

**Political Science & International Relations**  
**Crash Course & Test Series - 2021**

**Test 05**

**Time Allowed: 3 Hours**

**Max Marks: 250**

**Name**

Utkarsh Dwivedi

**Test Date**

27/12/21

**Email Address**

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**UPSC Roll No**

0804881

**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>						

	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...!!!

Philosophical approach to the study of politics. Comment (10)  
Marks)

"Politics is defined as sharing and shaping of power."

- Harold D Lasswell.

Because of all encompassing character of politics as a discipline, there have been various approaches to study it.

Philosophical approach to the study of politics owes its origins to Greek philosophy. Plato's Republic that talks about a "just state" can be referred to as a starting point.

Philosophical approach deals with normative ideas like justice, liberty, equality, etc. rather than what-is;

Philosophical approach deals with "What ought to be".

The purpose of philosophical



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approach is to lead to "realisation of good life for people." It gives importance to values over facts.

However according to Behavioral movement scholars like David Easton and Charles Merriam, philosophical approach is based on abstract ideas having no practical relevance.

They call for making political science relevant when philosophical approach failed to explain difference in text and context of constitutions in developing world.

However, it led to further decline of political science and Max Weber said "facts without values are meaningless."

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Highlight the difference between Sex and Gender. (10 Marks)

"Women are not the second sex, they are the secondary sex."

- Simone De Beauvoir

The first wave of feminism, led by Mary Dalton Craft and Emmeline Pankhurst, was limited to political rights for women. This was because, it failed to differentiate between sex and gender.

According to radical feminists who started the second wave of feminism, the difference in sex and gender is crucial. While sex is biological, gender is social.

According to them "gender is created through discourses in society and it these patriarchal discourses that have led to perpetuation of male dominance over female dominance."

for them, not nature but



customs have conspired to keep the women oppressed.

Susan Moller Okin in "Gender, Justice and Family" says gendered identity of female is taught since her childhood.

She points out knowledge power connection between gender and power. According to her psychologists like Sigmund Freud have perpetuated inequality by saying females must focus on beauty, must have feminine characteristics, etc.

Katherine Mackinnon says that not just society, even the law of state are gendered, i.e. in favour of males.

Hence radical feminists talk of Sexual revolution to remove differences between sexes/genders.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Enumerate the salient features of Buddhist political thought. (10 Marks)

Buddhist political thought is based on the ideas and philosophies of Lord Buddha. For many Buddha was a messenger of peace, but for Upanisads, Gai onvedat and Pancha Iliaah, Buddha was the first political philosopher.

Buddhist political thought talks about equality, liberty and fraternity. It was against varna system and discrimination against lower castes. It also provided for Buddhist Sanghas which were run in a republican manner.

According to Digha Nikaya, a holy book of Buddhism, the state was evolved to control the growing chaos and anarchy due to people becoming ~~more~~ <sup>more</sup> greedy. Also to keep order in society, a king is needed. This king would be the coblest, kind and

~~Space for Rough Work~~

most knowledgeable of all [similar to  
Plato's philosopher king].

Buddhist political thought promotes liberal paternalism and is against realism. For them, the king must focus more on Dhamma Ghosh [conquering minds] rather than Bheri Ghosh [conquering territories].

It also talks about a welfare society where the least disadvantaged is taken care of. Ashvaghosha in his book Buddhacharita says that kingship is a dangerous delusion as it is a crown of thorns and a golden castle on fire.

Buddhist political thought made Indian political thought more egalitarian in nature.



Que.1(d)

## Overlapping Consensus .Comment. (10 Marks)

John Rawls in his work "The theory of justice" gives a procedural and universal theory of justice.

However his theory was criticised by communitarian scholars.

Like Alasdair MacIntyre as for him a man's sense of justice is not different from his community's sense of justice.

Michael ~~Waltz~~ Walzer in his "spheres of justice" says justice is the art of differentiation rather than homogenisation.

Rawls in his second book

"political liberalism" gives the concept of

Understanding of Questions	
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Overall Remarks :	

"overlapping consensus."

For Rawls, his theory of justice would find acceptance in Western liberal societies. This is because of the political culture of these societies.

