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Political Science & International Relations

PSIR Mains Test Series - 2024

Test 7

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

Name Mukas Kundu
Test Date 12/09/24
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UPSC Roll No 0857592

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						

	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:

Rights as trumps (10 Marks)

"Rights are those essential conditions of life without which nobody can realise his/her true self" → Ronald Dworkin gave his "strong concept" of rights in his idea of rights as trumps.

He held that rights of people are supreme considerations & they cannot be taken away by the state under any condition. He held that "right is prior to good" and common good or the community interests is & not the excuse to curb the rights of people.

Rights are inherently necessary to enjoy a good life

as per Dworkin & some rights are against the government. These rights keep the government accountable to people & prevent rise of totalitarianism.

Dworkin held that under no condition, government can take away the rights as these are very fundamental to the existence of humans.

However Laski in his book "The Theory of rights" held that rights are dynamic in nature & they come with corresponding duties but Dworkin believes that rights are entitlements of an individual without any corresponding duty.

Dworkin's emphasis on rights to keep government accountable & for a dignified existence is appreciable but as Indian constitution provides in Part IV A, duties are also important to enjoy rights also as per Gandhi.

Que.1(b)

Second Wave of Feminism (10 Marks)

Feminism is a political ideology that advocates equal social, political & economic rights for women in society. It is a "meta-ideology" with multiple waves or schools of thought.

Second wave of feminism came with the arrival of Radical feminism that held that it is not an application of masculinist doctrines to women like the first wake of feminism is the form of Liberal & Socialism feminism.

It called for Radical reordering of the society where the gender based discrimination is completely eliminated. It calls for elimination of "Gendered society" as held by Betty Friedan

in her book "Feminine Mystique" Kate Millet called for "sexual politics" to break gender-power nexus. Shulasmith Firestone called for the "dialectics of sex" then "dialectics of class".

They explained patriarchy in society by "personal is political" [Carole Hanisch] where women face oppression in household, market, state as per Susan Moller Okin. Simone de Beauvoir held that "one is not women rather one is made women" based on existentialist tradition of Sartre which requires women to develop "good faith" to come out of patriarchy.

Radical feminism enriched feminism movement with diverse terminology & thoughts though it remained limited to western countries.

Radical feminism's legacy still resonates in global feminist movements like Anti Hijab protests in Iran & Ni Una Menos movement.

Que.1(c) The Overloaded Government Theory. (10 Marks)

Government is the administrative mechanism encompassing legislature, judiciary & executive as per John Locke for the governance of country as per constitution.

Overloaded Government Theory holds the view that government is overloaded with multiple tasks & demands of the modern societies.

As modern societies have gone bigger & complex & with the advent of concept of welfare state with Modern liberalism of J.M. Keynes & social liberalism of Amartya Sen, government is

overloaded with the tasks like ensurance of security, well being of people, external & internal security in 6th generation warfare world, capacity building etc.

further lack of funds with the government further complicates the overload on the government. (8) debt crisis in Sri Lanka

If government cannot perform as per demands, it can lead to a 'legitimation crisis' as per Habermas & 'crisis of governability'. Hence to set out of such situation, social liberal ideas Government shall partner with society, industry to handle the overload. It calls for whole of Nation approach. It is very crucial to realise the vision of Viksit Bharat by whole of nation approach instead of just overburdening government as per Panch Prans of PM Modi

Que.1(d) Normative Approach (10 Marks)

"Political Theory is inseparable from political philosophy" → Germino.

Normative Approach in political theory held that the normative issues like rights, equality, justice etc. form the heart of political theory & these normative issues shall be given primacy.

It was started by the early Greek scholar Plato who held that it is more important to understand the features of "Ideal State". Scholars like Machiavelli used it in his work "Discourses". This approached enriched political theory with rich content on normative issues.

But then, it faced

decline in post WW II where it was criticised as 'arm chair theories' with less relevance & verifiability in the modern context.

Behavioralism challenged it & attempted to make a value-free, scientific & objective manner, however due to 'Ivory Tower Syndrom' & Black & women movements in USA, normative approach saw resurgence in 1970's & 1980's with emergence of Post behavioralism.

works like 'A Theory of Justice' of John Rawls, 'Human Condition' of Hannah Arendt & 'Open societies & its enemies' of Karl Popper and new themes of comm unitarianism, feminism etc. led to revival of political normativism.

However Caitlin rightly held that political theory has two complementary branches of political normativism & political science for a comprehensive analysis & to resolve fact-value dichotomy.

Que.1(e) **Consociational model of democracy. (10 Marks)**

"Democracy is a form of Government in narrow sense & an attitude of respect & reverence to fellow human beings" → BR Ambedkar,

Consociational Model of democracy was given by Arend Lijphart where the decisions, policies & laws are made by consensus against the majoritarian view of democracy.

In this model, debate, deliberation, discussion & dissent form the heart of democracy. Deliberative model of democracy working on the principle of consensus is a model of consociational democracy. It helps to realise the "General will".

