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Political Science & International Relations

Crash Course & Test Series - 2023

Test 2

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name Astha Jain
Test Date 18 / August / 2023
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UPSC Roll No 868495 ✓

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						

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

Overall Remarks:

Dear Student,

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



Que.1 (a)

Peasant Movements in the 18th and 19th centuries of the British Colonial Period had the sole purpose of restoring the earlier forms of rule and social relations. Comment. (10 Marks)

Peasant movements in India have a long history but they rise in intensity and number after British arrival. These movements reflect sub-altern perspective of national movement.

British rule introduced many changes — land revenue system was very exploitative leading to loss of land, changes in old zamindari system, ruralisation and ruins of artisans.

Thus, peasant movements arose to restore old harmonious relations and social order. For instance, Pagal Barhis in Bengal wanted old system.



of zamindari to reestablish.

Similarly Indigo Revolt in 1860s and Deccan riots aimed at British's introduced system and moneylenders and restoring old social relations.

But it was not the sole purpose.

They had a larger aim of social justice and alleviating sufferings of peasants. For instance, Sanyasi Revolt, revolt under Alluri Sitaram Raju gave a hope of equal society.

Peasants movements in 18th century & 19th century had limited objectives but gradually evolved to encompass anti-British agenda, realising self-rule is necessary.



ue.1(b)

Compare the Nehruvian and Gandhian models of development. (10 Marks)

Independent India had a colonial legacy of underdevelopment, poverty and ruins of industry. It has to choose the model of development which can ensure emancipation of masses.

Nehruvian model is based on USSR's State-led socialist model while Gandhiji had indigenous model based on 'Sarvodaya', against State.

While Nehruvian model see solution of poverty in modern industries, Gandhiji looked for village self-sufficiency for alleviation of



mass poverty (cottage industries)

Nehruvian model emphasised on modern technology, while Gandhiji believed in "Production by masses rather than mass production".

Nehru's model needed huge bureaucratic model for implementing centralised planning (5 year Plans) but Gandhian model was based on Self help Groups.

Both model were similar in the aspect that they both aimed at addressing poverty. Gandhian Model is more suitable for redressal of employment issue but it should be mixed with Nehru's idea of modern industries.



Q.1(c)

Success of democratic politics depends upon the kind and quality of citizens. Explain. (10 Marks)

Citizens are the bedrock of state and democratic politics. As Socrates said,

'State is individual writ large.'

The kind and quality of citizens is directly reflected in the state and its polity. Aristotle's theory of citizenship emphasised on duty of citizens to make laws and participate in public affairs.

In India, success of democracy is attributed to its age-old democratic culture. While democracy in other 3rd world nations failed due to



lack of civic culture, Indians proved democracy is fit for them.

In India, huge participation of people in elections reflect their democratic awakening. Their voting behavior is also mature.

But as Ashutosh Varshney pointed out 'there is too much democracy during elections and too less in between'. This results into democratic decay.

Successful democracies like USA & UK shows virtuous citizens can lead to successful democratic polity. Hannah Arendt's idea of civic republicanism also reflect this.



1(d)

Critically examine the legacy of the British rule in India. (10 Marks)

"I am sure British will leave one day but they will leave so much of dirt & filth that generations to come will find it hard to remove it"

— Rabindranath Tagore

British rule left a complex legacy encompassing both positive and negative aspects in Indian political, economic and social systems.

In political sphere, British legacy can be seen in parliamentary democracy, Rule of law, modern judiciary and modern bureaucratic structure.

At the same time, ~~anti~~-preventive



detention, sedition, misuse of governor, corruption in bureaucracy, overdeveloped state (Hamza Dvi) reflect bad legacy.

In economic front, poverty, mass unemployment and lack of modern industrial base is the result of British presence in India. It made India a supplier of raw material and buyer of finished goods.

Socially, communalism, regional imbalance, intolerance, violence against CBIQ is the result of their rule.

