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Political Science & International Relations

PSIR Mains Test Series - 2024

Test 5

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name

DAMANPREET ARORA

Test Date

28th Aug, 2024

Email Address

UPSC Roll No

2638548

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				X	X	
2				X	X	
3				X	X	
4						
5				X	X	
6				X	X	
7				X	X	
8						
Grand Total						

For any issue related to PSIR Test Series, write only at
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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....!!!



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Que.1 (a)

Write on the following in about 150 words each

Political science and political philosophy roles in the realm of political theory (10 Marks)

As systems approach by David Easton (behavioural Scientist) teaches us that political system does not operate in vacuum, thus political science and political philosophy play crucial role in political theory.

Aristotle, who was called as father of Political Science, called it a 'Master Science' and applied biological classification method to understand the Political theory.

Political Science thus taught that 'Golden Mean' and 'Golden rule' is best as per Aristotle book 'Politics' which shows 'Polity' as the best form of government.



through Observational and Empirical method. Empiricists thus argue for Facts, descriptive approach and what is right than good in Political theory.
(Behavioural Scientific theory by Robert Dahl.)

However, Political Philosophy is more based on normative aspects like value approach of Leo Strauss, Plato, Dante Germino giving a prescriptive and 'what-ought-to-be' approach to decide the Good over right in political theory.

Thus, both Political Science and Political philosophy act as a base for Political theory for the under formation to what is seen in Post Behaviouralism.



Que.1(b)

General Will. (10 Marks)

Jean Jacques Rousseau's book 'social Contract' talks about the concept of 'Popular Sovereignty' where people form the 'General Will' which is Indivisible, collective and always right.

The idea comes close to the 'dialectics' and 'dialogues' of Socratic tradition where Art of Questioning results into the consensus building which is what is 'will of the people'.

Rousseau even went to the extent of saying that 'man should be forced to be free' to show the Supreme nature of General will which is why it is often compared to



Thomas Hobbes' Leviathan but with his
'head shaved off'.^o

General will is the basis of
social contract and is the state of
being similar to John Rawls' (social
liberal) overlapping consensus in book
Political Liberalism.^o

It results into debates, discussion
like what Constituent Assembly did
and thus Constitution resembles General
will of people. Ancient India's Sabha,
Samiti and Buddhist Sangha too
showed the 'General will of people'.^o

thus Percival the Athenian statesman
rightly said that Deliberation can never
be a 'stumbling block'.^o



Q.1(c)

Fascism as a theory of reaction and counter-revolution. (10 Marks)

'Fascism' is considered as 'hodge-podge' of ideas, traced to Mussolini of Italy who commanded complete obedience to the state inspired from Philosopher King of Plato and Machiavelli's National Interest theory [Sovereign state].

Hannah Arendt (Cold war intellectual) describes Fascism as PATHOLOGY similar to totalitarianism which results into 'superfluous mass'.²

Thus, against such fascist regimes, a Reaction and Counter Revolution Emerges from the people which is built through 'Political Action' (Vita Activa) and Radical democracy of Kabernas.



Hence, no marxist like Eric
Fromm held that Fascism emerges
from People's choice who find ⁶solace²
in giving them to supreme leaders,
and Fascism is Counter Revolution as
Hitler and Mussolini who were brought
to power by the democratic means,
subverted the same regimes which
brought them to power.

Fascism thus is theory of
Reaction and counter revolution by
People, which ~~was~~ Mussolini also
justified that ⁶what war is to men,
maternity is to women²

Today, we can see high rise
of neo fascism like in Bangladesh, Kenya
(#huto must go) where people have risen as a
reaction



a.1(d)

Surplus Value (10 Marks)

Karl Marx (socialist and anarchist) in his book 'Communist Manifesto' held that 'Capitalists dig their own graves' based on lust of profit / Surplus Value.

Surplus value, which makes capitalism insatiable feeds on the 'worker class' and results into difference between 'haves and have nots' which reduces the worker to 'log in the wheel' and results in his Alienation from himself (book 'Alienation' and Economic and philosophic manuscripts)

Political-Economy thus results into manipulation of profits by cutting the cost of production in capitalist



Society which Karl Marx describes through his method of historical-materialism where Economic Structure is the basic Structure of Society and he asks :

'Workers of the world Unite!
you have nothing to lose except
your chains'

Surplus Value, thus is a result of class struggles, and in communism, class end, class struggles and state withers away which results into dictatorship of proletariat where 'each gets according to his needs'

Thus, it is because of Karl Marx's Surplus Value concept and that Capitalists are more much HUMANE.



2.1(e)

Locke's justification and restrictions on private property. (10 Marks)

'John Locke's Optimistic view on Human Nature is contentually related to Glorious Revolution of 1688 which has resulted into him being Greatest exponent of Freedom of Speech and Expression and Right to Property.

He said that 'It is unjust to deprive a person of his property which belongs to him by law', this known as 'Scholar of Possessive Individualism' by C-B Macpherson (Liberal Egalitarian)

His Justification thus results from procedural theory of Justice, where adoration is of Night watchman State where State takes care of private property



(a)
as agreed to in State of nature (dual contract by John Locke), where people are 'RATIONAL' and state of nature ~~it~~ results into social contract to avoid 'Inconveniences in state of nature', thus state acts as a 'facilitator'.

However, Restrictions include the property which is a 'result of one's labour', does not result into harm to anyone and justifies providural theory of Rights and Justice is justified only, and not the property acquired by stealing from someone.

Thus, John Locke inspired Neoliberals that Robert Nozick (book Anarchy, State and Utopia) and Hayek, Milton Friedman



2(a)

Bring out the cultural relative perspective on the human rights framework. Discuss whether the human rights framework would be strengthened or weakened if it made greater recognition of different cultures. (20 Marks)

1 Human rights are not a privilege
Conferred by Government, they are
every human being's entitlement by
Verdict of HUMANITY²

Mother Teresa

Human rights idea thus emerged
from theory of natural rights given
by John Locke, Thomas Paine which are
result of 'reason' in humans .

Hume, Edmund Burke, a
traditionalist called it as 'Metaphysical
Intuition'² and held Culture, norms
to be the source of rights .

Thus, Cultural Relativism took
shape in the era of Human Rights framework



where Human Rights are criticised by Lee Kuan Yew as ⁶ Western Obsession² and call for 'Asian Values'.

Will Kymlicka also in book 'Multicultural Citizenship² called for Ethnic, Self preservation rights and Universal rights as 'Colour blindness'.

Cultural relativists like Jeremy Waldron, Sybil Behr also held that Man is not atomistic and differentiated.

Concept of rights is required because liberals view is Hegemonic, similarly Mahatma Mohammad of Malaysia called for Obedience to Asian situation rather than Equality, Universality, Individualism.



of the West •

thus, Multiculturalism argues that

Human rights framework would be strengthened because :-

- ① Greater recognition to cultures
- ② Culture acts as a glass (eg) Hijab issue in France
- ③ results in 'relativism' as argued by Michael Sandel in book 'Liberalism and limits of Justice'
- ④ Human solidarity as Ethnicity acts like a glue •
- ⑤ Better and strengthening of concept of 'Decentralization' where one size fits all approach does not work²
(Michael Walzer 'Spheres of Justice')
However, it can also be said



that it would dilute the concept
the concept of human rights or
weaken it because :-

- ① Human Rights as per UDHR, 1948
are based on Equality, Universality,
Indivisibility, Permanence & Inalienability
- ② Cultures can restrict the right
(Eg) Women's subjugation, following
mainstream culture & like Sanskritization
of M-N Srinivas.
- ③ Would weaken 'Reason' as Human
Dignity source &

Thus, Relativist Culture approach
of Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba
shows the interaction between the two,
for this we need to focus on human
capability more as per Amartya Sen for Human Rights.



.2(b)

"Marxism offers an analysis of state power that fundamentally challenges the liberal image of the state as a neutral arbiter or umpire." Critically examine. (15 Marks)

Kare Marx through his historical materialism and epiphenomenal view argues that 'State is an Instrument of capitalist class' and as a source of exploitation as opposed to view of late social liberals like TH Green who in 'Principles of Political Obligation' held that 'Will, not force, is the basis of State'.

