



## Political Science & International Relations

### Crash Course & Test Series - 2022

#### Test 5

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name

Ayasha Fatima

Test Date

21/9/22

Email Address

UPSC Roll No

791744.

#### 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	
Grand Total						

For any issue related to PSIR Test Series, write only at [psirtestseries@shubhrranjan.com](mailto:psirtestseries@shubhrranjan.com)



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1) a) Gramsci in his book "Prison"  
gave a psychological and social  
angle to sustenance of bourgeois  
proletariat  
class. The ideological orientation of  
hegemony as "common sense" has  
led to a ratifying oppression.

As per Gramsci, the human  
nature is complex and shaped by social  
relations. In this the superstructure  
of historic block has its own mechanism  
to sustain hegemony.

Every human being is intellectual  
but not all do work of intellect.  
Gramsci divides the intellectual class

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in two - 1) Organic and Traditional.  
while traditional intellectuals are  
relatively autonomous, organic intellectuals  
are tool of bourgeoisie. They are  
to hegemonic sustaining methods.  
organic intellectual in  
superstructure help maintain the position  
of the "haves". They act as  
facilitators of ideas, thoughts and  
beliefs to garner hegemony.  
Gramsci directs the working  
class to have their own organic intelle-  
-cts for war of hegemony and  
position.

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b)

liberty and equality are two normative  
idea in political thought turned as  
essential for human standard of life.

As per negative liberals,  
liberty and equality are antithesis.

They are ~~ex~~ opposite in society's  
goal.

As per Hayek and Nozick (in  
~~the~~ Anarchy, state and utopia book)

any state measure to inculcate  
equality leads to suppression of liberty.

Herbert Spencer believed in social

darwinism and advocated liberty

over equality in hierarchical sense.

However, ~~to~~ the positive

liberals and Marxists propound equality

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over liberty. Rawls in Theory of Justice  
expounds distributive Justice for egalitarian  
society. Karl Marx, exemplates  
communism to substantiate equality  
in classes and liberty as "freedom"  
in ethical and psychological sense.

However, liberty and equality  
are not hierarchical but co-imposing  
As noted by Norman P Berry, the  
liberty ~~are~~ and equality are mutually  
re-imposing. And also by B.R.

Ambedkar as "unity of trinity"  
along with justice.

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c) Socialism as an ideology has constructive  
features of democracy. Initially  
propounded by utopians like Charles  
Fourier and Robert Owen, Socialism  
has inherent features of community  
participation.

As noted by John Ruskin, "No  
man is an island". Democracy also  
deals with socialistic relation of  
human.

Equality has been a founding  
stone of White Socialism deals with  
social equality, democracy enhances political  
equality via universal adult franchise,  
right of participation.

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The democratic features of sovereignty  
i.e. popular sovereignty has visibility in  
Karl Marx's theory of historical  
materialism and 'evolution'.

Noted by Abraham Lincoln as  
government by, for and of people,  
democratic value of power vested  
in people has been further propounded  
by Fabian socialism.

Gradual socialism finds the  
democratic values are as necessary for  
imposition of socialism in true value.

Thus, democracy and socialism  
have convergence though we find  
divergence in role of state and state's  
status. But in today's era, ~~etc~~ social  
democracy is most successful form.



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d)

Liberal theory of democracy was built post the advent of positive or welfare democracy.

Noted by C.B. Macpherson, the early

liberal theory was not only contradicting but contrary to democracy. However

scholars like Mill, H. Green, Hobhouse

have actively propounded liberal democra-

-cy.

liberal democracy is mainly representative form of democracy. with

active and “tacit” consent of masses.

the Marxist criticised liberal democracy on notion of social justice.

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The representative democracy does not take into account the inequalities furthering the elite class's demands.

The Marxist criticised the power vested in representative and acting only as per the <sup>interest of</sup> bourgeoisie.

Substantiated by Mosca's theory of elite circulation, Marxist furthered that state functions as an instrument of capitalist class.

Moreover, Herbert Marcuse extended the representative democracy leading to beneficiary consumerism and thus "1 dimensional Man".

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Q Sovereignty is the vesting of ultimate authority and power. Not only sovereign has legislative power, but also executive authority and legitimacy.

Legal theory of sovereignty was given by Jean Bodin and furthered by Hobbes. It is essentially monistic.

As to per the theory, sovereignty is undivided and untrammelled. It is in absolute power of state. Hobbes vests the power in "Leviathan" and along with punishing power as legal contractual monistic theory.