'Partition is the worst legacy' described as longest August. But India is shedding its colonial past & rising high on world geopolitics.



1(e)

The right to privacy is protected as an intrinsic part of the right to life and personal liberty. Comment. (10 Marks)

Recent K.S. Puttaswamy Case highlights the importance of Right to privacy as inherent in Article 21 - Right to life and personal liberty.

Right to privacy is advocated to ensure individuals are free in their personal sphere — as Mill suggested. Only 'harm principle' justify any restraint on it.

It's necessary to protect right to life as it ensures dignity of individual is protected. For eg - LGBTQ+ people's Right to privacy about their relations necessary to protect them.



SC remarked that Privacy is not an elitist concept, it affects masses (By Chandrachud). Privacy of people in the age of data colonialism is necessary to stop manipulation of data.

Right to privacy include control over one's personality, info related to self and personal data protection. For this Govt has provided various safeguards - IT Rules & IT Act 2000, personal data Protection bill in parliament.

Individuals have right over their personality needed for living a dignified life



2(a)

India has become an experiment where the two philosophies, Socialism and Capitalism, go together in concentric circles. Examine the statement in light of the term 'socialist' inserted in the Preamble of the Indian Constitution. (20 Marks)

Socialism refers to the ideology inspired by Marx's idea that everyone in the society must have ownership to products of society. It's an egalitarian philosophy aiming to give equality and life of dignity.

On other hand, Capitalism denotes profit-maximisation approach, the mode of production which creates 'haves' & 'have-nots' based on Locke's idea of right to property.

They both are seen as antagonist to each other because one is based



on 'equality of opportunity' (liberals) while socialist believe in equal outcomes. The capitalism is philosophy of bourgeois while socialism is proletarian. Their conception of man, society, rights etc. also differ.

But in India, these two theories are co-existing and integrated to suit Indian circumstances. Nehruvian Socialism as enshrined in Preamble is based on Democratic Socialism.

Socialism in India's policy making denotes 'pro-poor' approach and emancipation of weaker sections. Nehru aimed at state-led approach.



to economic development whereby major Industries are controlled by states to control concentration of wealth and provide basic goods to masses.

At the same time, capitalism was allowed in certain sectors. Gradually, perils of Nehruvian approach was realised — crony capitalism, red-tapism, poor growth, inflation etc.

So, in 1991 economic reforms (LPG) were introduced but still socialism & capitalism co-exist. State rebalanced these two and allowed both to thrive. Capitalism is promoted by State in economy — FDI, privatisation, disinvestment



At the same time, State continue socialistic policies for poor sections — NREGA, Garib Kalyan Yojana, PM Awas, Ayushman Bharat etc.

This delicate balance is maintained to realise DPSP's ideal of minimising inequalities (A38) and participation of workers in management of industries.

This experiment often face criticism due to tilt of state to one — Nehru towards Socialism, Modi towards capitalism. Also, Nakermas's crisis of legitimacy reflect dichotomy of welfare state.

Indian model is based on its need & circumstance & continue to evolve over time.



e.2(b)

The doctrine of basic structure may be derived from the abstract. But it exists within the Constitution itself. Critically analyse. (15 Marks)

Constitution of India is a social contract, reflecting dreams & ideals of founding fathers as well as general will of masses. These ideals are soul of constitution which need to be protected.

To preserve philosophy of Constitution SC in Keshwanand. Bharati Case 1973 propounded Basic Structure Doctrine.

This doctrine was proposed in the context of executive zeal to rewrite the constitution by amending it. In the era of majoritarian govt.,



SC protected constitution, saying any amendment can't harm the basic structure of constitution.

SC remarked that amendment should be such that we can trace original constitution. And Parliament only reflect popular will, not general will.

Basic Structure doctrine exist within constitution indirectly. Article 13 of constitution protect rights from state's amendment. It enable SC to declare such law as null & void.