Neoliberals, however like Hayek book 'Constitution of Liberty' held that State to be like a night watchman which Classical liberal Graham Sumner held that 'Drunkard in the gutter is where he ought be'.



Similarly Adam Smith (Classical Liberal) held that 'State is a referee, not a captain'², which shows state as a 'Neutral' or 'Arbiter' for liberals thus forming bases of Procedural Rights theory and called state as a necessary evil (Classical liberals) and unnecessary evil (no liberals) •

However, Marxism Challenges it by two theories, the first one being Instrumental theory propounded by Karl Marx in '18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte'² which tells that 'Bonapartism' exists and 'Rich Class' is what benefits the most where state



is biased (Political Economy theory)

This was also held in post-capitalist societies by Ralph Miliband in book 'Socialism for Skeptical Age' where he called 'Managerial Revolution a myth', and a Shut Out of Human History

Hennies Structuralism of Althusser and later Nick Poulantz in Post Capitalist Age suggests that State is only relatively Autonomous when Universal Adult Franchise has acted as a deterrence, but ultimately rich class benefits (eg) USA's Subprime Crisis.

Thus, we can see divergence of views between 'Marxism itself' but Historical liberals try to balance between 'State and Individual'



Que.2(c)

"Justice is the thread which runs through liberty and equality." In the light of the statement discuss the relationship between liberty, Equality and justice. (15 Marks)

Justice has been the core concern of political philosophy of Plato to Marx, Marx to Rawls and from Rawls to Amartya Sen.

Justice runs through liberty and Equality because John Rawls in his 'Theory of Justice' [1958] called Justice as 1st virtue of liberty and which ensures an egalitarian and liberal society based on concept of Equity.

This is in contrast to Utilitarianism where liberty prevail, for example Neo Liberalism and Procedural Value of Justice called liberty as Antithetical.



to Equality where Milton Friedman in book 'Capitalism and Freedom' called Bureaucracy and Government as 'Gangs of thieves' and Central bank as Legislative Fraud .

Similarly Robert Nozick (Neoliberal) called Progressive Taxation of taxes as 'Bonded Labour' in his entitlement theory of Justice .

Neo conservatism also considers the Equality of opportunity as a source of liberty and Justice as Affirmative Actions (which are source of Justice) kills the merit in society . (Meritocratic principle)

Thus, 'Justice' has been contested



but if Classical liberals sacrifice Equality for the sake of Liberty (might matchmanism), If socialist sacrifice Liberty for the sake of Equality ('Equality of outcomes'), social liberalism of John Rawls, Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum tries to achieve a balance between Liberty, Equality and Justice.

This can be achieved through catalysts like 'Affirmative Action' which address historical injustices as former CJI NV Ramana also held that 'Injustice in society leads to Anarchy'.

Thus, Liberty, Equality and Justice are the normative ideals which can be achieved through Positivism and lawfulness.



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Democracy is accepted as the mechanism through which legitimacy is promoted, however, there are reasons for thinking that its effectiveness in this respect may be faltering. Critically Examine. (20 Marks)

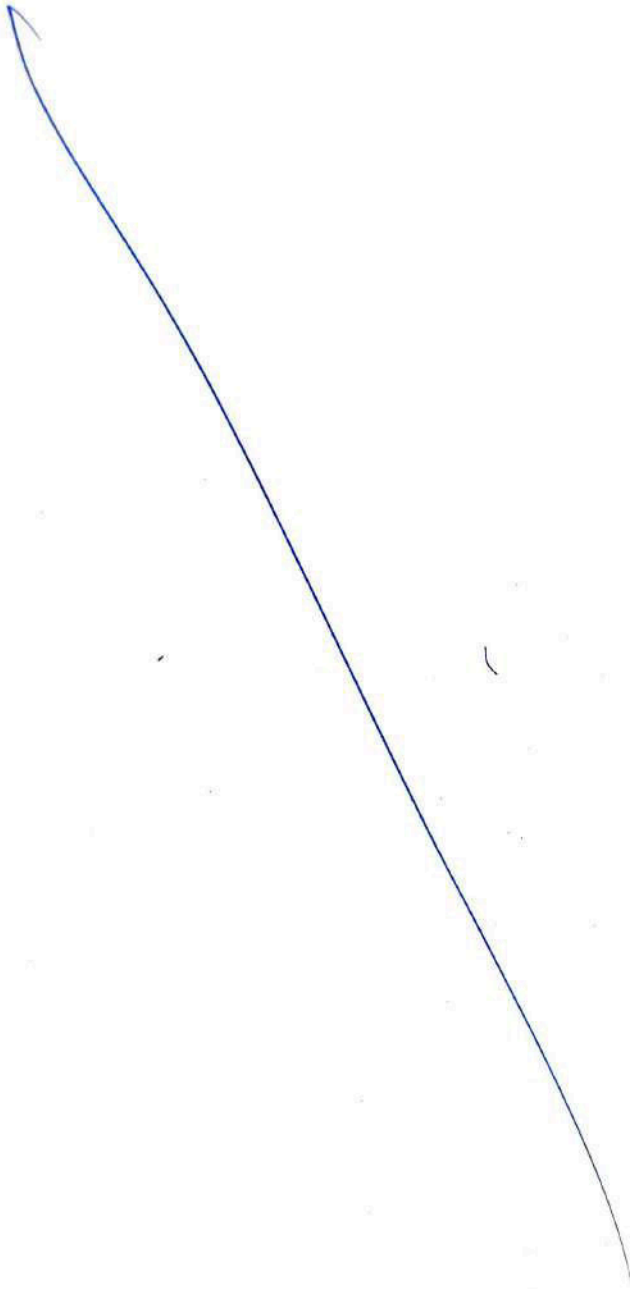


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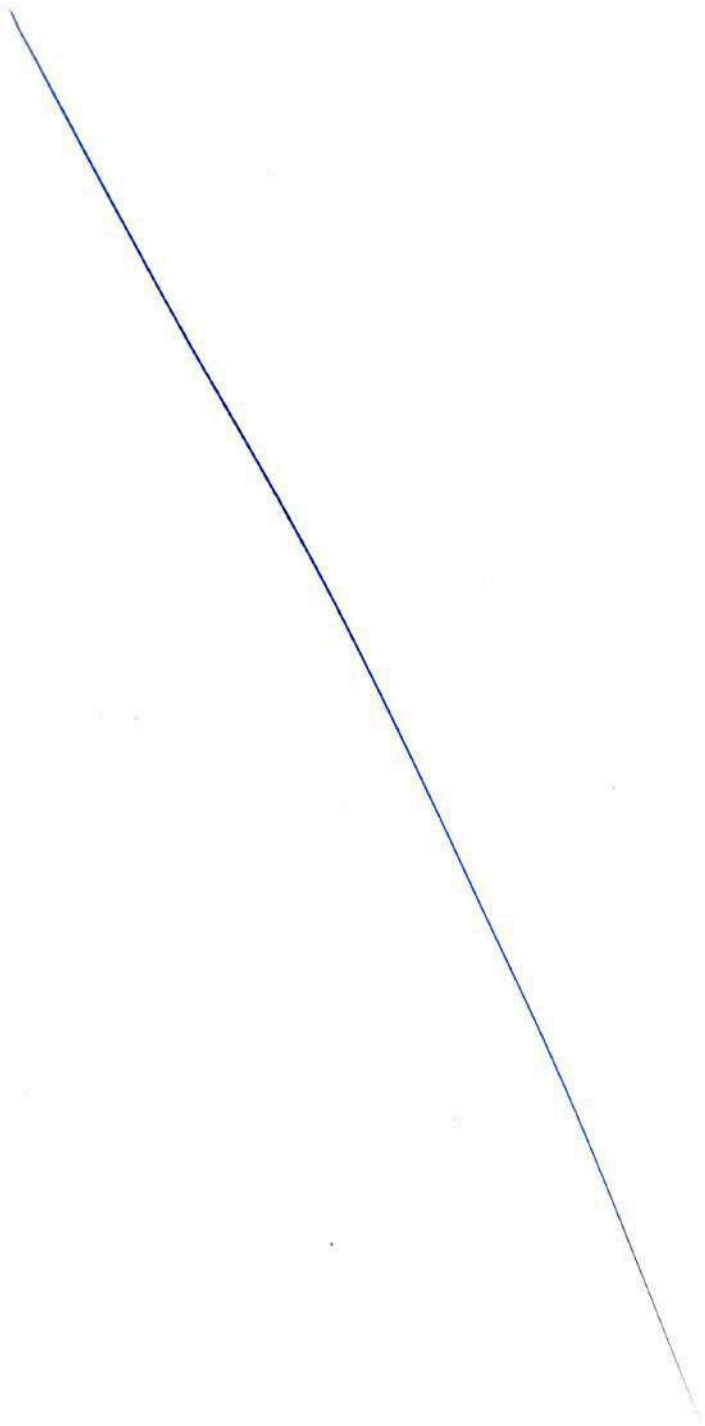


