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Political Science & International Relations

PSIR Crash Course- 2025

Test 7

Time Allowed: 3 Hours **Max Marks: 250**

Name	KIRAN.KAMATE
Test Submission Date	11.08.25
Email Address	
Test Start Time	2:15 PM
Test End Time	5:15 PM
UPSC Roll Number	0309541
Phone Number	

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Copy Submitted On
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Instructions:

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

Marks Table (To be filled by Evaluators):

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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Remarks by Evaluator:

1. Contextual understanding

2. Content

3. Structure & Flow

4. Introduction

5. Conclusion

6. Language

7. Presentation

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Student's Queries: -

Evaluator's Feedback: -

Que.1 (a)

सकारात्मक कार्रवाई (10 अंक)

Affirmative action

Affirmative Actions (or) reservations are the exceptions to equality. The basic philosophical foundation comes from "JOHN RAWLS" difference principle - which advocates "Any unequal treatment is justified if seeks to address the issues of most disadvantaged"

The Indian constitution provides this in article 15(4)/16(4) via the first constitutional amendment as a result of reversal of Supt. Champakam Dorairajan case - writes Abhinav Chandrachud in his book "These seats are reserved"

The supporters like Dr AMBEDKAR advocated it to undo the historical unjust and BR GAVAI (CJI) remarked that affirmative actions are in that pursuit.

However, critics like Arun Shourie, Kanshiram and Malhotra warns against creating dependency. While Michael Sandel brings the argument of merit vs discrimination

PB Mehta, too while supporting it says Reservation alone should be goal. It should be accompanied by focus on capabilities as said by (Prof. Sen)

Marc Galanter in his book competing equalities show that the politicisation of affirmative action is due to the "expended meaning of "socio-educational" Backward class leading to its political Misuse".

The supreme court in EWS judgement had said "time has come to relook at affirmative action as it was never meant to be a permanent feature"

Que.1 (b)

प्रक्रियात्मक न्याय और मूल न्याय (10 अंक)

Procedural justice and substantive justice

justice has been the core normative value of political science since the Plato's Republic .. which read 'concerning justice.' till the works of John Rawls "Theory of justice" in the modern times.

Procedural justice derives from the work of Aristotle who advocated procedural/proportional equality. Later the liberalism school too advocated this as they were against "patterned justice by the state" [NOZICK, MILTON FRIEDMAN AND HAYEK]. For NOZICK justice meant only "just initial distribution" like DWORKIN this later got ingained into contextual text through wording like "procedure established by law" — where if the procedure is just, the outcome will also be just was the assumption. (LAWLSIAN justice)

However, this was contested by scholars particularly with socialist tendencies. For instance, they advocated for substantive equality - which meant going beyond the text of law or procedure.

Just procedure will not necessary lead to true justice, if capability is missing. In this regard, affirmative action make its way - which would undo the discrimination of past. Substantive equality of socialism forms the basis: equity over equality will lead to true justice

The ruling in MANEKA GANDHI which ruled for "due process of law" is an example of substantive justice. that looks at proportionality, arbitariness and Necessity along with the procedure.

Que.1 (c)

अरबिंदो की राष्ट्र की अवधारणा और आध्यात्मिक राष्ट्रवाद का सिद्धांत (10 अंक)

Aurobindo's conception of Nation and Theory of Spiritual Nationalism

Aurobindo Ghosh was a nationalist, spiritualist, poet and a philosopher. He gave the theory of Spiritual Nationalism by blending the cultural Nationalism and Indian school of thought.

His conception of Nation was not just a mere geographical entity or a group of populace, but a one that knows its duty in the realm of universal spirithood. He goes beyond taking a aggregative view.

He further gave the concept of Spiritual Nationalism. Every nation according to him has a spirit and should act as the guiding light to the world which is in darkness. INDIA role now as the guide has emerged and India should prepare for it.

Swaraj according to him, is the end goal of spiritual nationalism. Where anything less that is undermining the spirit of its glorious past and the numerous opportunity of future.

Aurobindo's spiritual nationalism inspired the national struggle for independence. With N.C Chandhuri and others exploring the glorious history of India, evoked emotions of heritage and pride.

Swami Vivekananda wrote the "world will know about India through Aurobindo's writings" - showcases the fine imprint he left behind.

Que.1 (d)

अरस्तू की समानता की अवधारणा (10 अंक)

Aristotle's Conception of Equality

"Inequality – real or imagined – is the reason for any revolution."

And for Aristotle, who was a conservative wanted stability – thus gave the concept of equality.

"It is unjust to treat equals unequally and unequals equally"

He explains the equality theory by giving generic and regime specific reasons.

While for aristocracy/oligarchy jealousy is the reason; democracy withers due to the ignorance of masses due to huge inequality in the society separating the top and bottom.

Therefore, he advocates polity as the best form of government and in this regard gives the theory of procedural equality.

Equality for Aristotle meant rewarding the citizen based on their contribution to the society and state. More rewards to the one who contributes more, less to the ones contributing less. His equality concept is linked to the theory of citizenship. Because according to him slaves, old age and children & women do not contribute substantially to society, they are not eligible to citizenship and recieve limited rewards.

However, critics say Aristotle equality is procedural only and is instrumentalist and not intrinsic. The theory of substantive equality stands opposite to this.