Judicial review of SC also enables it to check constitutionality of executive and legislative actions. A-32 and

other powers of SC is in conformity to Basic Structure Doctrine. Preamble also declare Indian State's features which can't be amended.

Critics argue that it was nowhere in constitution and it's an example of Judicial overreach. It was unprecedented as no other SC is as much powerful to criticise amendments. Judiciary is least accountable and representative & it harms parliamentary sovereignty.

But as Zia Mody pointed out, with this doctrine, India choosed uncertain democracy over certain dictatorship



Que.2(c)

What are the controversies associated with the post of Governor? Evaluate the significance of Governor in India's federal setup. (15 Marks)

Governor is the head of the state as parliamentary system require real (CM) and nominal head for functioning.

1. Article 153 states there shall be a governor for each state. Article 154 says governor shall exercise executive power either directly or through subordinates appointed by him.

Office of governor has dual role :- head of state and representative of centre in states. It's an independent office of dignity to ensure state



governance is in accordance with constitution

Controversies

- 1) Openly criticising government - seen in west bengal and Tamil Nadu. The ideal is to have private conversation about lacunae.
- 2) Partisan role :- allegation of acting on party lines (eg) - MCOCA was stopped while GUJCOCA was passed.
- 3) Agent of centre :- as centre control appointment & removal process
- 4) Head of universities :- Kerala voting against it
- 5) Discretionary power misuse - seen in Arunachal (Nabik Rabia Case)



- 6) Reserving bill for President's assent and recommending President's rule is also misused.

Significance

- 1) Lynchpin of federalism :- bridge between centre and state as it communicates between the two.
- 2) Centre's control over state's affairs :- duty under A. 356 to ensure state acting in accordance with constitution.
- 3) Special role in tribal affairs - duty to ensure their welfare.
- 4) Strengthen federalism by acting in bona-fide manner.

Soli sarabjee said 'Governor can do great good if he is a good governor'



3(a)

In India, though political decentralisation has been successfully achieved through the establishment of local government bodies, the actual transfer of functions, finances, and functionaries to these institutions remains incomplete. Critically analyse. (20 Marks)

Political decentralisation is based on Gandhi's idea of village republics ensuring Sarvodaya and antodaya by giving power to lower levels of governance. This is a bottom up approach against traditional top down approach.

The journey started in India with DPSP Article 42 aiming for village panchayats. In the beginning, Panchayat Raj system was voluntary leading to state wise variations.

Various Committees (Balwant Rai Mehta and Ashok Mehta) suggested



to constitutionalise panchayat system in order to strengthen it and bring uniformity across nation.

73rd and 74th Amendment Act constitutionalised village panchayati raj and urban local governance in the country.

It provided for 3-tier structure — Village < Block < District level — completing decentralisation of political power.

But voluntary provisions in the act provide state's autonomy in transferring 3Fs — funds, functions & functionaries.

Local governments continue to face financial difficulties as state's devolution



is meagre and in the form of tied-expenditure on government schemes.

11th and 12th schedule aimed to devolve functions of local governance like maintaining ponds, cattle, parks etc but actual situation is worse. They don't perform these functions effectively as they lack capacity and training.

Functionaries also didn't perform as envisaged. Local government don't have their own cadre of officers and bureaucrats attitude is against these elected members.

These issues are due to lack of political will at state level.



As Ashtok Mehta committee said, the local government system was made to fail due to conspiracy of Centre, State and bureaucracy.

State didn't devolve 3Fs as they themselves are 'Glorified Municipalities' means they don't have enough resources themselves. State finance Commission is also not effective due to state's apathy.

After 32 years of constitutionalisation, PRI's has achieved a lot in terms of democracy at grassroot level but there is a long road to go. As Manohar Committee said,

'Bad PRI is worse than no PRI'

3(b)

Discuss the role of Supreme Court as the final interpreter of the Indian Constitution. (15 Marks)

'The best test of excellence of any government is the functioning of its judiciary'

- Lord Bryce

In India, this quote is realised by Supreme Court, who act as: final interpreter of constitution, supreme authority in federal disputes, guardian of rights of Individuals etc.