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"Intersectionality in feminism brings to light issues of marginalisation and systematic oppression that were previously invisible by using a single-axis approach." Discuss. (15 Marks)



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Que.3(c)

"All who believe in new worlds for old are the disciples of Plato; all those who believe in old worlds made new by the tedious and toilsome use of science are disciples of Aristotle." Elaborate. (15 Marks)



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Rawls recognises that liberal utilitarianism marked a progressive, welfare-oriented departure from classical liberalism's preoccupation with individualistic rights. Yet, in Rawls's view, utilitarianism is a morally flawed theory of justice. Explain (20 Marks)

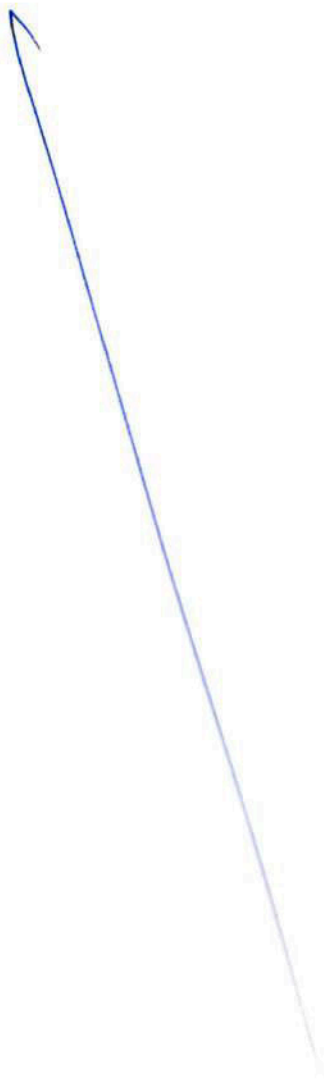


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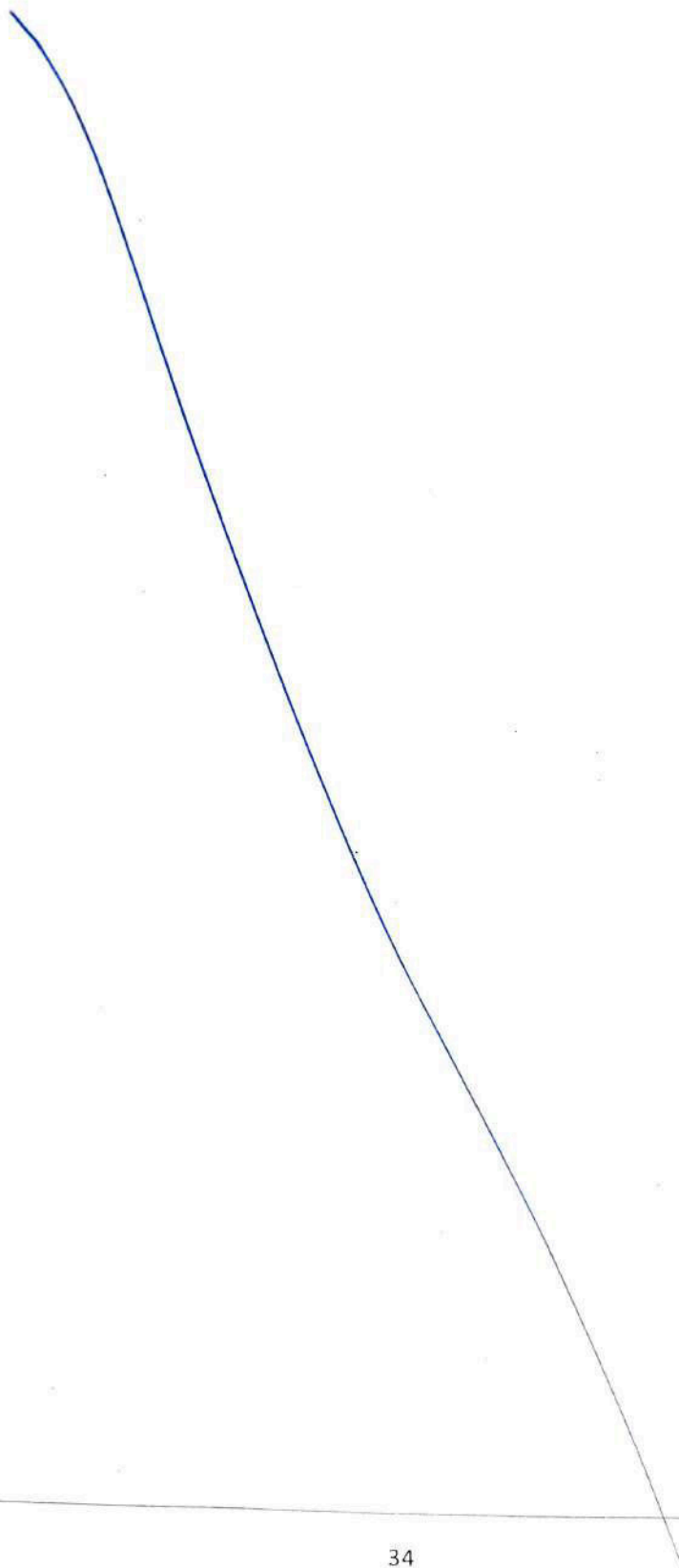


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Gandhi's philosophy was a profound engagement with modernity and its pitfalls. Comment. (15 Marks)