However, one cannot ignore the initiation of a debate of equality by Aristotle. This paved way for Article 14 of Indian constitution

Que.1 (e) हॉब्स की प्रकृति की स्थिति (10 अंक)

Hobbes's state of nature

Thomas Hobbes is a scholar of social contract theory and he thus defines the state of nature. Since, he witnessed the tumultous period of British War — he takes a very pessimistic view.

ee Life of man in state of nature is poor, nasty, short, brutish, violent "

This he says, since he accepts that man is utilitarian by nature and he seeks power after power as he is self interested and in this pursuit - man is capable of killing other for securing his interests. He says there is a paradox of "unlimited desires and limited resources"

This state of nature thus needs a strong sovereign and he thus gives absolute power to it — in his book Leviathan

Further, he uses Rene Descartes Resolutive Compositive method to arrive at the utilitarian nature of man. and without an absolute state that can provide security to man the state of nature cannot be secured.

Thus, while critic say Hobbes starts as individualist, but ends as an absolutist (Dunning). However, sabine defend it saying, " his sovereignty of absolute state flows from his individual freedom and not for the sake of Absolutism!

The current global world order can be seen as resembling Hobbes State of Nature where each is to for itself as EAM. S. Jaishankar calls it.

Que.2(a) क्या आप इस बात से सहमत हैं कि लोकतंत्र का साधनात्मक मूल्य हो सकता है, लेकिन इसका आंतरिक मूल्य राजनीतिक समानता को प्रभावी बनाने के तरीके के रूप में इसकी नैतिक श्रेष्ठता से उत्पन्न होता है? (20 अंक)

Do you agree that democracy may have instrumental value, but its intrinsic value derives from its moral superiority as a way of giving effect to political equality?

Que.2 (b)

"राजनीतिक सिद्धांत न तो राजनीति का सिद्धांत है और न ही राजनीतिक षडयंत्रों का। यह 'राजनीतिक' की संरचना की एक अनुशासित जाँच है।" चर्चा करें। (15 अंक)

"Political theory is neither a theory of politicking nor a theory of political intrigues. It is a disciplined investigation of what constitutes the 'political'." Discuss

Que.2(c)

अंतःविषय अभिविन्यास ने राजनीति वैज्ञानिकों को अन्य सामाजिक विज्ञानों द्वारा विकसित सिद्धांतों और मॉडलों का भरपूर उपयोग करने के लिए भी प्रोत्साहित किया है। व्याख्या करें (15 अंक)

Interdisciplinary orientation has also encouraged political scientists to make abundant use of the theories and models evolved by other social sciences. Explain

Que.3(a) समाजवाद के परिभाषित मूल्यों की व्याख्या कीजिए। समाजवाद के विभिन्न विचारधाराओं पर चर्चा कीजिए। (20 अंक)

Explain the defining values of Socialism. Discuss various schools of Socialism.

Joseph Schumpeter in his book Socialism, Capitalism and democracy writes "that socialism is a mode of production where everything from who produces, what, when, where is determined by the state"

In this regard, the defining values of socialism can be better understood against the values of capitalism while in capitalism, the role of state is limited (Adam smith), in socialism state plays a proactive role. similarly, Socialism strives to achieve 'substantive equality' and not merely 'procedural one' this can be summed by Karl Marx's words cc From each according to his contribution, to each according to his needs" The goal is to make people free from basic 'necessities'

Going forward, socialism remained an intermediate station in the process of achieving MARXISM - the final stage. And it is in this interbocullatory stage that various schools emerged around socialism - making it a 'Meta-ideology'. This can be summed up by words of J.E.M. Toad - "socialism is that so that which has lost its shape, because everyone keeps wearing it"

In this background, various types emerged. One being the revisist school of sociology by Edward Bernstein which tried to reconcile the Marxian notions of revolution with evolution.

Similar, the Utopian sociologist school founded by Robert Owens and Fourier was also an school of thought before Marx. Marx criticised their approach of bringing a change in the minds of capitalists as "UTOPIAN"

Same vein, emerged the democratic socialism in the form of FABIANISM in U.K. This was based on slow, steady, progressive reforms within the democratic and constitutional scope of things.

However, there emerged a mixture of communal groups making strides into socialism. For example, the school of Guild socialism - whose business groups based on guilds tried to gain control of the state. However, they were based on non-aggressive and non-violent methods.

On the same lines, yet more radical, emerged the school of syndicalism - The FRENCH VARIANT which advocated the Marxist means of violence as the way of achieving power. They also advocated functional representative parliament and state mechanisms, where

position is occupied by the socialist member of its syndicate.

In recent years, there is emergence of Green socialism (or) eco-socialism as against FOSSIL CAPITALISM — with its prominent voice being "ANDREAS MALM". This bears a close semblence with eco-feminism (or) feminist socialism advocated by VANDANA SHIVA.

While, socialism as a economic blueprint might have lost the battle of ideologies and relegated to dustbin of history as FRANCIS FUKUYAMA claims it. However, it can be said that the greatest victory of socialism is that it keeps the capitalistas humane. The example of calls of "progressive capitalism" by Joseph Stiglitz is a case in point.

Que.3(b) हमारे शरीर की केशिकाओं में रक्त की तरह शक्ति पूरे तंत्र में प्रवाहित होती है। (15 अंक)

Power flows throughout the system like blood in the capillaries of our body.

The statement by MICHEL FOCOULT – a post Modernist scholar in his works like Discipline & Punish and Sexuality & Madness.

