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Political Science & International Relations

PSIR Mains Test Series – 2024

Test 5

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name

Mukas

Test Date

28/08/24.

Email Address

UPSC Roll No

0857 592

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)

Write on the following in about 150 words each

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

Political theory is a "rich intellectual tradition" concerning itself to the realisation of the goal of a good life.

Classical political theory dominated by political philosophy approach concerned itself with the normative issues like justice, equality, liberty etc. It was more focussed on understanding the features of "Ideal state" [Plato].

Prominent exponents of this approach including Plato, Aristotle etc. advocated for study of normative values by "dialectics" for a good public policy. Due to non verifiability,



historical & Institutional focus of political philosophy, political science challenged it as 'archaic theories' with negligible value.

Political science advocated for a value free, objective and a scientific analysis. It was a product of behaviorism focussed more on facts, facts & facts [Lord Bryce]. It was focussed on understand political behavior and understanding the real world of political systems in developed world [elitist & pluralist model] and 'prismatic societies' where there is a difference in text & context through approaches like political systems approach, of David Easton.

However post-Behaviorism, a synthesis of political philosophy and political science was held to be the best to resolve 'fact-value dichotomy' [Max Weber] faced by both approaches.



Que.1(b)

General Will. (10 Marks)

Rousseau gave the concept of General will as the main objective of the state.

Rousseau held that General will is the outcome of real wills of the all people. He favoured direct democracy and held that only direct democracy is the way to realise General will.

General will as per him is the absolute will and it will provide the maximum liberty to the people in the state when they will act as per the General will.

However he believes that it shall be the product of



real will and ~~not~~ the corrupted "actual will" as Rousseau held that man is good and rational by nature.

Rousseau held that if a person does not act as per General will then he/she has to be 'forced to be free' by making him her act as per General will.

However his ideas were used by fascist leaders for establishing & legitimising their authoritarian rule as his conception is subject to various interpretations.

Rousseau's emphasis on direct democracy is relevant today especially local self government in India and elections today are the General will of today so their outcome has to be respected for smooth political transition. (e.g.) Capital full protests in USA & Brazil violence.



Que.1(c)

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

fascism is ultra right political ideology going for ultranationalism, hyper aggressive foreign policy with no freedom in any sphere at all.

fascism at times is criticised as 'hedge podge' of ideas [sabine] used by fascist leaders to justify their actions.

It is called as a theory of reaction and counter-revolution because it aims to establish old order (eg) Hitler's idea of superior aryan race & domination of German empire.

It is also called as counter-enlightenment movement



as it strengthens the traditional elites and rejects philosophy of renaissance based on humanism.

Hannah Arendt held that fascism destroys public sphere and it destroys nationalism which is a secular identity. It promotes 'total nationalism' and leads to authoritarian politics with no place for dissent.

Arendt held that revolution provides freedom & voice to people (eg) American revolution but fascism denies any freedom to people & it is counter revolution.

Besides revolutions established human rights & limited state but fascism goes for 'Autarky' & the notion that 'there is nothing beyond'. So fascism is a theory of reaction & counter-revolution.



Que.1(d)

Surplus Value (10 Marks)

Marx gave surplus value in his book "Communist Manifesto" & held it to be the value of product minus intermediate consumption.

Marx held that surplus value is the reason behind the difference and gap between capitalist and workers leading to "dialectical materialism" and "class struggle" that ~~is~~ ultimately determines "historical materialism".

surplus value kept with capitalists is the reason behind workers working for their own exploitation as capital goes on increasing with capitalists and the bargaining power of workers goes



on decreasing.

It leads to disequilibrium and creates polarisation in society. Due to it workers will develop the "Revolutionary consciousness" & become "class for itself" leading to the revolution, dictatorship of proletariat & communism. So as per Marr capitalists dig their own graves through surplus value.

surplus value is also the reason behind North-South gap in world as per Brand Line due to "search for surplus value will take bourgeoisie everywhere". The terrible inequalities highlighted by oxfam report is its outcome.

However, M.N. Roy advocated equitable distribution of surplus value & Gandhi solved it through Trusteeship Theory where capitalists are just trustees of surplus value & not owners.



Que.1(e)

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

Locke is called as father of 'political liberalism' for his theory of property through limited state.

Locke held that 'The sole purpose of ~~a~~ commonwealth is for protection of property'. Locke justified the right to property as one of the main natural right of the man in his natural rights theory.