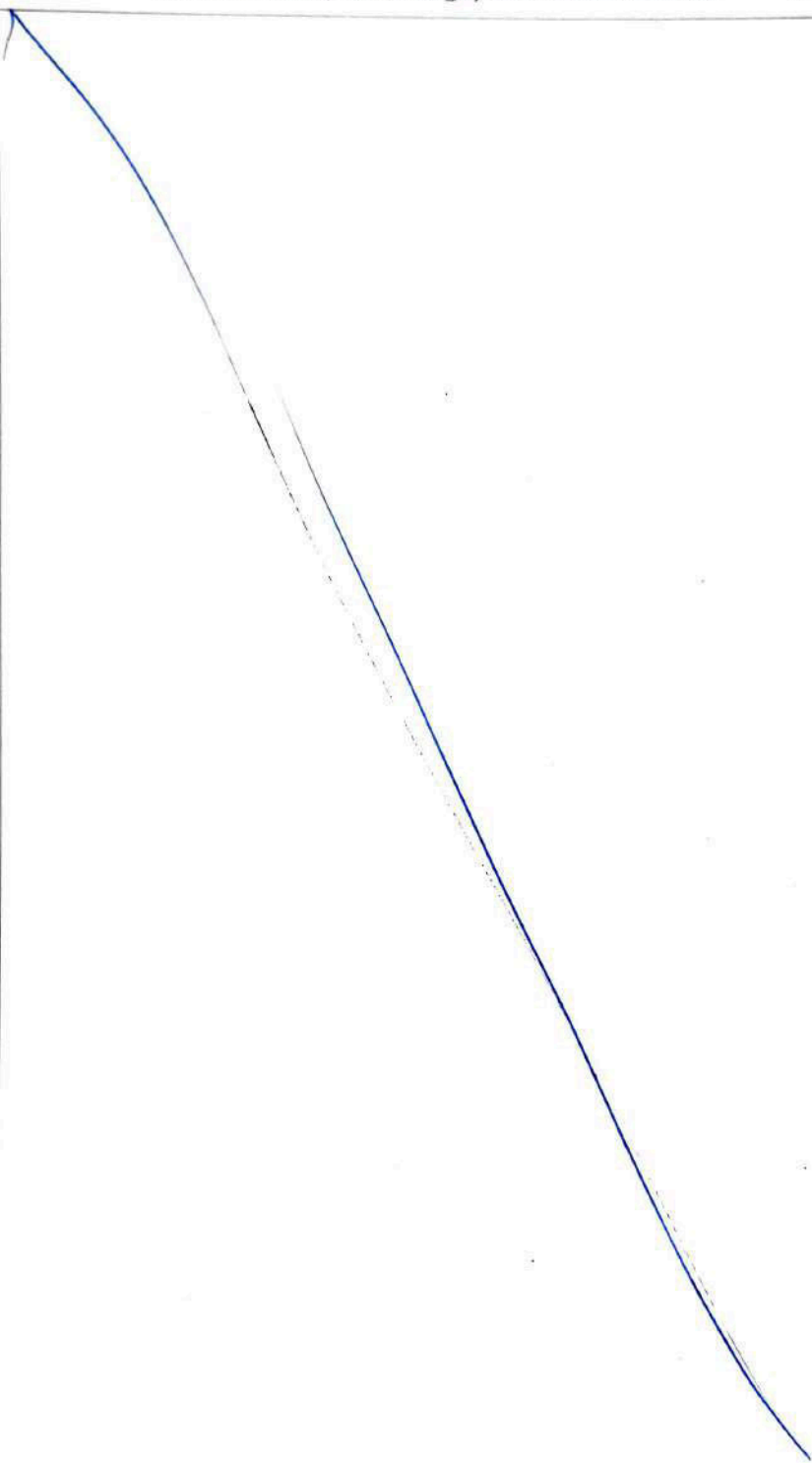


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Que.4(c)

Kautilya is convinced that although a good and wakeful king is necessary, this alone is not sufficient to ensure a well-ordered state. Explain (15 Marks)

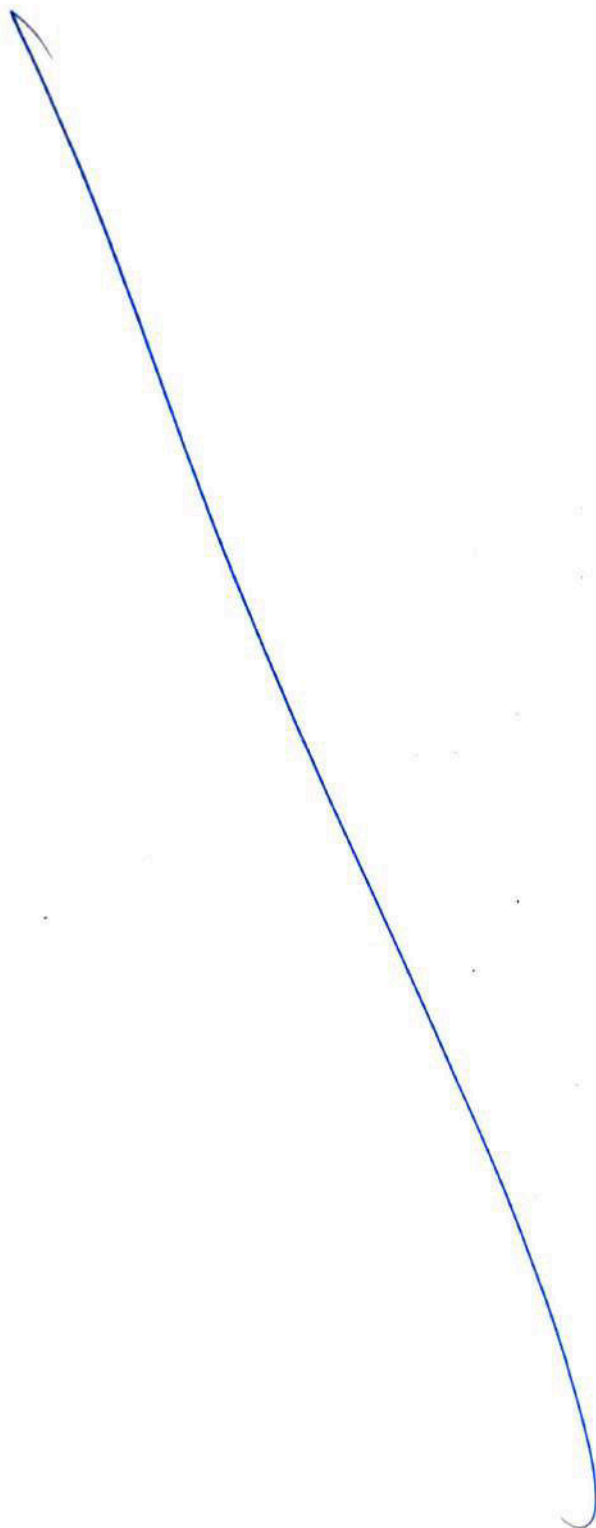


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Bring out the Marxist perspective on the post-colonial Indian State.
(10 Marks)

'Post Colonialism' refers to state where formal colonialism is over but Kwame Nkrumah fears neo colonialism in such societies.

Post Colonial Indian State is described best through the concept of Structural Marxism of Hanry Alavi who in his concept of 'Overdeveloped State' called Pakistan as 'Military - Bureaucratic Oligarchy'.

Such 'Overdeveloped State' concept is true for India too because economic survey 2017 also explains that India adopted a 'Revolutions model' where political structure is more developed



than Economic model, thus Bonapartism exists.

Similarly, no Marxism of Gunnar Myrdal in book 'Asian Drama' called India as a 'Soft State' where there is lesser obedience towards 'Rule of Law'. Also Atul Kohli (no Marxist) called the 'Crisis of Governability' where 'Poly-morphous Euphemism' exists because like Hindu Gods, state balances between competing Interests.

Thus, Samuel P. Huntington's and Leysian Pye's Political Day concept shows the mismatch between Political Institutions modernisation and rising aspirations of people, but we can also see 'Political modernization' (FW Riggs) through secularization of caste.



Que. 5(b)

Explain how the DPSP and Fundamental Rights are supplementary and complementary to each other. (10 Marks)

while DPSP and Fundamental Rights
were balanced through 'Harmonious
Construction' Doctrine of Supreme Court
in 'Minerva Mills Case', the relationship
has been bumpy since Independence •

They are Supplementary because
while Fundamental Rights represent
Political liberalism and higher theory of
John Locke and Thomas Paine, and are
justiciable (Part III, Article 12-35) which
makes Supreme Court as Sentinel Qui
Vive (Soldier with sword) •

But, DPSPs in Part IV [Article 38-51]
represent Social and Economic Democracy



and Socialism of Edward Bernstein, ~~and~~
Fabian Socialists like J. L. Nehru.

They are complementary because
State's duties are balanced with
Individual rights. (Eg) Education under
Article 45 has been recognized first
by Supreme Court as Fundamental Right
under Unnikrishnan and later by 86th
Constitutional Amendment as Fundamental
Right (Article 21-A).

Fundamental Rights and DPSPs thus
showcase 'Substantive Democracy' where
Political, Economic, Social objectives are
achieved through One Person, One Vote, One
Value and are called as 'Integrated Sphere'
by Granville Austin.



Que.5(c)

Compare the working of the Indian and Western pressure groups.
(10 Marks)

Pressure Groups perform the role of 'Interest Articulation' as per Charles Almond and Parsons's theory of Structural Functionalism.

The differences between Indian and Western Pressure Groups could be compared from Jean Blondel's Classification where Indian Pressure Groups are mostly traditional in working, less mobile, use old methods like strikes and mass mobilisation based on basic necessities issues like food (Akshaya Patra Foundation Group), Trade Unions with Political Affiliations like FICCI, CIT, ASSOCHAM etc.



However, Western Pressure Groups
are more associational, organised,
employ political modernisation and
development approaches (eg #Fridays
for future, #EndBad Governance, yellow
vests movement, Recent LGBTQ+ rights
groups in western countries (rainbow
Pressure groups).

Today we also see evolving
nature of Pressure Groups in India
which Rajni Kothari describes as
reservoirs, reservoirs of leadership and
avenues of modernisation (eg India Against
Corruption, Farmer Unions like Bharatiya
Kisan Union).