The basic premise is that, power is a function of Knowledge and vice-versa. He takes a micro-view of society and says 'power is everywhere' and it flows like blood in capillaries of our body like a network.

This he illustrates similar lines as Hannah Arendt. He says power emerges when people come together and assert it, whereas it reduces when people move away. People are both subject to power and exert power.

For example: take instance of power in governance. It flows from the textual meaning of "we the people"... to the organs of state and to the people through Article 32-b to social audit, RTI etc.

He gives the concept of Regimes of truth to explain the "Knowledge-power connection" (originally given by Friedrich Nietchze). He says power is commanded by the dominant group and what is right and wrong; true or false lies with power attached to it via "discourses".

For eg. The Navtej singh Johar case highlighted that "social Morality" of hate against homosexuality was a dominant discourse against the discourse of Constitutional Morality.

However, the theory of power given by Foucult is criticised by scholars like NOAM CHOMSKY who says "Foucult overexxaggerates the role of power in society"

Similarly power doesn't flow like network of capillaries rather it is "concentrated" - show the ELITE THEORISTS of POWER like FW RIGGS, PARETO, MOSCA

Foucult however gives a new dimension in understanding the essence of power and leaves an enduring legacy.

Que.3 (c) एम.एन. रॉय द्वारा दिए गए "कट्टरपंथी मानवतावाद" की आलोचनात्मक जांच करें। (15 अंक)

Critically examine the "Radical Humanism" as given by MN Roy.

MN Roy (or) Manabendranath Roy was a philosopher, marxist, revolutionary, political theorist and a national leader.

He gave the concept of Radical humanism as a new philosophy that was an alternative to the hegemonic school like capitalist, Nationalism, sociology etc.

The objective of Radical humanism was to create a group of liberated individuals and formed cosmopolitan union. This liberation cannot be formed by socialism, or nationalism or capitalism which according to put/subject man to the collective ego of nation (nationalism) and the collective ego of society (socialism)

Radical humanism according to him does not claim to be dogmatic tradition achieving universalism rather is subject/open to any kinds of reforms with age and time. "Its spirit is the spirit of age"

Radical humanism is inspired by SPINOZA, MARX and LOCKE imbibing the values of Morality, Rationality and freedom. He says, man is essentially rationale and is freedom seeking and also has the inherent sense of right and wrong.

However, it is religion and its superstitious practices and along with Nationalism and socialism reduce man to its chains (Rousseau)

The bottomline of his philosophy is that he keeps "Man" at the centre of his philosophy and doesn't use him as an instrument.

Critics however call it utopian philosophy and not practical. Similarly, others claim Roy's Radical Humanism is a hodge-podge school of thought and unclear of what he attains to do.

However, Roy's methodology and objectives of keeping man as the centre unit echoes of Immanuel Kant's imperative of human dignity.

Sudipto Kaviraj - thus sums up MN Roy's journey as philosopher as "Remarkable Failure": one that could have attained a different elevation in a different point of time.

Que.4 (a) प्राच्य और पाश्चात्य विचारकों के बीच निरंतर तुलना होती रहती है। कौटिल्य की तुलना प्लेटो और अरस्तू से कीजिए। (20 अंक)

There are constant comparisons between Oriental and Occidental thinkers. Compare and contrast Kautilya with Plato and Aristotle.

Que.4 (b) मार्क्सवादी सिद्धांत में आधार और अधिरचना के बीच संबंध पर चर्चा करें। (15 अंक)

Discuss the relationship between base and superstructure in Marxist theory.

Que.4 (c) इनपुट-आउटपुट दृष्टिकोण, जो एक सिस्टम विश्लेषण व्युत्पन्न है, की आलोचनात्मक जांच करें। (15 अंक)

Critically examine the input-output approach, a system analysis derivative.

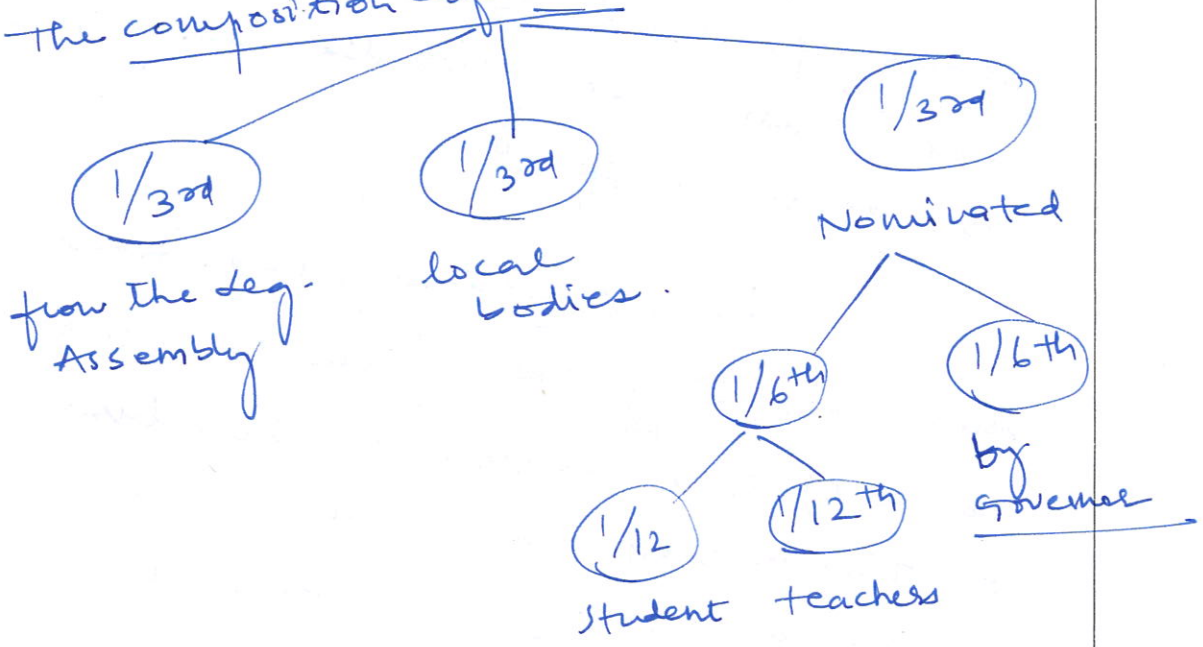
Que.5 (a) राज्यसभा और विधान परिषदों की संरचना, शक्तियों और कार्यों की तुलना करें (10 अंक)