He held that man has exclusive right over the property created by his hard work. The state cannot take away this right, otherwise it would be a breach of trust as state is a trust and people are trustees &



Locke gives the right to revolt when state breaches its trust however, Locke held

that one cannot spoil property or prevent others from earning property. Like Aristotle, he believes that only property earned by rightful means is legitimate. The role of state comes at the stage of seeing that property is earned & transferred fairly or not.

For right to property, Macpherson called Locke as a scholar of 'possessive individualism'. Locke inspired Nozick's theory of property in his book 'Anarchy, state & Utopia'

Tully appreciated Locke for liberating institution of property from heredity and establishing economic justice through fair acquisition & transfer of property



Que.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)

Human Rights are the essential conditions of life without which nobody can realise his/her true self $\rightarrow$ taski
cultural relativist

perspective of human rights was propounded by Franz Boas.

It held that any conception of human rights which does not take into account the effects of culture & community may not be acceptable to all.

The discourse of human rights which are inalienable universal and available equally to all is based on the principles of



of liberalism or western culture, The human rights are contained in Universal Declaration of Human Rights are guaranteed rights.

Multiple problems were associated with them. The non western world took it as cultural imperialism of the west. It sparked the 'Asian values' debate and the eastern societies complained of the interference in the cultural sphere.

Human rights permitted interference in domestic sphere leading to the challenges to sovereignty of Third world countries by the west. (e.g.) Nato's interference in Libya in 2011. Human



rights has become a tool for geopolitical aims and ambitions. The human rights industry is allegedly nurtured by the west.

cultural relativists argue that culture is a part & parcel of a person's identity. They contest the rights of women especially. human rights discourse in this context has led to "clash of civilisations" [Huntington].

Even human rights itself is a contested concept. The starting point of human life is contested making debate on abortion intensified. The rights of terrorists is another matter of contestation.
as the relativists,



a cultural specific notion of rights will be more sufficient and apt to overcome challenges.

However, feminist scholars oppose cultural rights as culture has biasness against women in specific parts of world (eg) female Genital Mutilation in Islamic world. Further cosmopolitan scholars like Seyla Benhabib held them as a roadblock in emergence of cosmopolitan culture. However scholars like

Will Kymlicka calls universalism as 'colour blindness' and advocates for a particularist approach in form of cultural rights to minorities. Conservative theory of Edmund Burke held customs & traditions as a source of rights.

mean through dialogue among civilisations can help in arriving at a common point with respect to rights.



Que.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)

'State is an executive committee of the bourgeoisie class' → Karl Marx.

Liberal theory of state held state to be a 'neutral' party for the resolution of conflict & taking decisions in the society.

However, Marx through his 'Base & superstructure Model' proved that economic structure is the basic structure. All other institutions in superstructure are a reflection of base including the state.

In his materialistic interpretation of history, he held that state is a product of force



Theory & not a neutral entity.

In capitalist society, state favours the bourgeoisie class as it dominates the economic structure & it exploits the working class.

Further Instrumentalists like Ralph Miliband held that even welfare state is an instrument of capitalist class and the managed revolution of James Burnham is a myth. He defied Poulantzas argument of growth of "catch all parties" and "ought to vote" to workers bringing neutrality in the state.

Miliband held that so long executive and judiciary remain elitist, state will remain



executive committee of bourgeoisie.

Further Marr in his 'eighteenth Brumaire of ~~Napoleon~~ Louis Bonaparte' held state to be a bourgeoisie neutral party when no dominant class exists and state starts appearing neutral. However still he argued that in times of crisis, it will favour the capitalist class.

Kamla Ali's 'overdeveloped state' is a variation of 'Bonapartist state' in South Asian conditions. The Instrumentalist approach is held to be more appropriate to study states of Africa, Latin America etc. which are called as 'clientalist regimes'.

Marxism's analysis though based on 'economic reductionism' added greatly to our understanding of the modern ¹⁷ states in Global North as well as Global South.



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)

In normative political philosophy, normative issues like Justice, liberty, equality etc, remain prominent from Plato to Rawls in modern times.

The relationship between justice, liberty & equality has been a matter of debate among the scholars of various schools of thought. Isaiah Berlin's "Two Value Pluralism" holds the values ~~to be~~ incommensurable & inherently pluralistic so we have to take multiple theoretical perspectives.