Thus, Pluralistic Democratic theory is
based reflected in Pressure Groups.



Que.5(d)

Critically examine the role of Rajya Sabha. (10 Marks)

Rajya Sabha called as the 'Secondary Chamber' by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan is the form of representational Democracy which is the house of Elders (Peter Sobor).

Role of Rajya Sabha includes acting as a Revisionary Chamber to check hasty pass of legislations. It also includes the sufficient deliberation to prevent 'Ordinance' and 'Executive urgency' and 'Political Expediency'.

Article 312 through which Rajya Sabha has powers to initiate the creation of new for All India Services.



(eg) Recently President Dr. B. D. Joshi vouched for All India Judicial Services.

Its importance could also be seen in passing of Smugglers Prohibition Act, 1961 where in Joint-session Recommendations of Rajya Sabha were accepted. Similarly in National Honours Act, its recommendations were accepted. The Ordinary bills, Constitutional amendments ~~are~~ become law only after RS approval.

However, it has also been criticized as Dilatory chamber and it needs to ~~pass money~~ return money bill in 14 days, with no de facto power in it (eg) Adhaar Act, Electoral Bonds. But Rajya Sabha needs to utilize its role in forming Overlapping consensus and General will.



Que. 5(e)

Do you agree that the NHRC has failed to deliver its mandate, in particular, to protect the rights of people from marginalized communities, religious minorities, and human rights defenders? (10 Marks)

NHRC is a statutory body through NHRC Act, 1993 with motto

"Sarve Bhavanthu Sukhinah" (May All be happy).

NHRC is a 'watchdog' body with powers of civil court and has heard to 17 lakh applications with 1 billion compensation recommended. However, it has failed to deliver its mandate because :- of allegations :-

- ① 'Lap dog' of Government (Eg) Sation ST of NHRC prevents from accountability of AISA thus marginalised communities suffer like in North East Insurgency.



(2) While complaints have increased 1140% from 1993, but manpower has reduced in NHRE which hampers Natural Justice.

(3) Religious minorities suffers because of lack of coordination with National Commission of Minorities and huge pending case (50%) with only secondary power (eg) Sidhi Vratation incident in MP.

(4) Human rights are not valued, enforced (eg) manpower incidents, custodial violence, like Tamil Nadu Death in Custody 19 lockdown etc.

Thus, there is a need to adhere to Paris Principles and need for greater Independence through Organisational strengthening to get GANHRI Accreditation



Que. 6(a)

"The 73rd and 74th Amendments instructed the state governments to devolve such functions and powers to the local self-governments as would enable them to function as institutions of self-governance." Explain to what extent the devolution of functions and powers has been successful in the case of Panchayats? (20 Marks)

The 73rd and 74th Amendments
represent the 'Organic voices of power'
of Mahatma Gandhi which favoured
and Constitutionalised Democratic
Decentralised through mandatory
provisions for Gram Sabhas

The theory of popular sovereignty
is rooted in Gram Sabha where
deliberate, debate, discussion is mandated
through article '243-B', and 29 subjects
to devolve as per state's mandate placed
under Schedule 11 and Part IX; for
municipalities similar provision enables



under Article 243G and 18 subjects
through Schedule 12 and part IX-a o

However, Mani Shankar Committee
held that it has resulted into ⁴formation
of Skeleton, but the infusion of blood
in the hands of State Governments²

For instance, Kerala Government
also known as 'Big Bang Approach'
has resulted into maximum devolution
but Northern States has led to
'Decentralization of corruption'² as per
Mani Shankar Biju Committee o

The Success could be
judged from the fact that ⁶Local



Governments have got the financial powers to initiate projects (eg) In Uttar Pradesh project cost upto 5 lakh could be pass through Gram Sabha, the planning of GDPs, BPDPs, District Planning Committee composed of Municipal and rural areas have given them planning agencies.

However, Challenges remains

for instance In Municipalities, the colonial legacy of Municipal Commissioners importance continues with Mayers being non elected in many states, the basic necessities of taxation of water has also not been developed by some states where



has hindered development resulting into what GUR Rao committee calls 'Grass without roots' .

Similarly, Panchayats generate only 5% of own revenue (Economic Survey 2018) with mostly tied nature of funds resulting into Aid curse and Resource curse . The lack of taxation powers has resulted into poor Quality of services which has resulted in 'Missing tax payers' .

Thus, the true democracy of Abraham Lincoln of 'by the people, for the people, with the people' could be achieved through Strengthening Grass Root Democracy. Punchi commission recommends 'Panchayat commission' to check Devolution problems



Que. 6(b)

There have been demands from Ladakh for the 6th schedule status. What is the Sixth Schedule, and what special provisions are provided with the tag of the Sixth Schedule Area? (15 Marks)

6th Schedule Status is a ~~part~~ showcase of Asymmetric Federalism nature of the Constitution which former Justice BQ called as 'Amphibian'.

6th Schedule status means Greater Autonomy to the tribal areas through the creation of 'Autonomous District Councils' which are presently for 4 states → Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, Mizoram.

Special Provisions include the:-

- ① Autonomous District Councils which have the provision to ~~be~~ plan



and decision making powers in the functioning of bodies.

② Governor, with previous consent of President could create ~~AT~~ Autonomous District Councils.

③ Chairperson shall always be a scheduled tribe.

④ Special representation and majority to the STs in the area.

⑤ no mining work^{land rights} could be allotted without consultation with the ~~to~~ Autonomous Councils.

⑥ the State Legislative Assembly also needs to consider the exemptions to such councils in the Law.



implementations.

① Presently, there are 10 such districts in North East.

Thus, Ladakh's demand for 6th Schedule Status has been because.

i) For Greater Autonomy and decision making for the Ladakh area

ii) more than 15% of the population is tribal dominated

iii) Protection of land rights and preventing of diversion of land to non tribals.

Hence, it has been said that 6th Schedule is 'Constitution within Constitution' and recent creation of 5 more districts in Ladakh is also a positive step.



Que.6(c)

"Identity Politics has become a prominent subject in Indian politics in the past few years." Critically Examine (15 Marks)

'Identity politics' is based on 'political patronage' resulting to 'politics of passion' mode of Interest Aggregation by Political Parties (Structural functionalism theory of Gabriel Almond and Powell)

In [Indian Politics], it has become prominent subject due to Mandal and Kamandal idiom where Caste acted as Politicization of society.

Rajni Kothari calls it Secularisation of caste while Pudolph and Pudolph resembles it with Tradionalisation of Modernity and Modernization of



Tradition where Identity politics have led to rise in consciousness of caste, region, ethnicity etc.

For instance, rise in caste coalitions like AJGAR, KHAM, MY shows political sociology interaction (Max Weber), where caste becomes dominant factor in politics.

Similarly, Myron Weiner talks about honey soil theory (eg) Maharashtra Bhumi Putra movements like also latest political reservations debates for locals in Karnataka, Karyan etc.