Compare the composition, powers, and functions of the Rajya Sabha and the Legislative Councils

The Indian polity provides for bicameral legislature both at centre and state level. And the Rajya Sabha and Legislative council form the house of elders.

Article 169 provides for creation of Legislative Council in the state.

The composition of LC is as follows.



The Rajya Sabha consists of elected members via Proportionate Representation of single transferable vote plus 2 nominations

The functions and powers is to act as the check on the fissiparous legislations by Lower houses and also provide vibrant discussion on bills.

As T.T Krishnamachari says — "If the Rajya sabha provides for vibrant discussion, dissent, debate it has done its role" — holds true for Legislative Council too.

However, the R.S. has much stronger powers in terms of assent to bill and creation of All India services and the removal of VP.

As CJI Chandrachud (former) said the Rajya SABHA (and legislative council) is a mirror to the plurality of this nation. — shows the vitality, vibrancy and virtue of both the houses.

Que.5 (b) उदारवादी राष्ट्रवाद और उग्रवादी/उग्रवादी राष्ट्रवाद के बीच अंतर स्पष्ट करें। (10 अंक)

Differentiate between moderate nationalism and extremist/militant nationalism.

The Indian national struggle's growth can still be felt as BIPAN Chandra writes – as schools like Moderate to Militant extremism blessed the movement

Moderate Nationalism	Extremist Nationalism
1). The moderates focussed on Constitutional methods.	1). use of violence and direct action
2). Struggle-the-struggle method (STS)	2) Struggle-victory (SV)
3). didnt believe in masses.	3) believed in Masses and utilised their energies.
4) They believed in the providential mission of the British "a blessing in disguise" Surendranath Banerjee.	4) understood the real intent of British's civilising mission and it not budge to it.

5. led by western educated elite	5. led by common man from all sections of society.
6. use of Constitutent means like Legislative assembly and reform from within.	6. worked outside the legislative assembly.
7. Believed in slow, gradual and concessions	7. Direct freedom "SWARAJ" viewed as concessions as caption
8. Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendranath Mehta, & Wacha	8. BAL-PAL-LAL, Surya sen, Bagha Jatin

As Surendranath Banerjee said ee the moderates were not without fears" and if the next generation builds on the works of moderates that would lead to greater progress." Anales Tripathi thus rightly says - extremist kept the flame of nationalism burning, lit by the MODERATES :