According to Rawls, since his theory is based on values like liberty and equality, it would find acceptance in the West as there the political culture is based on liberalism.

Since these are open societies, they understand the effect of rising inequalities which could lead to destabilisation and revolution.

Hence the people would accept his lexical order as it justifies the inequalities present in Western society and suggests ways to manage that inequality.

Hence people would develop "overlapping consensus", if not overlapping consensus.<sup>4</sup>

Critically examine the concept of Asian Values. (10 Marks)

The concept of Asian Values was given by Lee Kuan Yew and Mahathir Mohammad.

According to them the political culture in the ~~West~~ Orient (East) is different from the West. If West focuses more on individual rights, the East focuses more on duties. If West focuses more on Individualism, the East focuses more on Collectivism.

This concept of Asian values emerged to counter the West's propagandising of western liberal democracy as the ideal type.

For cultural relativists

like Graeme Boas, man is product of his culture and each culture has different notion of good life. For Pufin

and Xi Jinping, the concept of "Human Rights" is used by West to promote regime change.

However Amartya Sen criticises Asian values, as he says Asia is too homogeneous to be represented by a single set of values. Also suppressing individual in the collective ego of society is a form of soft authoritarianism. He gives example of Din-i-Ilahi of Akbar and says tolerance, human rights and democracy are intrinsic to Oriental values.

Lee Teng-hui, former Taiwanese president says Asian values are masks for justification of authoritarian regimes in East Asia.

Understanding of Questions	
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Overall Remarks :	

How the concept of minimal state differs from the concept of welfare state? Discuss the future of Neo-liberal state. (20 Marks)

State occupies the central position in normative political theory. In fact J W Garner says "political science begins and ends with state."

Over time various conception of state have evolved. For liberal scholars like Locke, Bentham and Mill, state is formed to serve the people and hence they limit the power of the state.

But limiting this power of state led to socio-economic inequalities. Hence scholars like Tn Green, Laski and Kant visualised the concept of positive liberty in a welfare state.

The minimal state in neoliberal polity is a rightwatchman state. It only

provides basic services like law and order for protection of property. In the words of Robert Nozick "minimal state is inspiring and right."

However welfare state is a developmental state. It helps to actualise and increase capacity of citizens. In the words of N. G. Deo "state hinders the hindrances that come in the way of liberty."

Minimal state leaves economy to laws of market fundamentalism driven by logic of demand and supply. Welfare state intervenes in economy to control the factors of production.

Minimal state does not

has a right of taxation as taxation is regarded by neoliberal scholars like F.A. Hayek and Milton Friedman as "banded labour" and aggression against the personality of man."

On the other hand welfare state believes in progressive taxation for social justice and redistribution of wealth. The welfare state is based on Rawls' theory of justice and is generally found in socialist economies. While minimal state is a feature of western liberal democracy.

However, in the wake of Global financial crisis, 2008 and COVID19, the future of neoliberal state is uncertain.

According to World Inequality report, top 10% of people hold 77% of wealth and bottom half own 2% of wealth.

Neoliberal state has also led to issues of climate injustice due to excessive industrialisation.

Due to USA's neoconservative policy of promoting neoliberal states in West Asia, it has given rise to terrorism and identity crisis. The neoliberal states are now moving towards greater proto chauvinism and rejection of multiculturalism.

Hence, there is a need to replace the old Washington Consensus with Coombwall consensus that is more sustainable, equitable and resilient. Welfareism must become part and parcel of life.

Understanding of Questions	
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Overall Remarks :	

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"Plato's communism is a heroic remedy for a desperate evil, the union of political power and economic temptation in the same hands." Explain. (15 Marks)

Plato is regarded as the father of political philosophy. He was the student of Socrates and the teacher of Aristotle.

During Plato's time, Athens had lost to Sparta in the Peloponnesian War. This was because Athens had become corrupt and materialistic. Also there was no order in Athenian society as it was democracy, unlike Sparta which was controlled by Guardian class and was a refined society.

Hence in his book "Republic" concerning "justice" Plato gives the institution of philosopher king and his theory of communism to put additional safeguards on the philosopher king.

According to Plato, philosopher would be a single man institution who would belong to the Guardian class and would have completed 30 years of education. He would be the noblest and most knowledgeable of all. Hence, his word would be the last word on every matter.