Paul Brass blames ethnicity for use of identity politics (eg) North



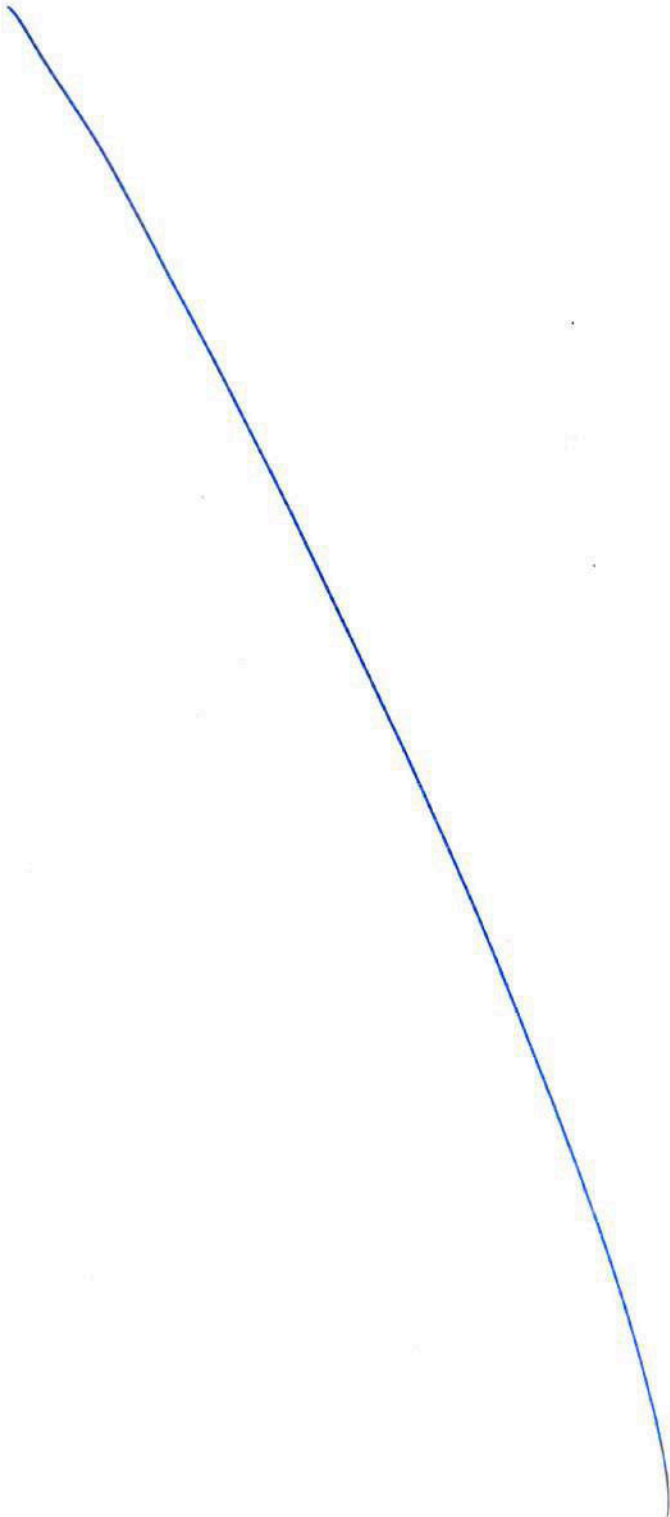
East's Manipur crisis rise of ULFA, ADSV, NSCN(IM), and recent peace agreement with ULFA shows the increasing Legitimacy of identity politics.

While Yogendra Yadav and Rajw Bhargava sees these ~~movements~~ as Rebimisation of Democracy, but Pratap Bhanu Mehta, Christopher Jaffrelot calls identity politics as threat to Unity and Integrity of India.

Thus Atul Kohli calls Democracy as a cause and solution to such problems, where only Democracy has the solution. Also voters can be seen towards moving Identity Plus Politics (Yogendra Yadav)

a)

What do you mean by intra-party democracy? Why is it necessary to promote intra-party democracy? Suggest measures which can be taken to increase intra-party democracy. (20 Marks)



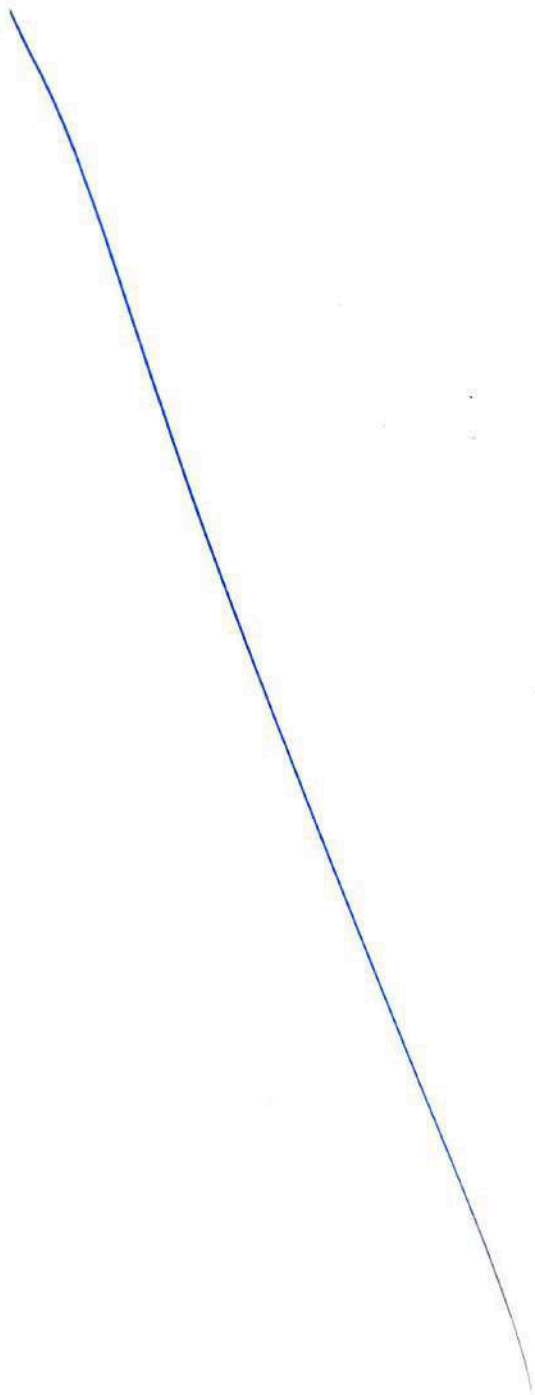


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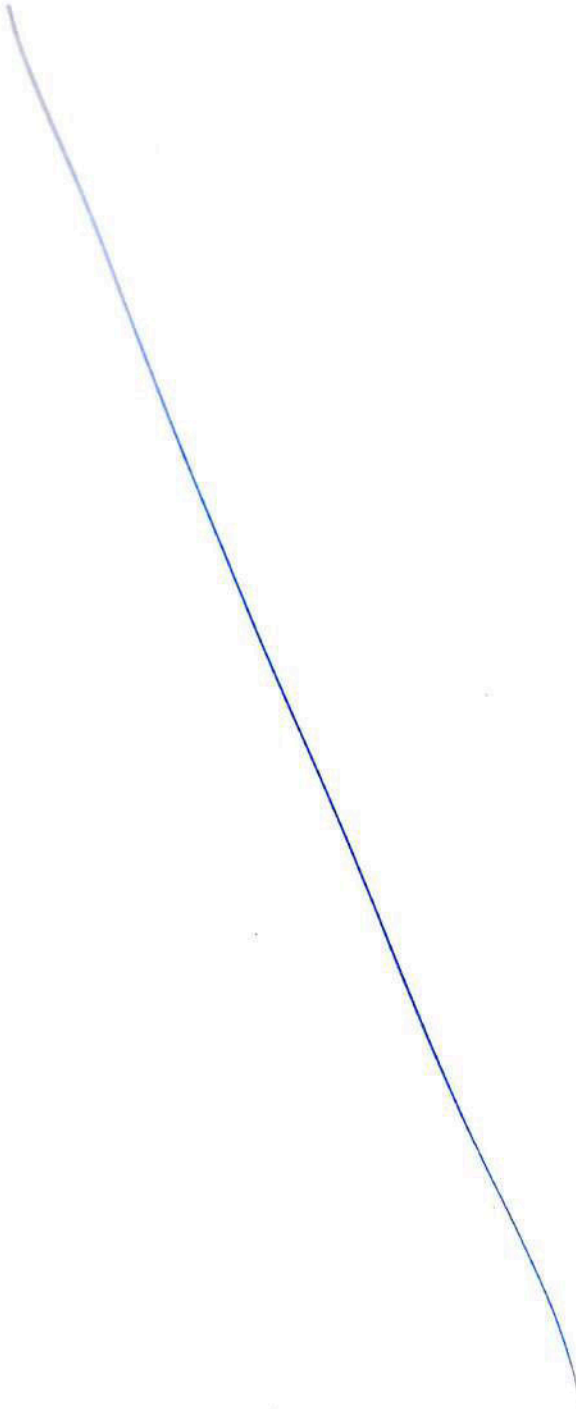


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Que.7(b)

Explain what are the key trends shaping India's party system, Indian democracy and the changing political landscape? (15 Marks)