Supreme Court is envisaged to act as guardian of constitution, so it has power to interpret constitution by removing ambiguities. In this role,

Fundamental Rights, DPSP act as Key
to mind of constitution makers for SC.

This power is realised through judicial review and advisory jurisdiction of SC. In Shankari Prasad Case, SC interpreted amending power and position of Fundamental rights in constitution (A-13).

Similarly in Golaknath case, it reversed its earlier interpretation (FR can be amended) by saying FR as immutable and inviolable.

Keshvanand Bharati Case was epitome of Judicial creativity in interpreting ideals of constitution, giving the



doctrine of Basic Structure. This doctrine helped in saving the soul of constitution, protecting fundamental ideals.

Its power is criticised by Pratap Bhanu Mehta saying SC is a self-perpetuating institution. Judges act on individual parameters, no overarching principles. It's paradoxical and go for image building. Judiciary interpret according to its whims & fancies.

But SC has safeguarded the social contract built by founding fathers reflecting general will. It requires creativity and courage to interpret in good manner.



Que.3(c)

Give an assessment of the role of the Election Commission of India in the conduct of free and fair elections in India. (15 Marks)

'Democracy is based on the possibility that there are immense possibilities in common man'

These possibilities are realised by Election Commission which acted as highly trusted institution conducting free & fair election in country.

When everybody was skeptical of India's Democratic experiment, ECI under problems of poverty, illiteracy and riots, conducting 1st general elections successfully.



Since then, elections in India are Golden Standards (Hillary Clinton).

It has introduced various electoral reforms over the time -

- 1) Electronic Voting machine - to curb fake voting
- 2) Tightening vigilance to stop booth capturing
- 3) Model Code of Conduct to guide behavior of political parties
- 4) WPAT for transparency
- 5) Electronic voting for diplomats, army personnel etc.
- 6) mandatory disclosure of criminal past by candidates.



These reforms ensured free & fair election into the country. ECI's independency ensured public trust into its functioning.

But allegations over its non-partisan nature are made. ECI didn't act on PM's ~~disqualification~~ for violation of MCC in 2019 elections.

Also, ECI has no power to deregister political parties. Its quasi-judicial function of allocating party symbol has also been criticised. Fear on EVMs are also raised.

These incidents show need of strengthening ECI to ensure Democratic elections which carry aspirations of citizens.



ue.5(a)

Comment on the land reforms in India. (10 Marks)

Land Reforms aims at Redistributive justice by distributing excess land from zamindars to tillers and landless (land to the tiller).

It's part of Government's policy of social justice and formation of egalitarian society. Five main land reform demands were -

i) Abolition of Zamindari :- partial success as loopholes of laws were exploited. Scholars suggest that it didn't succeed due to presence of propertied class in Congress.

- 2) Land Ceiling :- excess land to tillers but failed due to weak enforcement of laws and landowners escaped by registering property in relatives name.
- 3) Tenancy Reforms :- Only successful in West Bengal and Kerala due to presence of political will. Didn't succeed elsewhere.
- 4) Land consolidation :- for economies of scale and making agriculture profitable.
- 5) Cooperative Movement :- regional skewed — more in Gujarat, Maharashtra.

Political will is a necessity for success of land reforms and realising dreams of millions of peasants who contributed in freedom struggle



5(b)

Critically examine the relevance of Marxist perspective on national movement. (10 Marks)

Indian National Movement has been analysed by different scholars and activities between 1857-1947 is seen by some as nationalist while others criticise it.

Marxist analyse national movement on the framework of class and class hierarchy. M.N. Roy provides Criticism of Indian National Congress calling it a party of Bourgeois class.

He, in his book 'India in Transition' called INM as Bourgeois conspiracy and Gandhi as Bourgeois leader. Similar views are expressed by other scholars like R.P. Dutt.