However, with advent of

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popular sovereignty <sup>by</sup> ~~as~~ American and  
French revolution, the notion  
of sovereignty was diluted. As noted  
by Locke, Kant, "society is ~~single~~ <sup>multiple</sup> <sup>dimensional</sup>  
since state has to be multiple."

Ideally legal theory vests  
absolute power. <sup>but</sup> And this absolute  
power has been derived, either from  
"march of god on earth" (Hugo) or  
people's voluntary "social contract".

Thus, legal theory though vest  
ultimate power in single monarchic  
sovereign but is derived from what  
Mill calls active consent of people.

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2a)

Political theory as defined by Andrew Hacker in "Political Theory: Philosophy Ideology & Science" is general proposition of the relation between state and citizen and role of power in society.

Political theory has been generated by various scholars and school of thought. with significance of:

- 1) Analyze the social relations in both legal institutions and society in general.
- 2) compartmentalize and simplify study of various phenomena like democracy in first and third world countries.

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3) Understand social life paradigm like  
cause of conflicts, violence. Ex:  
Hannah Arendt's banality of evil and  
rise of totalitarianism.

4) social criticism and reconstruction  
of political institutions. for ex:  
Aristotle's "inequality is the cause  
of revolution."

5) encourage debates, discussions and  
deliberation inculcating toleration and  
mutual respect.

Ex: distributive justice debates on  
Rawls' theory and Sen's Bevelin's  
views on value pluralism.

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Characteristic feature of political theory

are :

1) Description of present and also normative ideas of "ideal state", ~~powers~~ powers and other features of politics.

For ex: Aristotle's theory of constitution, to origin of state by state of nature and contractual basis

2) Criticism of existing institutions, beliefs and dogmas.

For ex: Hobbes' revolutionary composition method to criticise state as natural.

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3) can be normative or didactic.

4) For ex: Plato's theory of justice and Rawls' distributive justice.

4) Reconstructions of theories and ideologies with transacting of time.

For ex: equality's dichotomy of outcome and opportunity to now

Samuel schaffer's theory of satisfaction and complex equality of walzer.

Thus, political theory is a lineage

which helps understand social,

economic and political paradigm-

noted by Aristotle as "Master science".



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2/b) Distributive theory of justice envisages the egalitarian notion.  
As per Rawls' justice is the first virtue of state. And

David Miller identifies 3

- the principles of distributive justice:
- 1) protection of acknowledged rights.
  - 2) distribution as per desert. desert
  - 3) distribution as per need.

John Rawls in his theory of rights gave justice as both procedural and substantive theory.

Through his lexical priority, original position and veil of igno-

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Force he give his ~~redistribution~~  
as paramount for just society.

The theory was criticized  
by Robert Nozick in "Anarchy,  
State and Utopia" book. He  
gave his own entitlement-theory  
for Justice. Being proponent of  
minimal state and laissez  
faire individualism, Nozick  
noted that state should have  
minimum role in redistribution  
as market itself act as "central  
nervous system".

Entitlements of human are  
of 3 types - initial, voluntary

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and rectification. And these  
entitlements are people's rights.  
Over taxation is forced labour  
and immoral

Nozick also gave the historical  
principle and end state principle.  
Theby state should propound certain  
principles through which redistrib-  
-ution should take place.

However, Nozick does  
not exemplify the redistribution and  
leaves it to state market. That  
was criticized by communitarians  
like Michael Walzer for no substance  
in theory.

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2 c)

Ambedkar himself born in  
lower caste first hand experienced  
the discrimination and degenera-  
-ting condition of caste system.

Ambedkar in his book  
Mooknayak gave the historical viewpoint  
of caste. He essentialises the  
Mausmoriti as the source of  
caste discrimination and practice  
of chaturvarna in hierarchical  
sense as permanent of discrimina-  
-tion.

Ambedkar also linked village  
economy as "den of ignorance and  
sink of localism". The village

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community perpetuated narrow  
mindfulness and communalism.

In his article "What has  
Congress and Gandhi done for  
untouchables" he mentions the upper  
caste dominance in the political  
representation. According to Ambedkar  
Hinduism itself sustained the caste  
discrimination and therefore he  
changed to Buddhism in Nagpur 1956.