Classical liberals like John Locke give priority to liberty over equality for providing justice in society. libertarian



Scholars like Hayek, Noszek give highest preference to liberty and held that equality over liberty is an injustice to the rich and it is an attack on their dignity.

Socialists on the other hand, give highest priority to equality over liberty to deliver substantive justice in society.

Karl Marx held liberty to be a 'false consciousness' and in his communist model, he vouched for complete equality for justice in the society.

Social liberals, on the other hand, try to reconcile libertarians & socialists through



positive liberty or equitable distribution of resources by progressive taxation & welfare state

John Rawls Theory of justice based on Liberty, Equality & Difference Principle is a classical work in social liberalism. Other scholars like Amartya Sen pushed for giving equal welfare by his capability approach as he believes it is not possible to understand justice so we have to go for reducing unjustices in the society. Dworkin gave his "one time principle" for compensation to bring everybody at par & for a just society.

The views of social liberals are more acceptable. ~~The~~ Indian reservation system based on social liberty has helped in giving a life of dignity to destitute & help in realisation of equitable distribution & justice in society as per the vision of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar.



Que.3(a)

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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Que.3(b)

"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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Que.4(a)

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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Que.4(b)

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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Que.5(a)

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

Structural Marxism led by Frans
Alvi analysed the nature of state
in Pakistan which is also relevant
for India & other South Asian
States.

Alvi held that state
in these societies is "overdeveloped
state" and there is "militaristic-
bureaucratic oligarchy" having most of
the powers.

States in these societies
including India is a "imported
concept" as there is mismatch
between economic structure and
political structure, Economic structure
remained traditional but the
Britishers introduced the modern
State.



Executive remained very powerful called as "Bonapartist executive" because of no revolution and the model of development adopted by these states gives more power to the state.

States negotiated between
① Metropolitan Bourgeoisie ② National Bourgeoisie ③ Landlords. These states continue to be a 'prismatic society' and they have sale model in administration and Market Canteen Bazaar model in economics.

India was famously called as "Inspector Raj" or "Police Raj" by C. Rajagopalachari for excessive powers with executive, supreme court tried to address "Bonapartist executive" by giving Basic structure doctrine & enhancing accountability. Marrist analysis helped to understand Indian state in a comprehensive sense.



Que.5(b)

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

Indian constitution mentions fundamental rights in part III [Article 13-32] and DPSP's in part IV [Article 36-51].

Ambedkar during constitution framing process held that "political democracy without social & economic democracy is a contradiction".

So, fundamental rights symbolised political democracy and DPSP's as Ambedkar held that they are "novel features" for social and economic democracy.

However, right from the beginning of constitution, the relation between them caused tussles ~~but~~ between legislature & executive and executive - judicial tussles. It led to constitutional amendments.



like 1st Amendment & cases like Champakam case [1951], Keshvanand Bheroti case [1973]. Finally in Minerva Mills case [1980], supreme court through doctrine of harmonious construction, held fundamental rights and DPSP's as complementary and the balance between them as a part of basic structure.

Article 14-18 provides for political equality, Article 39(b), (c) and Article 48 provides for social & economic equality. Fundamental rights provide rights of people & DPSP's represents the duties of state which have to be followed by the state in the framing of policy so both are complementary to each other.

The unique balance of fundamental rights & DPSP's is one of distinctive feature of Indian constitution & it is an example for other states.



Que.5(c)

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

Pressure groups, also called as interest groups, is a group of people organised for realisation of common objective. They called them "Invisible empires" and they are a crucial part of pluralistic democracy [Pahl].

Indian pressure groups and western pressure groups have fundamental differences as India is a prismatic society.

Going by Gabriel Almond's analysis, Indian pressure groups are mainly non associational in nature (e.g.) caste pressure groups like Jat Mahasabha, Bhim Army etc.

whereas western pressure groups are mainly associational in nature based on interests.

Indian pressure



groups are more anomic in nature
(e.g.) ULFA etc. due to lack of 'instit-
utionalisation of democracy' & western
pressure groups are more institutionalised
further due to 'overdeveloped

state', Indian pressure groups are
dominated by formal pressure groups
(like) civil services association whereas
due to limited state, institutional
pressure groups are less powerful.
Indian pressure groups

allegedly use violence & non legal
measures like hartal, bandhs etc. but
western pressure groups use modern
methods like technology, lobbying etc.
Indian pressure groups

have limited relevance on government
policies & decisions whereas western pressure
groups enjoy significant powers

India is a society
in transition & Indian democracy will
gradually become a mature democracy
with a vibrant pressure group ecosystem
in coming times



Que.5(d)

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

Rajya Sabha, established under Article 80 of constitution is called as "House of elders" with 6 years of tenure.