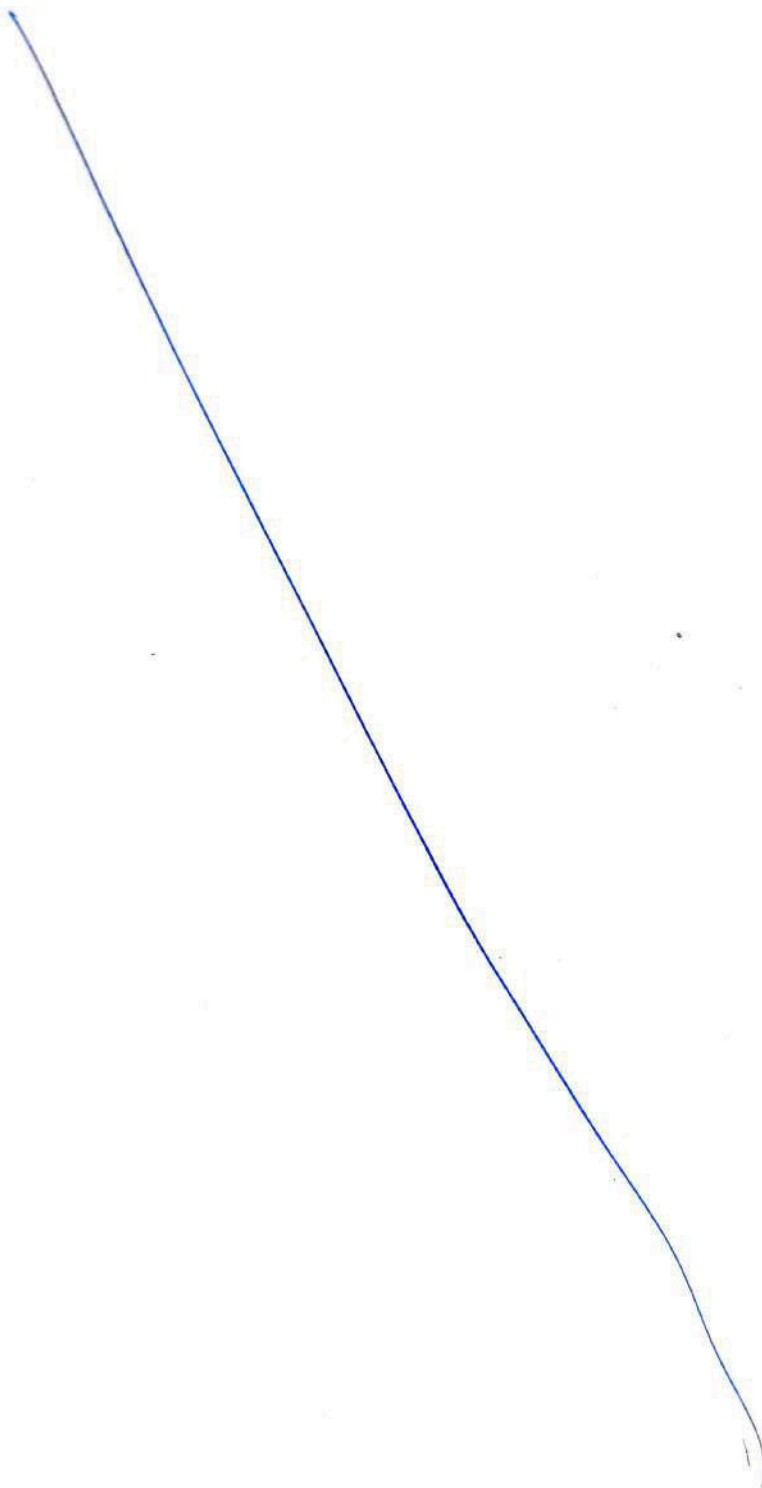


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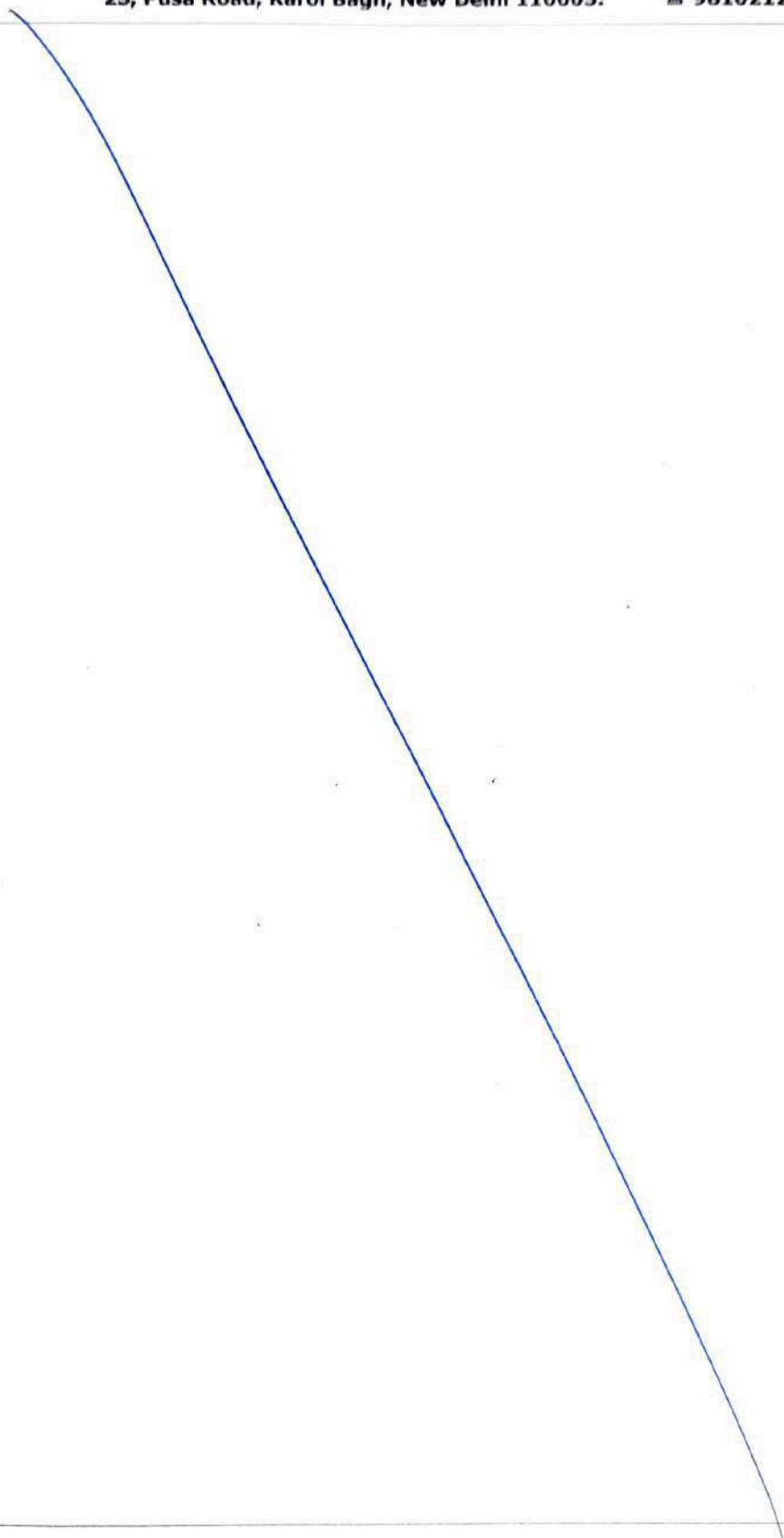


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Que. 7(c)

Explain the role of Deputy Speaker of Lok Sabha (15 Marks)