Relevance of this approach lies in providing a in-depth analysis of class character of INC which can't be ignored.

Analysing INM from perspective of weaker class and sub-altern gives more holistic understanding of these activities.

Neo-marxist like Bipin Chandra compare Gandhian style with Gramsci' idea of movement of manoeuvre & position and ideological hegemony.

At the same time, they are biased in their approach as said by Sumit Sarkar. INC was indeed a national party and multi-class movement was launched against British.



Q.5(c)

Radical humanism refers primarily to a system of thought, which focuses on the autonomy of the individual. Discuss. (10 Marks)

Radical humanism is the theory given by marxist scholar M.N. Roy who focused on realising full autonomy of individual.

'Radical' means taking man in its most individualistic form and also radical means complete change in looking at man.

'Humanism' is the spirit of enlightenment and scientific revolution which focus on 'man at the centre' of everything.

M.N. Roy aimed to free individual from collective ego of class, caste,

religion etc and ensure freedom in radical sense.

He said science can ensure freedom as scientific progress can control even nature. He favored 'mental revolution' for opening mind to immense possibilities.

Against nationalism, he proposed 'Cosmopolitan Union of free man'. Thus, his views were universal.

Critics says Ray ignored the reality that man is embedded self (communitarian) and science alone is not enough for freedom. Neo-Marxist suggest we are living under hegemony of science.

Ray's theory is necessary to create zone of freedom to realise potentials of man.



Que. 5(d)

Comment on: Fundamental Duties in the Constitution of India. (10 Marks)

'Rights are not empty of duties'

— Dworkin

Fundamental Duties were inserted into the constitution by 42nd Amendment Act on recommendation of Swarn Singh Committee.

Duties aim at realising ideals of citizenship by clarifying that citizens should fulfil duties to enjoy rights meaningfully.

Various ideals are enshrined as Duties — respecting national movement and national monuments, ideals of national movement, aiming

to foster respect in citizens.

Respecting dignity of women, promoting equality ensure citizens aim for egalitarian democracy.

Protecting environment and educating wards are other duties needed in society.

FDs are complementary to Preamble, Fundamental rights and DPSP as it aims at social democracy.

But non-enforceable nature and non-exhaustive list of FDs limit its effectiveness.

Duties are emphasised in Indian culture as Krishna suggesting 'Nishkam Karma'.



Q.5(e) Explain the uniqueness of the Indian Model of secularism. (10 Marks)

Secularism aim at separating state and religion, based on ideas of enlightenment in west (Machiavelli).

But Indian model is sui-generis, deviating from western model, to suit India's multicultural and diverse society.

Rayni Kothari calls Indian Model as Principled Distance Model against hyper substantive model of US & ultra-procedural model of France.

Boundaries between state & religion in India are porous, allowing State

to interfere when necessary, for social reforms. for instance, Ban on sati, dowry, triple talaq.

This allow balancing fundamental Right to equality (A.14) and Right to freedom of religion (A.24 to 28).

State has no official religion but it can promote all religions equally.
(Eg) - Haj Subsidy by GOI.

As Ashish Nandy suggest, Indian values are tolerance and respect for diversity which form basis of Indian Secularism.

Though this model has faced challenges & criticism of minority appeasement, it is relevant for Indian society.

8(a)

Enumerate the distinctive features of Gandhian movements. To what extent can it be said that Quit India Movement was the most Un-Gandhian of all. (20 Marks)

Arrival of Gandhi was a watershed movement in the course of Indian freedom struggle. He built his own style of fighting British - Satyagrah based on his experiences in South Africa.

For Gandhi, Satyagrah aimed to not bow down against evil and fighting against State's injustice, not by violent means but by non-violence and truth..

Distinctive features of Gandhian Movement —

1) Mass participation — Gandhi



converted Congress into a mass party
initiating a broad based movement

(e) - Satyagrah against Rowlatt act.

2) Multicultural, multi-class movement
integrating interest of all sections.