For Ambedkar the measure  
to eliminate the caste discrimination  
is "Annihilation of caste". In his  
book Annihilation of Caste he mentions  
that Untouchability is itself morally  
corrupting and should be eradicated  
all together. As opposed to Gandhi

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Ambedkar noted the whole system as immoral he advocated for democracy as "value system" and transformation of IVOTE to IValue.

Ambedkar preconceived Urbanization as mode of displacement of occupation and caste. He also believed that political reforms and social reforms are cyclic and should be imposed.

Thus, through Poona Pact, Ambedkar tried to politically equalize the untouchables and had vision of egalitarian society.

3a) Natural theory of rights has  
been manifestation of rights  
substantivity to state's franchise.  
As noted by Dworkin, rights are  
triumphs. Rights are claims  
against state.

Natural rights theory believe  
in supremacy of intuition to  
justification. Thereby states are  
not the state rights provider  
but safeguarding and imposing  
Man's natural right. As per  
theory state rights are superior  
to state not vice versa.

The theory has been  
developed by 2 schools - ①

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① Social contract school - Hobbes,  
Locke, Rousseau.

② ~~Legal~~ Teleological school - Thomas  
Paine, Hobhouse.

The issue of Natural rights  
was called upon by legal rights  
theorists. At per which, the

state is moral enforcer of  
rights. And Bentham calls it

"nonsense upon states". The legal

we also highlighted the lacunae  
in Natural rights theory by

directing that state is the  
ultimate source of rights. And



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only state recognition provides right. There are no rights prior to the state.

The lacunae and criticism has been addressed by John Locke in his 2 treatises on Civil Government. As per Locke, the state of nature <sup>was</sup> its bliss and man was happy.

But the social contract of John Locke is not an absolutist contract like Hobbes. The moral responsibility of state is protection of rights i.e. natural rights of life, liberty and property.

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He makes state as an ultimate  
authority of legislation, execution  
and judicial functions. But  
gives a central touchstone for  
analysing state's work. i.e. right.

In his social contract,  
he also mentions that state  
of Nature is characterized by  
absence of government not mutual  
obligation. The mutual obligation  
has been furthered by contracts that  
form civil government and state.  
The views of Locke are furthered  
by Rousseau who says to establish  
sovereign state and rights as superior  
to state.

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3b)

Political theory has both streams  
of normative and empirical field.

The empirical field is termed as  
political science.

being initially dominated  
by normative and historical

approach political theory was

considered "arm chair" theories

Peter Laslett in book "Political theory"

call "political theory as dead".

however with advent of

David Easton's behaviouralism

political theory started working

towards political science.

Thus, empirical and behavioural  
form basis of political science.

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Nature of political science is →

1) Value free . i.e. based on  
objectivity and facts.

2) Systematization and research of  
present phenomena.

3) Analysis of process as "what it  
is" rather than "what output to  
be"

4) Development of techniques to for  
descriptive and didactic nature.

5) Comparative analysis of phenomena

6) largely Neutral to cause and effect  
whether and no personal emotions

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Political science is not pure science  
As noted by Charles Taylor,  
"political theory can and never be  
value free. some amount of  
perception and interpretation has  
added political science to transform  
into more sociological than  
scientific.

Given the nature of society as  
complex, the 'action and relevance'  
(David Easton) of political science  
~~uses~~ can not be compartmented into  
grades. And impact the interpretation  
and proving the hypothesis is complex  
in different societies like prismatic (किर्ण)

Thus, political science is not  
"pure" but "value" science.

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3C)

Sovereignty is the ultimate  
authority of power vested. Not  
just power, but it makes obligation  
and action legitimate.

Early propounders of sovereignty  
like Hobbes and Bodin give  
it monistic view while modern  
sovereignty is pluralistic as  
given by Lasalle, Hobhouse and  
Stephen Kravner.

In Indian political thought,  
Kautilya is considered statesman.  
In his book Arthashastra, his  
conception of sovereignty is  
blend of both monistic and  
pluralistic.

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Kautilya terms kings as Nakshi  
i.e. neutral. He is vested with  
ultimate power and guided  
the society by Sharma, Artha,  
Kama and Moksha. The  
king has adjudicatory power and  
taxation power. But Kautilya  
unites the king by Sharma. He  
has to follow the path of god's  
lessons.  
Moreover, the Septang theory  
Kautilya gives Janapada i.e. territory  
and people as one of the limbs  
of state. Thereby giving a popular  
sovereignty notion to his monistic  
theory.

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In modern times, the theory of blend of state and citizen's sovereignty is most practicable. While state has been in cybernetic, neo liberal, complex model, the states' ultimate test has become citizen centrality.