Through his theory of communism, Plato says the philosopher ~~him~~ would not own any property nor will he have any wives or children. This is to prevent him from getting corrupt or biased.

However, Plato's giving of excessive political and economic power in the same hands leads to totalitarianism.

Understanding of Questions	
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Presentation	

Space for Rough Work

In society. Karl Popper and Hannah Arendt in their work "the enemies of open society" and "the origins of totalitarianism" respectively criticise Plato's communism that gave inspiration to totalitarianism in Western society that has always been identified with liberalism and openness.

Machiavelli, the disciple and student of Plato, criticises this institution of philosopher king. He advocates for "polity" as the best form of government based on participation and deliberation.

He says family is a time tested institution. Also since property gives man a sense of achievement, the theory of Plato's communism is not feasible.

However Plato's communism when seen in his time seems logical.



ue. 2(c)

Critically examine the possible implications of Gandhi's views on the relationship between religion and politics. (15 Marks)

Religion and politics have since history have had a congenital and inseparable relationship.

It was first separated by Machiavelli who argued for separation between state and religion as it was leading to heavy corruption in Italy.

However, due to theory of two swords and chaos seen in Puritan revolution, it was Thomas Hobbes who in his theory of sovereignty put religion under the authority of the state.

In India, since religion has had deep impact in people's lives, Gandhi advocated the role of religion in politics. This was because India being a pymatic society [furnigess], there

is considerable presence of traditions as well as modernity.

Since Gandhi believed that religion is a source of virtue, it would help in inculcating moral values in humans. Gandhi brought religion into politics through his non-cooperation movement and Khilafat movements.

for Gandhi, when people assert their religious views and ideals in public it helps in better understanding of other's religion. This creates better social relations and mutual harmony and prevents politicians from exploiting mutual blind spots that occurs due to limited knowledge of people over others' religions.

However Gandhi's views on religion and politics are seen as anti-

modernity and conservatism and criticised by Marxist scholars like MN Roy.

Jinnah too criticised Gandhi for mixing religion and politics. However at the later stages of independence movement Jinnah mobilised people based on religion for the creation of Pakistan.

Similarly too much religion in politics gives rise to identity politics over developmental politics. It leads to creation of vote banks and communal riots.

Hence India's model of positive secularism that ensures only timely intervention of state in religion is a better way of mixing state and religion.

Understanding of Questions	
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Overall Remarks :	

Que.4(a)

"A wise king trained in politics, will, even if possesses small territory, conquer the whole earth with the help of the best fitted elements of his sovereignty and will never be defeated". Explain with reference to the views of Kautilya. (20 Marks)

Kautilya is called as the father of realpolitik and statecraft in India. His magnum opus "The Arthashastra" is regarded as one of the greatest books on politics and political economy.

The Arthashastra was written in the backdrop of poor and inept governance of Das Nanda dynasty of Magadha. Hence like Machiavelli, Kautilya too was looking for his "prince" for whom he wrote Arthashastra.

The Arthashastra calls the king as Vijigishu and wants him to become Chakravarthi Samrat [an encompassing emperor]. For this, Kautilya