(e) - Civil Disobedience Movement
and Gandhi's 11 point Demand.

3) Participation of women on forefront -

They picketed shops, participated
in marches (Dandi March) and donated
jewelry to funds.

4) Non-violence :- fight using peaceful
methods such as marches. NCM
was called off after violence in Chauri
chowri.

5) Focus on social upliftment as well-



constructive work side by side.

(e) Harijan Sevak Sangh for removing untouchability.

Quit India movement was started in the backdrop of World War II in 1942 with the aim of compelling British to give 'Poorna Swaraj' to Indians.

It's called as most un-Gandhian as Gandhiji himself said 'Do or Die' deviating from earlier instance of non-violence. Sumit Sarkar said this reflected violent mood of Gandhiji.

QIM was left leaderless, so directionless. Violence was common

and thousands died in State's atrocities.

It was called as last struggle of my life by Gandhi reflecting his mood of not tolerating British presence anymore. He didn't criticised violence saying State's doing greater violence.

But it was not Un-Gandhian as Bipin Chandra explain. Gandhian approach was transcend. It reflected war of manoeuvre after war of position was won. Gandhi was a master strategist who knew when to allow violence.

Gandhian movement proved victorious with India's freedom guaranteed on 15 August 1947.

Que. 8(b)

Do you agree that Finance Commission is the balancing wheel of fiscal federalism in India? (15 Marks)

'Kash' is one of the seven limbs of state according to Kautilya's Saptang Theory. Treasury ensure State can carry out its functions and protect its sovereignty.

In this regard, Finance Commission under A.380 ensure State's treasury is used in the best interest of state and finances are devolved in accordance with constitutional mandate.

It act as balancing wheel of Fiscal federalism by fulfilling its mandate as given in constitution -



- i) Determine principles to guide grant in aids from Centre to state.
- ii) Formulate plan to distribute centre's receipts to states, equitably among various states (horizontal & verticle devolution)
- iii) Measures to augment resources of State finance Commission to supplement grants for local government
- iv) Any other duty by President

15th finance Commission fulfilled its duty of fiscal federalism by suggesting 41% of tax devolution to states. This ensured state's fiscal health is improved. Additionally,

various grants based on different conditions were recommended. It also ensured states get due weightage in categories of population, forest cover etc.

But at the same time, it's effectiveness is limited due to its recommendatory nature. States alleges that they are discriminated. (eg) - Southern States against devolution based on population. States also want share in cust & surcharges of centre, in which finance commission can't interfere.

overall, finance commission has upheld its envisaged role by acting with integrity and wisdom to ensure fiscal federalism.



Que.8(c)

The purpose of 42nd Constitutional Amendment was to make the economic and social democracy explicitly visible. Comment. (15 Marks)

Indian Constitution is a living document, a blend of rigidity and flexibility. It allows amendment under Article 328 by Parliament either by special majority or with state's consent in certain cases.

India is a welfare state and the constitution aim for socio-economic democracy into the country. To make this explicit, 42nd CAA was enacted in 1976 by Indira Gandhi Government.

42nd CAA changed the content of Preamble by explicitly declaring

India as a socialist secular state and also added the word 'integrity'. Thus ensured welfare state is clearly spelled out.

Similarly, new DPSPs such as ensuring participation of workers in industries' management, free legal aid to poor, ensuring healthy development of children — ensured social democracy is directive of State.

New chapter of fundamental Duties (Article 51A) was added which included duty to protect national monument, respecting women, protecting environment etc. This reflected pattern of socialist countries like USSR.

Overall DPSP was made superior to fundamental rights to ensure proper policies like land reforms don't face legal hurdles.

5 subjects - education, forest, wildlife etc were transferred to state list to ensure Centre's power to legislate in these subjects.

Thus, 42nd Amendment was called a miniconstitution due to far reaching impacts. It somehow diluted democracy as well which was corrected in 44th Amendment act.