Many states have failed especially in IV world like Sri Lanka for ignoring Janapada.

Thus, Kautilya's model is an integrative model which we further find in Stephen Prisman's internal and external sovereignty.



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5a) Coalition politics is power sharing arrangement in parliamentary form of government. As per Rajni Kothari, Indian political system was underwent

3 phases:

- ① Congress system. (1947-63)
- ② Market polity (Morris Jones) (63-89)
- ③ Coalition system (1989-2014)

This coalition politics as per scholars like Rajni Kothari, Morris Jones, Weiner have increased the accountability of Indian parliament.

In coalition politics, as noted by Prof. NK Singh, the PM becomes manager of coalition, the

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responsibility increases in political sphere and social sphere. In order to manage the different mosaics to strengthen coalition the government has to take more conciliatory and accountable measures.

However, scholars like \_\_\_\_\_ believe coalition politics as degenerating state. As state cannot take any hard measures since <sup>2014,</sup> post 1 party dominant system, like abrogation of Article 370.

Coalition politics in India thus is representation of its multi dimensional society and a shift has been witnessed more in regional parties like NCP-shiv Sena alliances.

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b)

The forward outlook of Indian Constituent assembly has been visible in its inclusion of environment protection in constitution itself. It substantiates not only political as but environmental safeguard as well.

Article 21 (Rt. to life and liberty) has been interpreted by SC as also "healthy environment and standard of living".

Article 48A of DPSP makes it obligatory for state to protect environment and also Gandhian DPSP of article 48 provides protection to mild animal and prohibition of slaughtering.

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Noted by various reports how industrial pollution has led to environment degradation,

Article 43 provides for cottage industries.

Moreover, the centrality of tribals for protection of environment can be seen in Art 29 and 30 i.e. protection of culture and religious rights.

The 7th schedule also has protection of forest, wildlife and environment as chapter in concurrent list thereby making integration cooperative approach.

Article 51A <sup>also</sup> makes it duty of citizen ~~for~~ for protection of environment.

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2) Fundamental duties were added  
by 42<sup>nd</sup> Amendment Act, by  
inserting Article 51A. On recommen-  
-dation of Swarn Singh Committee  
report. They are derived from USSR.

It emphasize moral qualities  
and social responsibilities. Duty to  
enhance the composite culture,  
fraternity and follow national  
leaders' path has moral duty  
of equality, compassion and tolerance.

The duty to protect national  
heritage and environment expands  
social responsibility to protect historical

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linage and also sustenance  
development of resource.

The duty to ~~take~~ respect  
ethos of nation, develop  
scientific temper and humanism calls  
for rationality and objectivity  
in one's life.

Thus, Fundamental duty  
is uncompassing of social  
responsibility and moral qualities  
of human being.

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1)

Ordinance making power is vested in Art 123 to President and Art 213 to Governor.

It has been added to bridge policy legislating gap during the legislature's absence. Often regarded as emergency button of legislation it has become tool of extra-executive legislation.

The 3 farm bills <sup>were</sup> introduced ~~as~~ as Ordinances which had to be further diluted due to lack of consensus with farmers. Moreover the Governor's ordinances like Bihar

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Government deleting non government  
sanskrit schools is extra step  
towards misuse of ordinance.

The consecutive repromulgation  
of ordinances without any motive  
of introducing in legislature was  
became a parallel legislative power  
of executive.

As noted by SC in Koushan Rao  
case, the repromulgation of ordinances  
is a violation of separation of  
power and thus be checked within  
the doctrine of constitutionalism and  
time limit of 1 month after the first  
sitting of legislature.



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Q) Indian party system has been an evolving party system. As noted by Yogendra Yadav, India has more identity of state nation than nation state. The regional parties thus are an important piece of party system. With the advent of 1 party dominant system post 2014 which Loya Hasan calls "BJP system", the characteristics of majoritarianism, Nationalism has prevailed. This has put a question mark on regional parties existence and future of continuance.

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However, as noted by Paul Brass, regionalism is a long term trend, regional parties are and will be relevant. With rise of Shiv Sena, TMC and Sam Aadhmi Party in North. Along with AJAMK, KCR and YSR in (Andhra) <sup>in</sup> and south the role of regional parties has been a rising opposition's role.

The role of regional parties has been consolidated via opposition as scholars suggest that Congress has been on decline and in fact died.

The modernization theory of Rudolph and Rudolph further that the regional parties will continue to provide identity role.