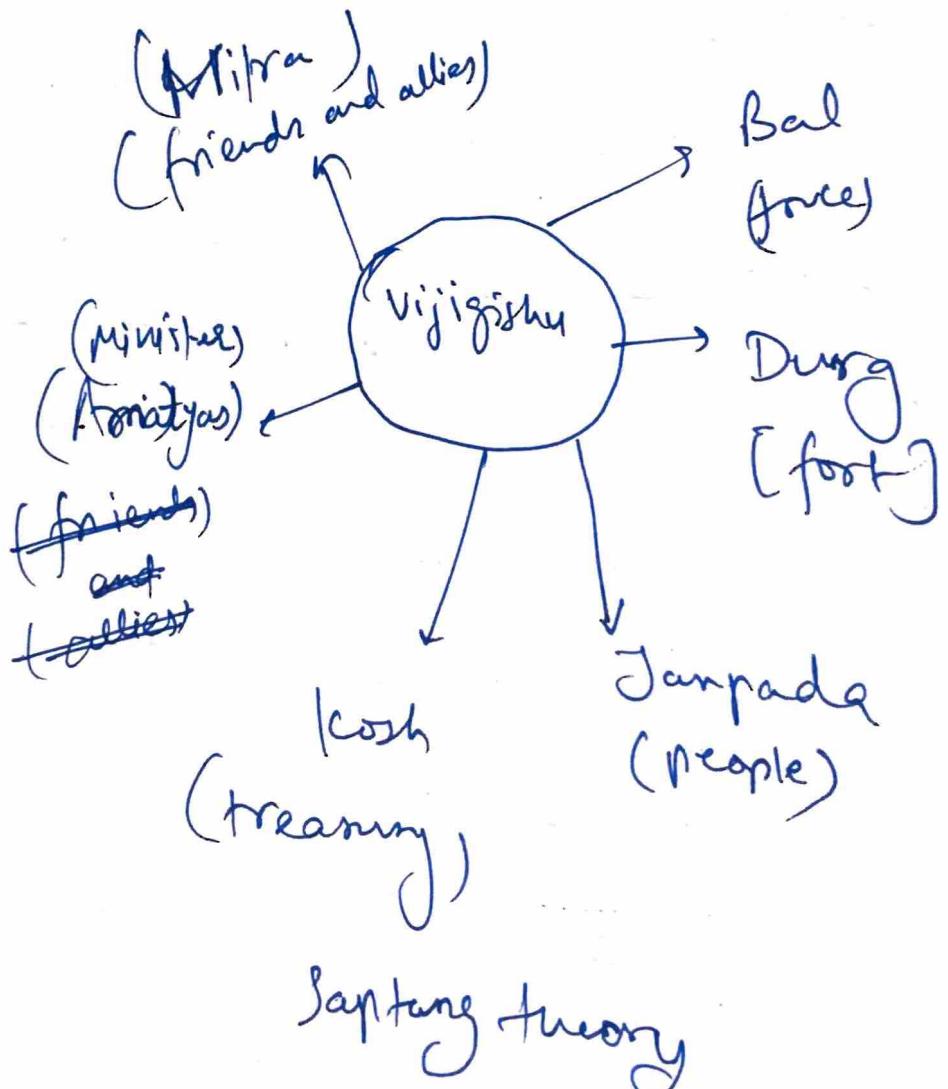
says having a large army and territory are not the most important conditions. For Kautilya, the strength of the empire and military conquest is decided by the strength of the king. If the king is strong, he can even convert misfortune and a ~~was~~ lost war in his favour.

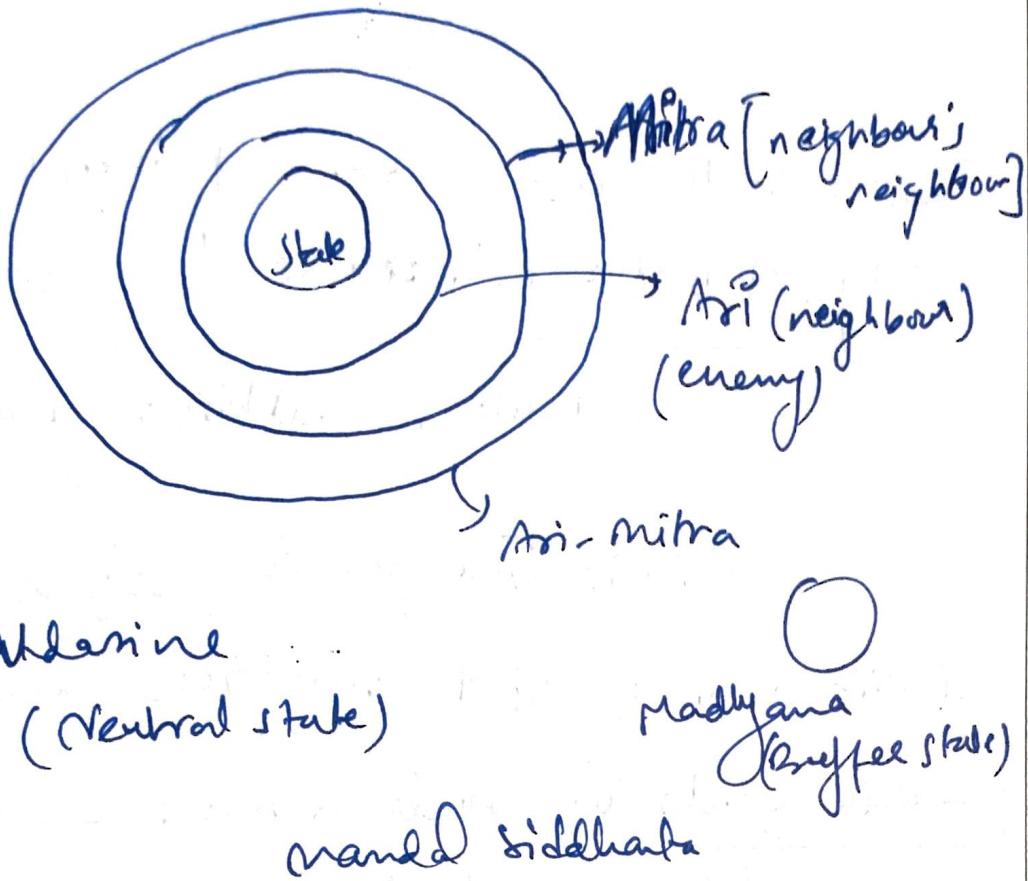
For this, Kautilya gives his Saptang theory. According to Kautilya, a state is a living organism and it would perish if it does not expand. Hence for expansion and military conquest, the king must keep twelve mandals and seven Saptangs in mind, which is equal to 84 elements of sovereignty.

