely.

Preparation and revision of the electoral rolls 1. Conduct and superintendence of the poll, with examples of what this involves 1. Recognition of parties and allotment of symbols, or enforcement of the model code 1.

- (b) First, parties contest elections and so offer the voter a manageable choice. Without them a voter would face a list of individuals about whom he knew little, whereas a party label carries information about a programme and a record, and the party selects and presents candidates. Second, they frame policies and programmes and shape opinion, taking the mass of scattered demands in a society and reducing them to a small number of coherent alternatives on which an election can be fought, and the party that loses performs the further function of opposition, questioning the government and keeping an alternative before the public. Third, they form and sustain governments, since the party or coalition with a majority supplies the ministers and holds them together, and they also serve as a channel between citizens and the administration and as a route by which people enter public life. It may be added that parties aggregate interests and so give organised expression to groups that would otherwise be ignored.

Contesting elections and offering the voter a structured choice 1. Framing programmes, shaping opinion and performing the role of opposition 1. Forming and sustaining governments, and acting as a link between citizen and state 1.

- (c) Under the first past the post method the country is divided into single-member constituencies and the candidate with the largest number of votes wins, whether or not that number is a majority. The criticisms are, first, that a candidate may be returned on well under half the votes cast, so that most voters in the constituency are represented by someone they voted against. Second, that the relation between votes and seats across the country is distorted, a party with a modest lead in votes often taking a large majority of seats while a party whose support is spread thinly may win very few seats for a substantial share of the vote. Third, that it encourages appeals to whatever bloc is large enough to win a plurality locally, and that votes cast for smaller parties are in effect wasted. Those who favour proportional representation argue that seats should match votes, that every significant body of opinion should find a voice in the legislature, that fewer votes are wasted so turnout and engagement improve, and that governments formed on a genuine majority of the votes have a stronger claim to speak for the electorate. The reasons offered for keeping the present system in India are, first, that it is simple to understand and to administer in an electorate of this size, and that the voter marks one name rather than ranking a list. Second, that it usually produces a clear winner and so a government able to act, whereas proportional systems in divided societies have often produced fragmented legislatures and unstable coalitions. Third, that the single-member constituency gives every voter one identifiable representative with a defined area and a duty to attend to it, a link that list systems weaken, and that in a country with many regionally concentrated communities the present arrangement already returns a highly varied legislature. The usual conclusion is that the choice is a trade between the accuracy with which votes are reflected in seats and the stability and local accountability of the government produced, and that reasonable people weigh the two differently.

Two sound criticisms of the first past the post method 1. A clear statement of the case for proportional representation 1. Two sound reasons offered for retaining the present system 1. The choice presented as a trade between proportionality and stability or local accountability, without a verdict 1.

Question 9 [10]

- (a) First, there was a conflict of ideology and of social system. The United States stood for liberal democracy and private property, the Soviet Union for a single-party state and public ownership, and each regarded the other's model as a standing threat, since each believed its own would eventually prevail everywhere. Second, the settlement at the end of the Second World War left mutual distrust. The Soviet Union, having been invaded twice, insisted on friendly governments across eastern Europe as a protective belt, and the western powers read the imposition of those governments as expansion and replied with the Truman Doctrine and economic assistance under the Marshall Plan. Third, the destruction of Germany and Japan left only two states of the first rank, and the vacuum drew them into competition in Europe, in the Middle East and in Asia. To this may be added the arms race opened by the atomic bomb, which gave each side a reason to fear a sudden advantage by the other.

Ideological conflict between the two systems 1. Distrust over the postwar settlement in eastern Europe, with the western response 1. The bipolar vacuum left by the war, or the nuclear arms race 1.

- (b) Non-alignment meant that a newly independent state would not join either of the military blocs that formed after the Second World War, and would judge each international question on its merits rather than according to the side it had taken. It was not neutrality, since a neutral state abstains from taking positions, and it was not isolation, since the non-aligned states were active in the United Nations, pressed for decolonisation, for disarmament and for a fairer international economic order, and met in their own conferences from the summit at Belgrade in 1961. For a state with a small industrial base and urgent needs at home it was also a practical policy, in that it left room to seek help from both sides. Two criticisms commonly made are, first, that the policy was not applied consistently, since several non-aligned states accepted arms, aid and political backing from one superpower while continuing to profess non-alignment, and India's treaty of 1971 with the Soviet Union was pointed to in this connection. Second, that the movement had no means of enforcing anything, so that its declarations carried little weight, and that once the Cold War ended the policy lost the two blocs between which it had been defined and had to be rethought. A further criticism is that the non-aligned states were too divided among themselves, and sometimes at war with one another, to act as a bloc.

Non-alignment correctly defined, and distinguished from neutrality or isolation 1. One criticism, such as inconsistency in practice 1. A second criticism, such as the absence of means of enforcement or the loss of purpose after 1991 1.