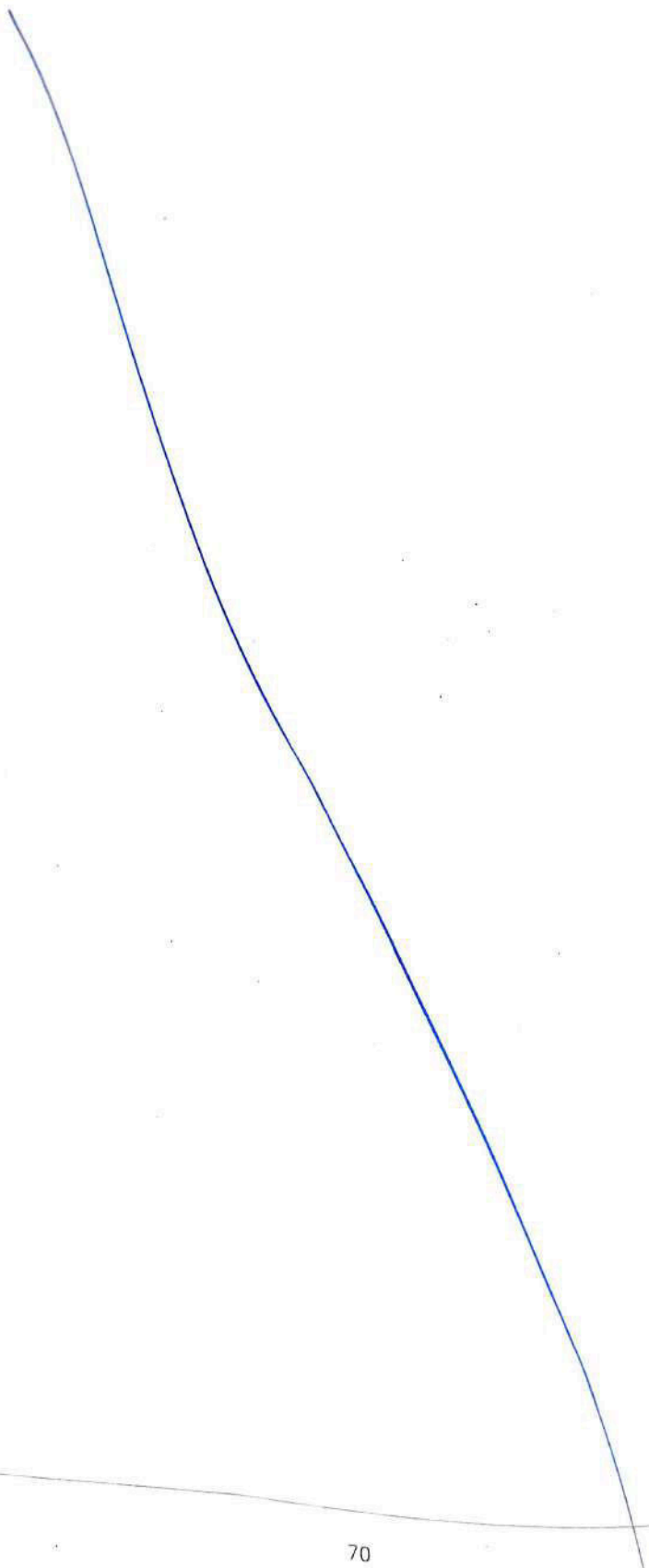


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Que.8(a)

"A robust federal structure needs to be in place to deliver effective governance and development in a country as diverse as India." In light of this statement discuss the unique federal design of India. (20 Marks)

Justice Beg in State of Rajasthan vs Union of India described Indian Federal Structural as 'Amphibian' which adjusts as per circumstances •

India's Unique Federal Design can be understood from the fears of Regionalism and Secessionism at the times of Independence, which necessitated a 'Quasi Federal Structure' as per the Institutionalist scholar K.C Wheare •

The provisions such as All India Services (Article 312), Position of Governor (Article 154, 155) which Sarkaria commission calls as the



Lynchpin, Emergency provisions (of 1975 Emergency on Internal disturbance), the posts such as CAG, CVC, CBI have pointed towards the 'Unitary' Federal Structure°

However, It has been more correctly described as Federalism in form, but Unitary in Spirit°, but provisions such as :-

- ① written constitution
- ② Independent Judiciary
- ③ 7th Schedule [with three lists]

This shows that Federalism in India has been a 'balancing Act' and also Asymmetric in nature because of presence of Article 371 (special



provisions, 5th Schedule, 6th Schedule etc
for accommodating Regionalist trends.

Louis Tiller in book 'Remapping India' shows how Article 3 acted as
a provision to derange map of India
internally, accommodating secessionist
movements like Khalistan, Sons of
Soil theory etc.

Hannu, Robust Federal Structure
is needed to deliver Effective Governance
because States are much near to
the citizen thus prevent the legitimation
crises, thus 'fiscal federalism' through
GST, Finance Commission (Article 27A
and Article 280 respectively) with
the GST compensation less has led to



the idea of Pooled Sovereignty and
Political Economy approach of governance.

It is important for development
of the country because pluralist democracy
and sovereignty is imp. to assimilate
diversity (eg) Kakkar held that 'If Society is
Federal, State should also be federal'.
This is important to ensure Sabka Sath
Sabka Vikas like through competitive
Federalism of Multi Party, cooperative
Federalism through Interstate Council
[Article 262].

Thus, 'State is the keystone of social
Fabric' and 'Federalism' thus has been
the basic structure (SR Bommai case, 1994)
that balance State-Centre relationship.



Que.8(b)

"Our parliamentary system does not provide adequate space for Opposition parties in Parliament." Discuss in light of the frequent suspension of members of Parliament for disrupting its proceedings. (15 Marks)

Chief Justice DY Chandrachud held that⁶⁶ Dissent is the safety valve of Democracy, otherwise the pressure cooker may burst²²

Thus Parliamentary Democracy is based on General will of Rousseau which values Debates and choices and Discussion over Voting. Indian Parliamentary system based on Article 74 and Article 75 whose essence is executive responsible to the lok sabha.

The suspension of 170 members of parliament shows that the turning into reality of biggest fear of J.S. Mill



which is Democracy turning into
'Tyranny of majority' or Game of numbers

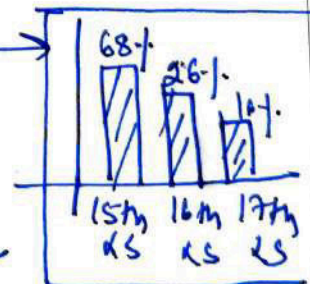
Opposition parties or members of
opposition have thus been bypassed
on several occasions like suspension
in bulk [140], which denies them the
right to question, the suspension of
zero hour and Question hour [which
ensures daily accountability].

The recommendation of bills to
Parliamentary committees have also

been reduced as shown →

Apart from it, the rise
in Ordinance Raj have been

an open avenue under Article 123 to
displace opposition parties (eg)





Average 10 ordinance per year in 17th Lok Sabha as compared to 6 in the 2000s.

The opposition parties thus are reduced to a minority in the first past the post system; also after 10 years, there has been Leader of opposition, whose importance is similar to ministers of cabinet rank.

However, we can also see the disruption caused by opposition parties which has resulted into what Hamid Ansari calls 'Federation of Anarchy' as informed debates have vanished because of frequent walkouts.

Thus, it can be said that 'while opposition should have its say, Government should have its ways'



Que.8(c)

"The most important gain of India's environmental movement is the voice it has given to its citizens." Discuss (15 Marks)

Rousseau held that 'the state which destroys its land (nature), destroys itself' which shows the importance of Environment for the body politic.

Environment movements thus represent the voice of people through 'Political Sociology' approach of Aristotle and Max Weber where citizens get the avenue for mobilizations.

In India, this could be seen where a transition has happened where in 1960s it was known as Environment Movement by R.C. Gupta, however, in 1980s we see,



Activists like Sunderlal Bahuguna,
Chandiprasad Bhatt participating in
Chipko Movement, however they were
seen as CIA Agents by the pessimists.

Later, the movement in India
got autonomous character and were
No more seen as 'Old Socialist Guys'
through Narmada Bachao Andolan,
Spiko Movement (Karnataka), #Saurashtra
#Saur Ashwari through pressure
groups which resulted into political
Developments, political modernisation.

The voice to citizens was also
seen from tribal movements like
Dongria Kondhas against POSCO in



Chattisgarh, the movements in
Bamul Grasslands &

The voice got more strengthened
with Judiciary's involvement in
Environmental Jurisdiction (eg)

MC Mehta case (Polluters Pay Principle),
Deendhar Gaur case (right to environ-
mental health) and more recently
Ranjit Singh case where right to
protection against adverse effects of
climate change has been recognised
under right to life (Article 21).

Thus, it is important to understand
that 'Brahmali Rakshati Rakshilah'
(Nature protects if she is protected)



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Space for Rough Work