In his mandala theory, he visualised the state and neighbourhood as concentric circles. He says since neighbour



eyes for the same piece of land as the vijigishu, he is a natural enemy. Kautilya also gives importance of neighbour's neighbour as natural ally and the importance of Vasista and Madhyamika kingdoms in deciding the security of the state.





Kautilya has been criticised by Gandhi for his excessive focus on realpolitics and separating ethics from politics. However Kautilya, unlike Machiavelli keeps his king under Dharma, i.e. the will and welfare of its people.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
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Que.4(b)

**Explain the concept of distributive Justice with reference to the views of John Rawls. Differentiate the concept of procedural justice with that of substantive justice. (15 Marks)**

"Justice is the archetonic principle of society. It is the cornerstone of the state."

- Plato in Republic : Concerning Justice

Distributive justice refers to distribution of state resources and public goods in such a manner that no one feels envy of the others' bundle of goods [Envy test of Rawlin]

To realise effective distributive justice in the wake of rising inequalities in the form of racism and women subjugation in western societies, John Rawls proposed his theory of justice.

According to Rawls, to realise distributive justice, a lexical order of distribution of goods would be

agreed upon by men in original position  
and behind "the veil of ignorance"  
lexical order

- ① Equal liberty to all
- ② Equality of opportunity
- ③ Difference principle, which justifies inequalities only if it maximises the position of least advantaged [maximin principle].

However, Rawls' theory of justice has been criticised as procedural by Marxist scholars. For them his theory of justice leads to proportionate equality as espoused by Aristotle and not absolute equality as espoused by Karl Marx.

Scholars of substantive justice say justification of inequality cannot be justice in any sense. For social liberal like Dworkin, substantive



justice comes from g. equality in initial distribution of resources. For Dworkin a man cannot be held responsible for circumstances he has not chosen. Since Rawls fails to differentiate between Brite and option luck, his theory of justice is not substantive.

On the other hand, Amartha Sen says procedural justice of faults only talks about distributive justice and not capacity building. For Sen, substantive justice is capacity building of an individual to realise the actual meaning of liberty.

However, Nosick, a critic of faults' procedural justice, calls him reference point for all contemporary scholars.

Understanding of Questions	
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Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

"The possession of rights does not mean the possession of claims that are empty of all duties" Laski. Explain the relationship between rights and duties with reference to the views of Gandhi. (15 Marks)

"Rights are those conditions of life without which no man can seek to be at his best."

- Harold J Laski [Gramma of Political]

On the other hand duties are referred to as obligations that one has towards the other in the state.

Rights and duties have often been seen as contradictory to each other. For scholars of negative liberty like Locke, Bentham and Mill, people are individualistic and hence they are under no obligation to perform any duty.