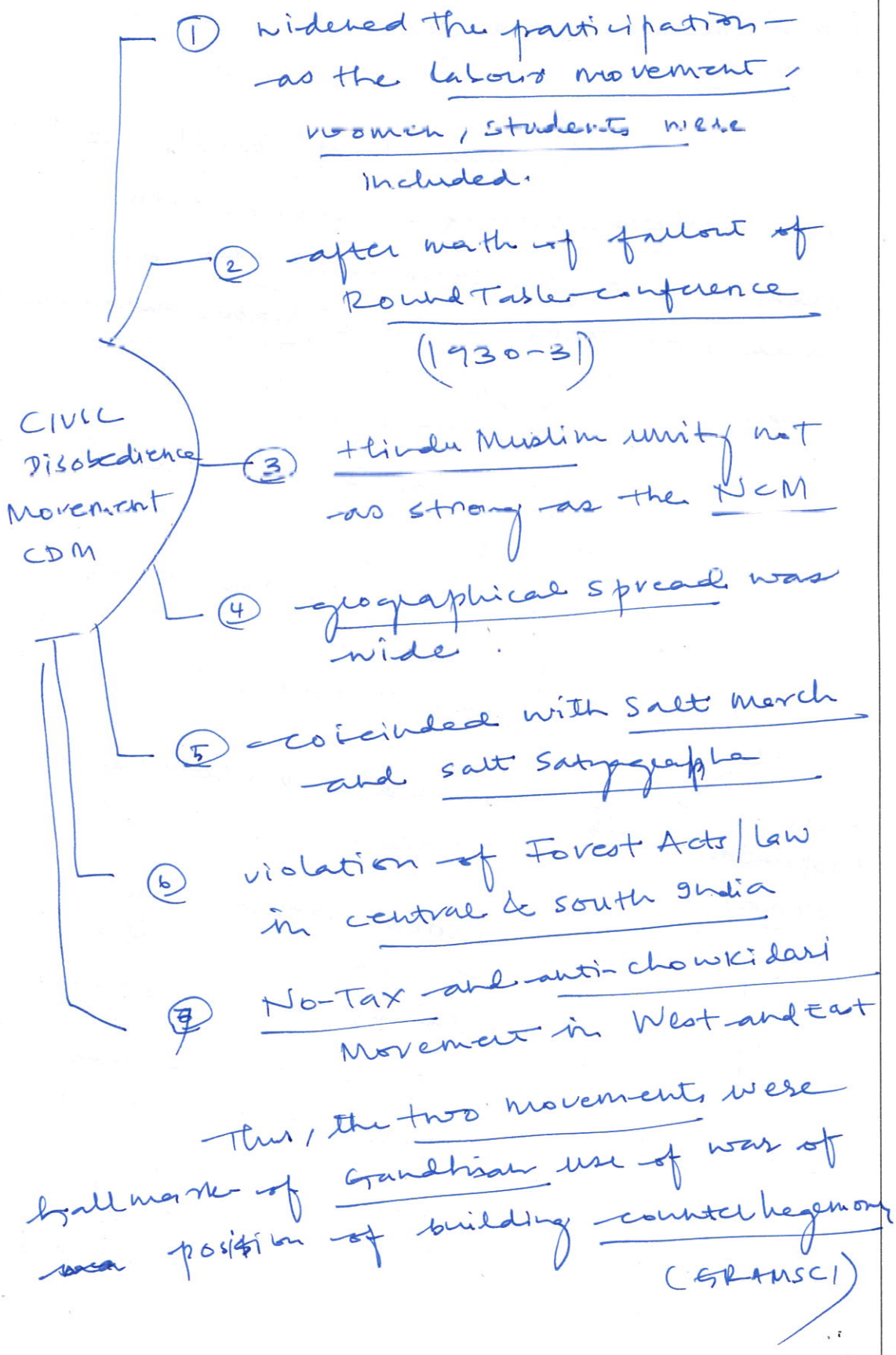
Que.5 (c) असहयोग और सविनय अवज्ञा आंदोलन पर टिप्पणी (10 अंक)

Comment on Non-Cooperation and Civil Disobedience Movement

The arrival of Gandhi at the National struggle was a turning movement as he turned it into a mass movement – Writes Ram Guha in book INDIA after GANDHI.

Non Cooperation Movement – NCM

1. Inspired by David Thoreau's essay.
2. broadbased the movement to include lawyer, teachers, govt. workers.
3. advocated picketting of shops.
4. included women and peasants into the fold of national struggle
5. Gandhi's first broad based experiment with Masses.
6. Chauri Chaura (1922) incident – led to its disbandment



Thus, the two movements were hallmarks of Gandhian use of war of position of building counter hegemony (GRAMSCI)

Que.5 (d) भारतीय राष्ट्रीय आंदोलन की प्रकृति पर मार्क्सवादी दृष्टिकोण पर चर्चा करें। (10 अंक)

Discuss the Marxist perspective on the nature of the Indian National Movement.

The Marxist perspective of nature of Indian National struggle was counter to the hegemonic nationalistic perspective that glorified INC-led movement.

The marxist perspective focused on the lens of struggle of classes. In his book "Socialist background of Indian struggle" AR Desai - says Indian struggle's success was achieved by the working class and fruit were enjoyed by the bourgoisie

Similarly, EMS Namboodaripaad says, the Marxist struggle was more broad based and inclusive than the Gandhi led movement. they also say the freedom achieved is not a complete freedom as it didn't end the inequality of class.

Karl Marx too had dismissed the 1857 struggle as a feudal war to protect the privileges of NOBLE class.

In his book, INDIA TODAY, RP Dutt writes Gandhi wanted working class to make co-opt into the movement in the name of unity. He also highlighted the indifference of INC: Indian national congress to the working class movement.

However, critics like Dipesh Chakrabarty Chatterjee says one cannot neglect the central pivotal role of INC and Ashish Nandy warned against singular view of history and advocate a multiple-perspective for comprehensive understanding.

Que.5 (e) मौलिक अधिकारों और डीपीएसपी के बीच संतुलन (10 अंक)

Balance between Fundamental Rights and DPSP

Part III and Part IV of Constitution provide for Fundamental Rights and DPSP, while one strives for civic-political democracy, other for socio-economic one.

The differing objectives and the nature of justiciability makes them competitive, leading to judicial clarification over the years.

For example, Champakam Dorairajan case, SC said FRs are supreme and cannot be subordinated by Directive principle objectives

Similarly, the IC Golaknath case of 1967, put FRs on a completely higher pedestal. This created issues with respect Govt's goals of socio-economic reforms like Landreforms and reservations.

The balance was disrupted with amendements like 24, 25th and 39th where govt. sceked to put article 39 (a)/(b)(c) above and over article 14 and 19.

This was upheld in the Kesavananda Bharati case. Similarly, in Nm Thomas it used the doctrine of harmonius construction to reconcile the two, without negating the other.

Further, in the Waman Rao case, SC emphatically dictated that together (FR + DPSP) they constitute the two wheels of chariot and the balance b/n the two is part of Basic structure.

On KC Rajeevan, SC said FR & DPSP form the soul and conscience of constitution.