- (c) The Security Council has fifteen members. Five, China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States, are permanent. The other ten are elected by the General Assembly for terms of two years and are not immediately re-eligible, and seats are distributed by convention among the regions. Decisions on procedure need the affirmative votes of any nine members, while a decision on a substantive matter needs nine affirmative votes and the concurrence of all five permanent members, so that a negative vote by any one of them defeats the resolution. This is the veto. It is not written into the Charter under that name, and in practice a permanent member that does not wish to support a resolution but does not wish to block it abstains. Those who argue for enlargement say that the composition reflects the distribution of power in 1945 rather than today, that Africa and Latin America have no permanent seat at all and that Asia is thinly represented, that states such as India, Brazil, Japan, Germany and South Africa carry weight that the present structure ignores, that the Council takes binding decisions and sends troops in the name of the whole membership, so a body that excludes most of the world's population lacks authority, and that the veto has repeatedly blocked action in grave situations where one permanent member was involved. Those who resist enlargement reply that a larger Council would be slower and less able to act in a crisis, that the veto, however unattractive, keeps the great powers inside the organisation rather than outside it, which is where they stood in relation to the League of Nations, that there is no agreement among the claimants or among their neighbours about who should be admitted or whether new members should have the veto, and that amendment of the Charter itself requires the assent of the existing permanent members, so reform cannot be forced. The practical position is that the case for change is very widely accepted while the means of making it are controlled by those who would lose most by it.

Composition correctly stated, five permanent and ten elected for two years 1. Voting rule and the nature of the veto on substantive questions 1. Arguments for enlargement, stated fairly 1. Arguments against, with the obstacle in the amendment procedure, and no verdict given 1.

Question 10 [10]

- (a) First, the protection of territorial integrity and of independence of decision, which in the early years took the form of non-alignment and later of a search for strategic autonomy, so that India keeps a working relationship with several major powers without becoming the junior partner of any. Second, the creation of an external setting favourable to development, which means access to markets, capital, technology and energy, attention to the interests of Indians working abroad and the use of regional and multilateral forums to press for terms a developing economy can bear. Third, the pursuit of a stable neighbourhood and of a greater voice in the making of international rules, which appears in India's part in the United Nations and its peacekeeping operations, in regional bodies, in the claim to a permanent seat on the Security Council and in positions taken on disarmament, trade and climate change. The tradition of supporting decolonisation and opposing racial discrimination, and in recent decades the countering of cross-border terrorism, may also be given.

Security, territorial integrity and independence of decision 1. An external environment favourable to economic development 1. A stable neighbourhood and a larger voice in global institutions, or any other accurate objective 1.

- (b) The traditional conception treats security as the security of the state against military threats from outside. The referent is the state, the threat is armed attack or the coercive use of force, and the instruments are armed strength, alliances, the balance of power and deterrence, as in the preparations of the two blocs against each other during the Cold War. The non-traditional conception widens both the referent and the threat. The referent becomes the human being and the community rather than the state alone, and the threats counted are those that destroy lives and livelihoods without any army crossing a border, so that climate change, epidemic disease, hunger, the collapse of water supplies, trafficking and terrorism are treated as security questions. An example of a traditional threat is the massing of regular forces on a border. An example of a non-traditional threat is the spread of an epidemic across frontiers, which no army can stop and which requires cooperation with other states rather than defence against them. The distinction matters because the two call for different instruments: the first for military capacity, the second largely for public provision and international cooperation.

Traditional security defined with the state as referent and military force as the threat 1. Non-traditional security defined with wider referents and non-military threats 1. One apt example of each 1.

- (c) The environment entered international politics because the most serious forms of damage do not respect borders. Emissions released in one country warm the whole atmosphere, a river is shared by the states along it, the ozone layer and the oceans and the stock of species belong to no one, and the gain from exploiting them falls to a single state while the loss is spread over all. No state can secure its own environment by acting alone, and each has an incentive to let others bear the cost of restraint, so the question can be handled only by negotiation and has become a standing subject of treaties and conferences, from Stockholm in 1972 through the Earth Summit at Rio de Janeiro in 1992 to the agreements that followed. These negotiations also carry a question of distribution, since restraint limits the use of energy and so bears on growth, employment and the price of goods, which is why the bargaining is hard. The principle of common but differentiated responsibilities was the formula adopted to deal with it. It accepts that the protection of the global environment is the concern of all states while holding that their obligations are not identical, and that the industrialised states, having emitted most of the accumulated carbon in the course of their own industrialisation and having greater wealth and technology, must act first and more deeply, and must help others with finance and technology. Developing states argue from this that their immediate task is to lift large populations out of poverty, that their emissions per person remain low even where their totals are large, that the atmosphere has already been filled largely by others, and that a uniform limit would freeze the existing inequality and in effect charge the poor for damage done by the rich. Industrialised states reply that the physical problem is set by total emissions whatever their origin, that reductions by a part of the world are cancelled if the rest increases, that the fastest-growing sources of emissions now lie in the larger developing economies, and that firms in countries bound by strict limits are placed at a disadvantage against competitors who are not, which makes strict limits politically impossible to sustain at home. Both sides accept the principle itself and disagree about what follows from it, namely how much each state must do, who pays, how commitments are verified and whether obligations should be fixed by treaty or offered by each state for itself.

Transboundary character of environmental damage explained, with the incentive to leave the cost to others 1. The principle of common but differentiated responsibilities correctly stated 1. The case made by developing states, including historical emissions and emissions per person 1. The case made by industrialised states, including total emissions and competitiveness, with the disagreement left open 1.