This was because the concept of duty was seen as a feature of totalitarian states like Mussolini's Italy, Hitler's Germany and the USSR.

However, fabian socialist

like Harold Laski believe in progressive socialism and welfare state. Hence according to them if people enjoy right to wealth and property, they are also under duty to help the other people of society who have lacked in socio-economic growth.

Some views were espoused by Mahatma Gandhi in his Hind Swaraj. For Gandhi rights and duties are not antithetical or independent of each other. They are inherent in each other. According to Gandhi "rights are duties performed in embryonic sense."

Since Gandhi was influenced by Hindu religious values, which focus on the concept of doing one's duty [Dharma], he advocated that each one has duty

towards the other. The synchronisation of rights and duties can be seen in many philosophies of Gandhi.

His philosophy of swadeshi calls for duty to buy indigenous products. For realisation of rights by Dalits, Gandhi called for upper castes to prohibit untouchability as their duty.

His theory of trusteeship says that if capitalists have right to ~~accuse~~ increase their wealth, they also have duty to protect the interests of workers and recognition of workers' stakes in the property.

Hence Gandhi reconciled duties and rights to generate a sense of satiation in India.

Understanding of Questions	
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Overall Remarks :	

Que.5(a)

Discuss the features of Asymmetrical federalism in Indian constitution. (10 Marks)

Federalism is derived from the term "fides" meaning contract. Hence federalism is a government by contract.

Scholars like K.C. Wheare have defined India as quasifederal.<sup>4</sup> But he has been criticised by Alexandrowicz who said India's federalism was qui generis.<sup>4</sup>

India's Asymmetrical federalism emerges from its sui-generis model. Its features are:

- ① Articles 371A to 371H: for states in the North East and others having significant population of tribals to allow them to be governed by their customary way of life.
- ② Fifth and sixth schedule under Article 249

and 204(2) respectively! These schedules provide greater devolution of powers to tribal areas.

- ③ Finance Commission: Divides funds based on states' population, area, income etc.
  - ④ Provisions of Tribal Land Permit and Protected Area permit for certain regions like Madhya Pradesh and Bihar.
  - ⑤ Some states have legislatures, while others are governed through lieutenant governors.
  - ⑥ Allowing state assemblies to carry out provisions in their respective languages.
- Hence India's asymmetric federation is based on the principle that such diversity cannot be managed through a hegemonic centre.

Understanding of Questions	
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Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.5(b)

**Elaborate the role of supreme court as a conscience keeper of Indian constitution. (10 Marks)**

"There is no better test of governance than working of the judiciary."  
—Lord Bryce.

Under Article 36, judiciary has been recognised as ~~the~~ a "state" and has obligations to protect and preserve rights of the people.

The Supreme Court has acted as a conscience keeper of Indian Constitution since its independence. Initially due to presence of single party majority and Tehriwam consensus, the judiciary did not assert itself.

But after first democratic upsurge and breaking of Congress system, the Supreme Court became active. In Gopalnath case 1967, the Supreme Court ruled that fundamental rights of the ~~con~~

Constitution are sacrosanct. In Keshwananda Bharati case 1973 it gave the basic structure doctrine and limited power of amendment by legislature.

Under Article 32, supreme court issues writs like mandamus, Habeas Corpus, etc. to enforce the fundamental rights of the citizens.

As the highest court of the land, it adjudicates disputes between central and states and helps keep spirit of federation alive.

Through judicial activism, it has led to decrease in criminalisation of politics, realisation of rights of women, minorities, dalits, etc. supreme court has been an active participant in India's social revolution.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
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Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.5(c)

Write short note on Dalit perspective of Indian National Movement.  
(10 Marks)

The Indian National movement was a series of events with the objective of uprooting British rule from India.

The Dalit perspective of Indian National movement forms as counterhegemonic school of thought that counters the liberal school of thought by Bipin Chandra and Dr. Tarachand who credit Congress and Gandhi for the freedom of India.

Dalit perspective is found in the works of organic dalit intellectuals like B R Ambedkar, EVR Periyar and Jyoti Basu.

Ambedkar in his work "What Congress did to the dalits", he says Congress has done nothing for dalit upliftment and there is ~~not~~ no future of dalits in

India under Congress rule. He was opposed to patronising approach of Gandhi towards the untouchables.