Que.6 (a) भारत की दलीय व्यवस्था में, खासकर 1967 के आम चुनावों के बाद, बड़ा बदलाव आया। तब से लेकर अब तक क्षेत्रीय और गैर-कांग्रेसी दलों के उदय ने भारत के राजनीतिक परिदृश्य को नया आकार देने में क्या भूमिका निभाई है? (20 अंक)

India's party system transformed, particularly after the 1967 General Elections. What role did the emergence of regional and non-Congress parties play in reshaping India's political landscape since then?

The party system till 1967 is referred to as "one-party system" or congress system by Rajni Kothari – where other parties merely played the role of "pressure-groups".

However, this changed with the first loss at the state level in Kerala in 1967 and also the end of Nehruvian Consensus that held the congress together. But, the major role of dilution of congress system was played by the rise of non-congress and regional political parties. This according to Yogendra Yadav constituted the 4th "second democratic upsurge"

The end of simultaneous cycle of elections at both centre and state from 1952 to 1967, meant that the voters maintained an equilibrium of national and regional issues.

However, the break of 1967 followed by the calls of regionalism in the form of separate statehood and more autonomy along with linguistic dominance against Hindi especially in Tamil Nadu along with the need for renewed push for land reform led to rise of state parties.

Similarly, the emergence of assertion of both OBCs and Dalits which till now played the role of "politics of representation" — shifted to "politics of assertion" as highlighted by YOGENDRA YADAV.

The advent of Green Revolution and its economic prospects led to what "Rudolph and Rudolph" called as Bullock Capitalists in to the political forum. They walked the corridors of power and they no more were contented with politics of containment as highlighted by Christopher Jaffrelot in THE SILENT REVOLUTION.

Similarly, the rise of Dalits and dalit led parties like BSP, RJD led by Mayawati and others, led to mobilisation of Dalits and their politicisation along with resentment with cooption technique by Congress led to new party system - shown by Ashutosh Varshney in his book 'Battles Half Won'

The second democratic upsurge also gave away to the post Mandal politics of Mandir-Market-Magic politics.

The rise of BJP with political rhetoric and use of ideology of Hindutva aided by movements like Babri Masjid Demolition / Rathyatra by L. K. Advani - gave a new dimension to the Indian political party system.

As Zoya Hasan says, the Party system post 1991 led to dilution of ideology and gave rise to "Catch All Parties" (phenomena borrowing from Otto von Kilcheimer)

This transformation has led to association of regional issues at the national level. But it also led political misuse of emergence which Dr. Ambedkar had thought would remain a dead letter.

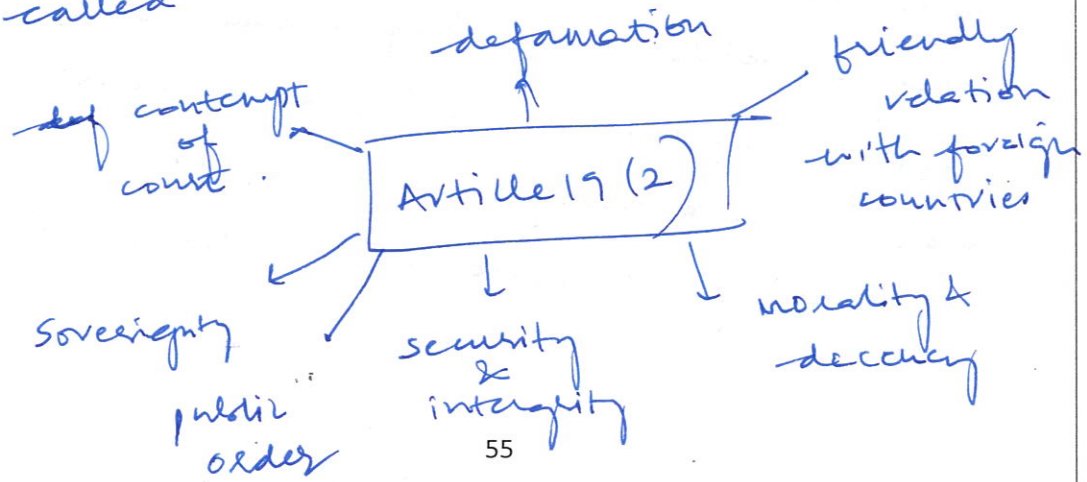
However, it can be accepted that, the rise of regional parties led to 'institutionalisation of democracy'

Que.6 (b) "वाक और अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता भारत के संविधान के तहत सभी नागरिकों को प्रदत्त एक मौलिक अधिकार है। हालाँकि, संविधान अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता के पूर्ण व्यक्तिगत अधिकार की गारंटी नहीं देता है।" टिप्पणी (15 अंक)

"The Freedom of Speech and Expression is a fundamental right guaranteed to all citizens under the Constitution of India. However, the Constitution does not guarantee an absolute individual right to freedom of expression". Comment

Article 19(1)(a) gives all citizens a fundamental right to speech and expression (FoSE). The supreme court in ROMESH THAPAR case (1951) calls it "palladium of liberty"

However, this right is not an absolute one and article 19(2) which was expanded via 1st constitution amended as shown by TRIPORDAMAN SINGH in his book "16 Stormy Days" - to include eight restriction which are called "reasonable"



This restriction comes from the philosophy of JS Mills of self regarding and other regarding action. where one's actions intervene in the exercise of their action — there the state can make valid interventions.

ee The freedom to swing one's arm is curtailed/ends where another's nose begins ".