Modelled on British House of Lords, Rajya Sabha represents the states and it acts as the house to maintain federal equilibrium.

It has significant powers with respect to passing of Ordinary Bills, Constitutional amendment bills, financial Bills under Article 117(1) & (3), approval of emergency and ordinances of the Government.

However its role has been seen as ineffective due to less



powers with respect to Money bills.
Representation based on population
gives unequal representation to different
states. It cannot bring No confidence

Motion to remove the government.
It has limited financial powers
like it cannot ~~demand~~ vote on
demand of grants & has limited
representation in parliamentary committees

It is seen as a 'parking
lot' for politicians who failed to get
elected to Lok Sabha.

However, it is
suggested to follow US Model for
equal representation to all states
in Rajya Sabha. ECI proposed the
need for domicile for candidates
to Rajya Sabha election. There is
a need of reservations in Rajya Sabha
also for SCs, STs and women

Rajya Sabha shall become
an active participant for healthy parliamentary democracy in India



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)

"A state is known by right its maintains for its people" → Ask
NHRC is a statutory body established under Protection of human rights Act to ensure the Paris principles, 1993 and rights available under UDHR, 1998.

Since its inception, NHRC has helped in ensuring rights to people. It has conducted more than 200 conferences & facilitated payment of more than \$1 billion as compensation to victims of human rights abuses.

It regulations in 1997 against custodial torture and police encounter helped to bring down police



excesses. Its Medad and HRC Alert portal has proved useful.

However its track record remains short of marks when it comes to marginalised communities. As per NCRB report, crimes against women, SCs, STs, elderly etc. have increased. Marginalised sections have disproportionate share in undertrial population.

The condition of minorities is very pitiable as highlighted by Sachar Committee. Its role in ensuring rights of tribes & farmers has been minimal.

P. B. Mehta held that NHRC shall move beyond "Notice Issue" culture for preserving rights of people. A. L. Datta highlighted need of reforms by calling NHRC as "toothless organisation". NHRC as "Fourth Branch Institution" needs constitutional status & serious reforms for its 50 mandate.



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)

Based on Gandhi's "swaraj" concept, local self governments have educative value, intrinsic value & instrumental value [Amartya Sen] for good & humane governance [ARCI] under the principle of subsidiarity.

To realise this goal,

73th & 74th Amendment Acts were passed for democratic decentralisation by adding a third tier. These acts while establishing a third tier gave powers to state governments to devolve functions & powers to these local bodies.

State governments



then passed respective acts for devolving powers & functions to the panchayats.

however, the devolution of powers & functions has been questioned. various times. ASCS Report by Neo Tanagga recently held that only 42% of 73rd & 74th Amendment acts have been implemented by the state governments representing lack of commitment to decentralisation.

further, Rayawade committee [2017] highlighted critical lack of devolution to powers to Gram Sabha under Article 243 A which forms the backbone of panchayats. There is a lack of



parity among states as states like
 Kerala have devolved more powers &
 functions to its panchayats under
its Big Bang Model of decentralisation.

Further, RBI's report
recently highlighted critical lack of
funds with PRI's as they depend
on grants for 95% of their
funds & have less than 1% of
revenue comes from taxation. Vijay
 Kelkar held that "Introduction of
 GST " has further reduced resources
of panchayats ".

World Bank's recent
report highlighted the availability of
secretaries in panchayats at 0.67
 per panchayat on average . It
highlighted phenomena of " Panchayat
 Pati Syndrome " & lack of empowerment



of lower castes.

At times, states are themselves criticised as "Colonised Municipalities" as a reason for lack of sufficient decentralisation. The parallel bodies like Bureaucracy are reluctant to share powers with the PRIs resulting in Mani Shankar Aiyer committee calling PRIs as "half Baked cake" or G.V.K Rao committee calling them as "grass without roots".