He said how a nation divided into thousands of castes could be called a nation. For Ambedkar, the emancipation of dalits was a greater question than achievement of independence.

According to Jyotiba Phule, British Raj was better than Peshwa Raj. However dalit perspective is criticised by liberal scholars like Arun Shourie who called Ambedkar as a "false god". For Ambedkar the interest of one section of society was more important than interest of nation. However, dalit perspective offers a humane view of the freedom struggle.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.5(d)

## Highlight the role women in Freedom Struggle. (10 Marks)

The Freedom Struggle was a protracted movement against the British rule with participation of ~~women~~ every sevah.

The participation and role of women is important and significant.

Women like Sarla Debi Chaudhary formed "Bharat Street <sup>Maha</sup> Mandal" for bringing women issues in public sphere.

~~Sarla~~ Annie Besant and Margaret Cousins founded women pressure groups like women's association and Indian women's conference.

Rani Lakshmi Bai led the 1857 revolt in Jhansi region.

Rani Gaidinliu, a 13 year old Naga girl led revolt against British in the

North East

Participation of women increased after Sukheta Kripalani convinced Gandhi of its importance. Sarojini Naidu led the civil disobedience at Dharsana salt works.

Radical women like Madam

Bilquis led & revolt outside India in Germany. Preeti Lata Wadedar and Iaalpana Dutta led the Amriti rally said in ~~con~~ Chittagong.

Lakshmi Sehgal commanded female regiment of ~~the~~ Indian Army led by Subhash Chandra Bose. Hence participation of women made the movement inclusive.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
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Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.5(e)

Indian parliament is in a state of decline. Comment. (10 Marks)

Vinod Rai defines Indian Parliament as the most defining institution in his book "Rethinking good governance".

However in recent times, Pratap Bhattacharya and Devesh Kapoor in their book "Public Institutions in India" say that the Indian Parliament is in a state of decline and give following reasons :-

- ① Increasing criminalisation of politics [ 43% Lok Sabha MPs have cases against them ]
- ② Increasing role of money power [ 85% of Lok Sabha MPs are crorepatis ]
- ③ Partisan role of speaker particularly

- with respect to Anti defection law -
- ① Lack of parliamentary sittings.
  - ② lack of quality debates. Only 15% of all questions are answered in Question hour due to chaos.
  - ③ Lack of expertise and capacity in legislators.
  - ④ Increasing role of coalition politics leading to policy paralysis.
  - ⑤ Declining role of parliamentary committees with only 11% of bills being referred to it in current Lok Sabha.

2nd Administrative Reforms Commission has suggested code of ethics and increasing number of days of sittings as a way forward

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
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Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.6(a)

The creation of independent Union Ministry of Cooperation and the recent verdict of Supreme court on cooperatives has brought a renewed focus on the relevance of cooperatives in India's Political economy of reforms. Comment. Suggest the pathways to revitalize cooperatives in India. (20 Marks)

Political Economy approach evolved through the rise of behavioral movement in political science. It analyses politics of a state based on its economic policies.

In India, co-operatives are integral to its economy and politics. A co-operative is a voluntary association of people having relatively same socio-economic backgrounds formed to achieve mutual growth and prosperity.

Co-operatives in India are based on Gandhi's co-operative model of village economy with participation of people. It was formed to realise the vision of Pandit Deen Dayal Upadhyay's "Antyodaya".

Co-operatives in Constitution are envisaged through three provisions of

- ① Art 19 allows people to form voluntary associations
- ② Part IX - B talks about co-operatives
- ③ Article 43B promotes co-operatives.

Recently Ministry of Co-operation has been formed with following objectives:

- ① To regulate the multi-state co-operatives
- ② Help the co-operatives to achieve socio-economic growth.
- ③ Avail adequate finance for co-operatives and new technology and best practices.
- ④ Keep vigil on corruption in co-operative societies.

However, the recent judgment of Supreme Court limits the mandate of the Co-operation ministry as it said that

Co-operatives come under concurrent list and hence the ~~amendment~~ 93rd amendment act does not apply to state co-operatives which will continue to be regulated by the state government.