The SC in numerous cases like Ramlila Maidan and Shaheen Bagh cases has said Article (19)(1) is not absolute and should be seen in isolation but w.r.t other fundamental rights.

Similarly, in KA Abbas case, it restricted the scope of cinema and upheld censorship and said FOSE is pertinent but via cinema it has a far-reaching consequences and needs to be subjected to censorship.

However, even this restriction when misused by the executive led to "chilling effect" or pre-censorship (or) self restraint - which the SC held as not the true intent of Art 19(2).

In this regard, it said in Kedarnath singh case (1962) that only that speech which incites violence can be restricted.

Similarly, in Shreya singhal case it said vague words like "hatred, abuse" cannot be used to curb speech and in recent KAUSHAL KISHORE it further established that restrictions under Article 19(2) are exhaustive and speech needs to reviewed only through these.

In Arnab Goswami case, ex CJI Chandrachud said the fabric of constitution is woven through the writ of liberty - highlighting importance of FoSE.

Que.6 (c)

भारतीय संघीय मॉडल की अर्ध-संघीय के रूप में आलोचना भारतीय संघवाद का एक संकीर्ण और पाठ्य विश्लेषण है। औचित्य सिद्ध कीजिए। (15 अंक)

The Indian federal model's criticism as quasi-federal is a narrow and textual analysis of Indian federalism. Justify.

The Indian federalism has been subject to both praise and critic alike. Critics like IVOR JENNINGS calls it as federalism with centralising tendencies; Jones call it as bargaining federalism and KC WHEARE calls it "quasi-federal"

- this was critiqued by GRANVILLE AUSTIN who in his book Constitution of India: Cornerstone of a Nation says Indian federalism as "cooperative federalism" and to call it as quasi-federal by comparing it to USA's model is merely ethnocentricism devoid of any substantive analysis.

Similarly, Alexandrowicz calls it "sui-generis" meaning unique

The Indian model is demos-enabling and not demos-restraining - where the constitution makes way not to an equal division of powers rather unique blend of assymetric and cooperative model : giving states some unique powers like Article 244 and Art. 371(J).

A deeper understanding of Indian federalism shows that the distribution of powers to state have been empowering the states. That is why the constitutions keeps both centre and states on same pedestal.

However, critics like Subas Kalshikar says Indian Model of federalism is good but not its practice.

The politicisation and tampering via amendment like 42nd

which diluted the state list under 7th schedule are some example.

[Gautam Bhatia] in his book Constitution — a tehrain of power contestation says The constitution by design is made a centralising one and the courts through various judgements has reinforced those tendencies.

For instance, the case of Sathpal vs state of Bengal and Kuldip Nayar case, SC took a fixated view that constitution envisaged centralised federalism and restricted the scope of state's power — igniting the critique view that it is quasi federal.

Indian federalism as Nani Palkivala says is a framework for cooperation and not confrontation.

Que.7 (a) भारतीय राजनीति में जाति आज भी महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाती है। परीक्षण कीजिए। (20 अंक)

Caste continues to play a significant role in Indian politics. Examine.

Que.7 (b)

"अपनी सीमाओं के बावजूद, भारत में दबाव समूहों ने राजनीतिक विकास को आकार देने और जन जागरूकता को बढ़ावा देने में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई है।" आलोचनात्मक परीक्षण कीजिए। (15 अंक)

"Despite their limitations, pressure groups in India have played a crucial role in shaping political development and fostering public awareness." Critically Examine

Que.7 (c) राष्ट्रीय अल्पसंख्यक आयोग के बेहतर कामकाज के लिए किन सुधारों की आवश्यकता है, इस पर चर्चा करें। (15 अंक)

Discuss the what reforms are required for better functioning of National Commission for Minorities

Que.8 (a)

"न्यायालय के न्यायाधीश इसे पसंद करें या न करें, इसे समझें या न करें, इसकी परवाह करें या न करें, स्पष्ट तथ्य यह है कि न्यायालय का उपयोग न्यायालय के नियंत्रण से परे कुछ स्थितियों में विशुद्ध रूप से दलगत राजनीतिक उद्देश्यों के लिए किया जा सकता है।" क्या आप इस कथन से सहमत हैं? अपने कारण बताएँ। (20 अंक)

"Whether justices of the Court like it or not, understand it or not, care about it or not, the plain fact remains that the court can be used for purely party political ends in certain situations beyond the control of the Court". Do you agree with the statement? Give your reasons.

cc The executive asked the judiciary to bend and the judiciary crawled", says Justice H.R. Khanna reminiscing the darkest age of Indian judiciary during the period of Emergency of 1975-77. This highlights, that court can be used for purely political ends.

The case of a weak judiciary in the ADM Jabalpur vs. Shivakant Shukla case which showed the misfortune of what a "committed judiciary" to the wish and whims of executive can lead to.

The elevation of SC judge as CJI by the Smt. Indira Gandhi govt post the ADM Jabalpur beyond the rule of seniority was a shocking revelation.

Similarly, the interference of govt. in the adjudication of courts through the creation of parallel quasi-judicial bodies of TRIBUNALS is also an example. They were initially bestowed with the power on par with District courts and HCs. This was reversed in the L. Chandra Kumar case (1997) where SC declared judicial review of Tribunals verdicts as part of BASIC structure.

Similarly, the interference in the appointment process of judiciary was highlighted in the NJAC act of 2015.