Ba)

Multiculturalism can be considered as a post modern and post colonial view of society. Initially propounded by Bikhu Parekh, Will Kymlicka and Joseph Kay.

As per multiculturalism, society is not homogenising but distinct. Culture and ethnicity provides an identity to people that is psychologically, socially and politically motivating. Legal and political rights are not sufficient condition to address the historical and social discrimination of minority.

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Will Kymlicka and Joseph Raz advocate for polyethnic rights and differentiated citizenship for minorities. Multiculturalism also advocate for "salad bowl" approach rather than "melting pot" approach for socio-economic empowerment.

This notion of multiculturalism has been very well integrated in Indian constitution. As noted by Christopher Jefferys, Indian system is mosaic. same can be seen through the Preamble itself. It provides for liberty of thought, belief and worship, which are

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personal to people. In fundamental rights (Chapter Part III), we find cultural and educational rights are basic feature. The notion of polyethnic rights also finds its way via promotion of mother tongue and policy of renaissance.

In Mandal Commission report, RA Gopal's concept of equality at 3 front which is instrumental in multiculturalism is found. In articles such as 342 (Scheduled Tribes) and 355 (claims to services and posts) consolidate the political

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Safeguard -

Institutional safeguard by Article 338 and 338(A) - NESC and NEST vested with civil courts power make the historical injustice dilute.

The contextual secularism (Rajiv Bhargava) and principle retained model of secularism not only separates state from religion but also consolidate indigenous beliefs and culture.

~~The pro~~  
Thus, Indian constitution provides for the multiculturalism egalitarian notion which has to be implemented in letter and spirit.

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21) The Constituent Assembly formed by Cabinet Mission plan was endowed with herculean task of a unified constitution for a mosaic of cast, religion and geography.

The constitution adopted in 1950 gave mix and match of several constitutional features adapted to Indian requirements.

The asymmetric federalism adapted by models of Canadian, Government of India 1935 Act was to ensure unity by after avoid horrific partition and States secession.

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The Fundamental Rights from American Constitution and trinity of liberty, equality and Fraternity from French revolution was essential for ~~pe~~ people's security and otherwise highly fragmented society.

The notion of check and balance rather than strict separation of power of Presidential system was adopted for what K. Hanumanthaya said better harmonious governmental structure than conflicting trinity.

Moreover, the adoption of joint sitting (Australian constitution), Prerogative established by law (Japanese constitution - han) and emergency powers (1901



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Act 1935) was to fill political vacuum  
in every circumstances.

However, the Constitution was  
criticized by Sir Ivor Jennings prototype  
of GOI Act 1935, a bridge pothole  
constitution by N. Srinivasan  
un-gandhian by

But it can not be neglected  
that Constitutions as noted by BK  
Ambedkar are similar in letter and  
spirit and the constitution is  
particularly adapted to Indian context  
rather than mere copy.

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8c)

Supreme court is the protector  
of constitution. As per doord

Boyer, There is no better test of  
excellence of government than  
the efficiency of Judicial system

In a suu quorois model of  
federalism (Alexandro wly), the  
Judiciary holds paramount  
responsibility of interpretation  
of constitution in Article 131, 32,  
13, etc

In this regard Judiciary  
has uniqued separation of  
power, Constitutionalism, doctrine  
of pith and substance and rule of  
law as basic structure of constitution.

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As per Bithu Parikh, India  
has become classical example  
of Judicial Governance. The  
Judicial Activism has eroded the  
separation of power wall. And  
has made Judiciary "supreme" while  
parliament legislative power inferior  
and subjective to its interpretation.

As noted by Justice <sup>Ruma</sup> Khande  
Patel, the unmotivated and arbitrary  
interpretation has degraded the  
institution as self serving and  
perpetuating. Like SC identified  
baill as fundamental while rejected the  
same in recent PMLA case.

The silence of Judiciary on  
demolition by state and frequent

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interpretation of rules and  
laws has made the proceeding  
subjective to benches of SC rather  
than fact based or objective  
analysis.

Earlier the procedure established  
by law in Atk Gopalan was turned  
to due process in Kumka Gaurhari  
case. The interpretations of bail  
rules, religious practices rules as  
to what constitutes "essentiality"  
has further complicated objective  
interpretation.

SC itself has noted that  
"medicine can't be worse than cure"  
and thus the supremacy has to be  
balanced by check and balance  
in tune with judicial independence.