Even after the judgement, the relevance of co-operation ministry and co-operatives in India can be gauged by the success of AMUL model of cooperation. It led to significant increase in per capita income of farmers.

Co-operatives are mostly formed by women, (ex) Lijjat Papad. Hence co-operatives help in increasing female labours force participation and blurring the line between personal and political.

Since income inequality has increased after the LPG reforms, the

Co-operative model helps in inclusive growth and participation of the workers.

To temptalise co-operatives in India, following pathways can be adopted:

- ① Registration of co-operatives
- ② Timely dissemination of information with regard to schemes for co-operatives
- ③ Taking up issues of co-operatives in interstate council meetings.
- ④ Availability of finance to co-operatives through CST and finance commission.
- ⑤ Synergising link between co-operatives, Panchayat fay and micro finance institutions.

Co-operatives will help in fulfilling the vision of " Sabka Sath, sabka vikas, sabka Vishwas"

Understanding of Questions	
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Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.6(b)

**Critically examine the role played by National Commission for Women with respect to the empowerment of Women in India. (15 Marks)**

John Stuart Mill in his essay "The Subjection of women" writes that all forms of slavery have been abolished, but the slavery of women continues. It is so universal that it appears natural.

In India, to actualise the vision of socio-economic equality between men and women, National commission of women was established as a statutory body in 1992, based on the recommendations of "Towards Equality Report of 1994".

Mandate of the National Commission for women (NCW) under Section 10(1):

- ① To study the impact of state policies on the progress of women.
- ② To receive complaints of violation of women rights

- (3) To monitor that state institutions are carrying out schemes and laws for women in an effective manner.
- (4) To present a report to the President of India on its working.
- (5) To recommend to the government changes in its laws and policies with regard to women.

NCW has significant successes in its endeavours. The legal cell of the commission provides lawyers to women to fight cases against their aggressors.

The rehabilitation cell has been one of the most successful by counselling victims of rape and abuse.

Recently NCW issued notice to two cricketers for their misogynistic comments on women. The NCW also released a helpline number on WhatsApp

for women facing domestic violence at homes during COVID19.

However the NCW faces certain challenges in implementing its role. The budget of the commission is passed by the women, ~~and~~ and child development ministry. The commission lacks powers to enforce its decisions.

According to Sadhana Arya of centre for women development, the members lack "transformative ideology." Their approach is reactive rather than proactive.

However, NCW has helped deepen the notion of equality of men and women in patriarchal society like India.

Understanding of Questions	
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Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que. 6(c)

While the Apex court has delivered several progressive pronouncements over the decades to root out the evil of criminalisation of politics yet the sad reality is there is hardly any change on the ground level. Comment (15 Marks)

Kantibya and Machiavelli had advocated for realism in politics and said that politics is not a place to be ethical. However, this has resulted in deinstitutionalisation of politics in India.

A major reason for this is the rise of criminalisation of politics and increasing role of money and muscle power. According to Association for Democratic Reforms, 43% of Lok Sabha MPs have criminal cases against them with 29% having charged with heinous crimes like rape, murder, etc.

To curb this, Supreme Court has undertaken responsible judicial activism.

① ADR case 2002: It will be mandatory

for candidates to declare their income, assets and educational qualification.

- ② PUCL Case 2013: option of done of the person (NOTA) on EVMs.
- ③ Lily Thomas Case 2013: Politicians charged with two years or more in prison would be immediately disqualified and can't fight re-election till six years after the completion of sentence -
- ④ Public Interest Foundation case 2020: Supreme court directed the parties to publicise the criminal antecedents of the candidates and give reason as to why they are giving tickets to people with criminal history

However, even after this, the criminalisation of politics has continued to increase. Milan Vaishnav In his book "When Crime Pays" lists out certain reasons:

- ① People prefer strongman politicians.
- ② Criminal candidates have huge social influence.
- ③ These belong to same caste as that of people.
- ④ Due to lack of state capacity, these people help the poor with education, marriage, etc.
- ⑤ Research suggests, criminal candidates have three times greater chances of winning than non criminal.
- ⑥ Criminal candidates are self financing candidates which political parties prefer.

Way forward would be increasing the powers of Election commission under Article 324 and implementing recommendations of Indrajit Gupta committee on state funding of elections.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	