Similarly, the govt. acting against the spirit of SC judgements via constitutional amendment also is a glaring example. (eg) The govt. acting the spirit of Anoop Baranwal case (2023) and the GNCTD case (2018)

In both cases, govt. came up with legislations that were not in sync with the spirit of SC judgements.

The delay in appointments of the collegium recommendations to the government is also a timely evidence of the same.

However, the supreme court has shifted its stance from passive courts of law to active voices of citizen and have played a dominant role and as justice Surya Kant says "emerged as course correctors"

For example, post emergency the courts under justice Krishna Iyer and justice PN Bhagwati gave way to the PIL movement.

Similarly in 1978, SC in Maneka Gandhi took a widest view of Article 21 and shifted to "due process of law"

With tools like judicial activism the courts have emerged as the moral voice and has led to filling the legislative vaccum. (eg) The Vishaka guidelines on sexual harassment at work place. Similarly, it advocacy of institutional integrity in appointments in PJ THOMAS case and Vincet Narain case are some examples.

The courts have also been at front-foot in addressing the crimes of corruption and bribery at political level with its significant ruling in coal allocation and spectrum allocation to the recent Sita Soren case and Electoral BONDS case (ADR judgment).

Thus, article 50 calls for ensuring separation of judiciary and executive and this ensures that the courts remain independent.

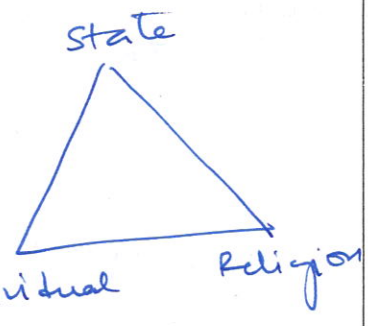
Que.8 (b) भारतीय धर्मनिरपेक्षता पश्चिमी धर्मनिरपेक्षता से भिन्न है, और समय के साथ, भारत ने 'धर्मनिरपेक्षता' की अपनी व्याख्या विकसित की है। टिप्पणी (15 अंक)

Indian secularism differs from Western secularism, and over time, India has developed its interpretation of 'secularism'. Comment

GJ Holyoake coined the term secularism and Niccolo Machiavelli is related with separating politics from religion.

The secularism of western states and India though work of differing principles. For instance, the western secularism means strict/rigid/water-tight separation between the two. this can be seen with example of Laicite in France and Wall of separation in USA.

According to D.E. Smith gives the concept of secularism using three indicators:



1) Multicultural citizenship
2) separation b/n state & individual
3) religious Right to individual.

And according to Smith, Indian Secularism doesn't fit into it.
This however is critiqued by Marc Gallantel who calls it ethnocentric

The Indian secularism is based on the idea of Dharma Nirapekshata model. - where the state is neutral.
The Indian model is unique and is called as 'politically negotiated' and principled distance model given by RAJEEV BHARGAVA. It means the state is not absent in arenas of religion, rather it maintain equal closeness to all and negotiates in the secular areas.
(eg) The SC in Shirur Mutt case gave the Doctrine of Essential practices.

Similarly, Indian secularism is different in the sense the state actively promotes them and yet remains irreligious. (eg) Promotion of minority schools.

However, critics like L.K Advani calls it as Minority appeasement while Romila Thapar calls it as soft secularism and a need for active and bold secularism.

While another set of critiques like TN Madan say India cannot practice secularism as the religion forms an active ingredient of citizens identity. Similarly, Ashish Nandy in his book Non-secular Manifesto writes "Secularism is an western export" and doesn't fit into indian society.

J. Sai Deepak on the other hand say "the state in India is secular and not the society"

SECULARISM via various provisions of constitution like Article 25-30 and preamble has led to maintaining the social-contract of 'unity in diversity'

— Prof Sen

Que.8 (c) अप्पिको आंदोलन के महत्व पर चर्चा करें (15 अंक)

Discuss the significance of the Appiko Movement

In the 'unquiet woods' book by Ramachandra Guha writes "displaced tribals, deforested forests and polluted rivers" is what remains after 75 years showcasing the effects of industrialisation on environment.

In this regard, the role of social movements in protecting the environment becomes important.

The enigma of Chipko movement led by Sundarlal Bahuguna, Gaura Devi and the people of hilly states of Uttarkhand inspired a generation of such movements. In 1983, it gave way to Appiko Movement in the forests of western Ghats of Karnataka.

The word Appiko means "to hug" and the movement just like

the spirit of Chippiko hugged the trees against the face of its mass felling calls of state - industry

The movement lead to government reveiting its decision to fell the forest and led to the victory of the movement led by thousands of farmers, tribals and forest dwellers.

Similarly, the movement inspired in giving land a larger support based to protect the western Ghats. this led to the Madhav Gadgil report on saving Western Ghats and later the Kasturirangan Report on EEZ of W. Ghats.

The recent projects by Govt. of Karnataka like the Sharavati Pumped storage Project and Western Rivers linking project have all led to revival of Appiko movement spirit - which continues to be the guiding light in the socio-ecological conservation in the region.

However, Indian environmental movements are called as conservation utilitarianism (or) empty-stomach conservation by SUNITA NARAIN. Meaning that they conserve them for securing their utilitarian needs rather for the cause of protection per se.

Thus, Appiko Movement remains at important mark in the history of Indian envico-legal movement

Space for Rough Work

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