Moving Ahead, Perle's Big Bang approach, Andhra Pradesh's "village & secretariat scheme" can be emulated by the states. Further the recommendations of NCRWC and Pannicki commission for sufficient political, administrative & fiscal decentralisation can be a guiding light for the state governments to realise vision of VIKAT BHARAT @ 2047.



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)

Sixth schedule based on principle of subsidiarity [ARCTI], present in Article 244 aims to provide a special status to tribal areas of Assam, Meghalaya, Triपुरa and Mizoram.

6th schedule areas enjoy enhanced protection as compared to 5th schedule areas of 10th states. It requires constitution of Autonomous District Councils, Regional Councils and Village Councils in 6th schedule areas.

These committees enjoy significant powers like power to frame laws for law & order,



resource mining, money lending & can set up schools, dispensaries etc.

PESA Act, 1996 has been passed to provide more autonomy to tribals in 6th schedule areas for democratic decentralisation.

In recent times, there have been demands from Ladakh for a 6th schedule status based on "climate fast" of Soram Wangchuk. The tribal population in Ladakh is more than 90% and overtourism has led to climate consequences & influx of outsiders leading to people demanding sixth schedule for Ladakh. Existing autonomous district councils of Ladakh & Leh are powerless as per experts and LG on the behalf of central government.



is the main government body.

However, it is mixed with exceptional challenges. Amrit Shah held that it will require many constitutional changes as 6th schedule is for northeastern states only.

Any special status to Ladakh will lead to some demands from Jammu & Kashmir to restate special status under "Ajanta Declaration".

Presence of China-Pakistan axis requires swift movement of military & border infrastructure in times of crisis like Galwan (2020).

Government has set up a high powered committee to study claims of Ladakh. It has increased reservation for locals to 45%. Arunachal Model based on special provisions under Article 371

can be explored⁵⁷ to bring peace stability & development in Ladakh through overlapping consensus [Rajiv]



Que.6(c)

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

Going by political systems approach of David Easton, politics is influenced by elements in the environment like religion, race, caste etc.

In a 'prismatic society' [Tiggs] like India, politics of identity is a common phenomenon to witness in past few years. Political sociologists like Beteille, Myron werner, Jaffrelot etc have studied identity politics in India.

christophe Jaffrelot held that 'caste still forms the mosaic of Indian politics'. Though it is not a single variable. It is interesting with other factors like regional issues, money & muscle power etc.



The issue of caste census in 2024 Lok Sabha is a case in point where in Hindi Heartland, Sushil Pei held that "Mandal won over Mandir" in the form of number of seats to INDI Alliance.

Scholars like Pyron Weiner studied role of religious organisations like RSS in recent elections. Increased role of religious leaders in politics like Haji Adityanath and use of religion by political parties (e.g) Hindutva of Saffron party is a case in point. In 2024 Lok Sabha elections, BJP ridden over the "Mandir issue" to appeal the voter base.

In northeastern states, ethnic politics remains a common



phenomena. In Punjab, victory of Khelistani separatist shows the issue of Khelistan getting prominence. In South, linguistic politics led to the victory of DMK & AIADMK in recent times.

However, as Udendra Yadav held that now Indian voter goes for 'Mandal Plus' politics means economic development ~~is~~ is also matters for electorates. The loss of BTP in Tat Belt and rural areas due to farmer protests, inflation and unemployment in Lok Sabha elections 2024 highlights importance of development politics.

Gulles Varma warned against 'monocausal explanation' of Indian politics. Indian politics has become complex so we have to see multiple factors for an overall analysis instead of just ⁶⁰ focussing on identity politics



Que.7(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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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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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)

Federalism is a political contrivance where constituent units desire unity without uniformity as per ARCTT.

Indian federalism, as part of "Basic Structure" [Bommai case, 1992] is a unique model of federalism. Granville Austin called Indian federalism as "sui-generis" or unique to India's case for various reasons.

Indian federalism is an asymmetrical model of federalism with vertical & horizontal asymmetries. It is based on "holding together" federalism on the basis of interlocking & interdependence between the units.



It is because of the high diversity in India that a federal model was considered necessary. Historically, princely states & provinces were governed differently by Britishers so federal model needed to accommodate that aspect also.

In India, various regions are at various stages of development due to imbalanced growth (e.g) North-south divide so vertical & horizontal asymmetries were needed to address these difference (e.g) Article 371.

Further, the problem of secessionist and regional movements were addressed through the unique federal model particularly



in north eastern states (eg) Nagaland,
Mizoram's 1st peace agreement etc.

For governance part,
going by subsidiarity principle of
ARC II, democratic decentralisation
in the form of third tier governments
were added in 1992 through the
73rd and 74th amendment. Besides
that 7th schedule divided legislative
subjects between Union [98], State [52]
and concurrent list. It left the
subjects with state government that
they can handle in a better way.

Constitution of India

as ~~per~~ held by Stephen Cohen provides
for a 'demos enabling' federalism instead
of demis constraining federalism of USA
for the governance and development.



However, instead of cooperative federalism, we are seeing combative federalism in the form of disputes over issues like Governor's post in states like Tamil Nadu, Kerala etc. Use of Article 356, GST

compensation issue, Debt ceiling issue of states by centre (e.g.) Perela vs centre in supreme court, CAA, NRA, National Civil Services Authority Act, 2023 etc. has brought centre & states at loggerheads with each other.

Going Ahead, the notion of 'Team India' based on federalism principle is crucial for achieving the vision of VISION BHARAT@2047. B.R Ambedkar's suggestion of following 'Constitutional Morality' is crucial for leaders. Creative federalism where centre acts as a friend & guide to the state governments is necessary for governance & development in the country.



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)

Parliament, established under Article 79 is the highest body of accountability and the 'most defining feature' of our republic as per Vinod Rai in his book 'Public Institutions in India'.

Expected to work on the principles of deliberative democracy or Habermas's model of 'discursive model of democracy', opposition has a critical part to play in India's parliamentary system.

However, Indian Parliament has been criticised for lack of space to opposition parties. In 17th Lok Sabha, more than 2000 suspensions of MPs took place.



Post of deputy speaker, which goes to opposition as per parliamentary conventions has been lying vacant in these years from 17th Lok Sabha.

India saw an opposition leader in 18th Lok Sabha after a gap of 5 years. As per PRS's report, more than 35% of bills have been passed in first hour of discussion without involvement of opposition. PRS also highlighted that during 17th Lok Sabha, only 16% of Bills were referred to Parliamentary committees reducing role of opposition parties further. Opposition parties have complained of marginalisation & suppression of voice by the speaker due to the politicisation of the post of speaker.



Further, PRS held that 14th Lok Sabha functioned for 55 days in year which is historic low & use of more ordinance route (eg) farm Bills have further reduced role of opposition on the part of opposition parties, there has been lack of cooperation and there is an increase in disruptive behavior with frequent walk outs by them leading to Hamid Ansari calling Parliament as "federation of anarchy" & parties as "warring groups".

There is a need to overhaul parliamentary rules & conventions by proper codifications. Verkaah Nandus suggestions like 15 points charter, Productivity Meter can be used for effective opposition. Further UK Model of "shadow Cabinet" and US Model of "Parliamentary committees" can be emulated for effectiveness of opposition & accountability of government.



Que.8(c)

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

India's environmental movements have been analysed by scholars like Ramchandra Guha in his book "The Unquiet Woods" for their empowerment role in masses.

After passing through the grey years [1947-1970], the environment movements saw a resurgence in 1970's with Chipko Movement led by Sunderlal Bahuguna. In 1980's, movements like Appiko, Silent valley movement, Narmada Bachao Andolan etc. have increased voice of marginalised communities.

In recent times, we have seen a drastic turn in



India's environmental movements & their effectiveness.

Arrival of NGOs has made them more organised & helped the citizens to effectively voice their concerns in front of the governments. (eg) during Aarey movement in Mumbai.

Indian environmental movement is more united, consolidated & organised (eg) the 'Aaravalli Kalling' movement for protection of Aaravalli involving citizens from various backgrounds.

Besides that, the social media revolution have increased voice of citizens in environmental movements, we saw



it recently in "Save Khatlang"
campaign in Uttarakhand and
'save trader forests' campaign in
Chhattisgarh.

The arrival of professionals
like Anil Agarwal has added to
the weight of people's voice in
environmental movements. Further the
participation of women and marginalised
sections have made these movement
inclusive inviting people from all
spectrums (eg) Tamil Nadu movement
against copper refinery.

India's environmental
movements based on deep ecology &
utilitarian conservatism of Sundararajan
requires proper recognition, leadership
& funding and government shall
pay sufficient heed to these
movements for a sustainable &
inclusive development for visist
Bharat @ 2047.



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