It legitimises popular rules & harmonises diversity & stability. Consociational democracy ensures human dignity of all based on categorical imperative of Immanuel Kant & it leads to constitutionalism

However, it has to be noticed that due to ideological divergences, it is difficult to generate consensus on matters in this complex world of post truth

So, Tacit & Explicit consent of John Locke can help to realise consociational democracy. Habermas' idea of "ideal speech condition", "communicative action" & "discursive model of democracy" to avert "legitimation crisis" can help in realisation of consociational democracy.

Constituent assembly of India can be seen as a role model of consociational democracy in modern times as it worked on generating consensus

Que.2(a)

Distinguish between procedural justice and substantive justice. Compare the Greek and Rawlsian perspectives on Justice. (20 Marks)

Que.2(b) "Multiculturalists accept an essentially communitarian view of human nature". Discuss (15 Marks)

Que.2(c) The pluralists believe that Austin's concept of sovereignty cannot be verified from history. Explain (15 Marks)

Que.3(a)

Democracy and social movements are closely linked like two sides of the same coin. Critically Analyse whether Social Movements increase or decrease democratisation. (20Marks)

BR. Ambedkar defined "democracy as not a form of government but as an attitude of respect & reverence towards the fellow human beings". It is about respecting the dignity of the individual based on categorical imperative of Immanuel Kant. It is based on "one man, one vote, one value" and is concerned with "giving voice to voiceless & power to powerless". So to empower people, democracy harmonises the popular rule and individual's freedom. Democracy in this context appreciates and encourages social movements to empower people and to help

the activities of State under check.
(8) recent Nishbhaya 2.0 Agitation in Bengal.

David Singer defined social Movements as the collective effort of the people towards achievement of a social or political goal in public interest.

Habermas in his book "Structural transformation of public sphere" appreciates social movements as "Radical Democracy" or "New politics". He appreciates them for maintenance of "public sphere" which is at the heart of democracy. These movements help in realising "Ideal speech condition" "communicative action" for averting "legitimation crisis".

He held that social movements help in democratisation.

in the phase of 'democratization of political parties' and 'ineffectiveness of political representation' in representative democracies of present context. (eg. India Against corruption

Also, Hannah Arendt sees them part of maintaining public sphere as per 'zoon politikon' nature of human beings.

However there is a debate regarding role of these movements in democratisation of society.

One school argues that these movement help in addressing 'democratic recession' [Larry diamond] and help in increasing democratisation in society by increasing democratic consciousness & education. They help to address the systemic issues in democracy & help in realisation

of rule of law and protects rights of people (eg) LGBT is "Pride Movement". They help to address corruption, elitism in politics.

However other School of thought argues that too much of social movements depicts lack of "institutionalisation of democracy". It can turn democracy into Mobocracy [Tocqueville]. It can lead to majoritarianism and chaos in the society (eg) recent Bangladesh crisis due to student movements. Also social movements often resort to illegal methods like Dharnas, Hartals, violence etc. (eg) farmer protests & violence in Northeast by NSCN.

So social movements though a double edged sword, shall be utilised in democratisation by increasing democratic consciousness in society and 'institutionalisation' shall be promoted as per Pluralistic model of democracy of Robert Dahl to control crowd behaviour & anarchy.

Que.3(b)

For Hannah Arendt, the three activities of labour, work and action collectively constitute the world of human praxis but they are not equal in 'dignity' and 'rank'. Explain (15 Marks)

Hannah Arendt, a scholar of civic Republicanism gave her views on human actions in her work "The Human Condition" based on "phenomenology" [experience].

She established a "Hierarchy of human Actions" :-

1. Animal Laborans
2. Homo Faberan
3. Zoon Politikon

Like Rawls, all these works/actions are in a lexical order with third one having the most important. Although all these works have their own respective importance.

For example, Animal Labouran helps a man to satisfy his appetite & physiological needs

necessary for existence.

Further, 'Homo Faberan' enables man to creat a better world by creativity & imagination (eg) Building of beautiful skyscrappers.

Moreover, as per her, 'Zoon Politikon' is the most important action by a human being. She differentiates between 'Vita Contemplativa' [thinking] and vita Activa [action].

She held that 'Vita Activa' [action] is more important based on 'Zoon Politikon' where a person participates in public or political Sphere. As per her, participation is necessary to ensure 'freedom' that requires 'Natality' or power to do something new. Natality requires equality &

equality will come when a person will perform action (ie) participates in the public sphere.

Through this theory, Hannah aims to address the "crisis of modernity" due to rise of totalitarianism due to more importance given to economic sphere. Her ideas on Human condition or Zoon politikon are based on her unique concept of power in her work "on Violence" where she held that "power is human ability to act in concert with each other"

However, when compared to Marx, Marx held that "production instead of thinking is more important" & so called philosophers are liars & they are spreading "false consciousness"

But in modern context, to contain the rise of populism, bolstering authoritarianism, China challenge in ideological terms, Democratic Recession [Diamonds] & Democratic Backsliding, Hannah's ideas are still relevant even in present day world @ Israel judicial protests

Que.3(c) Critically examine the "New Humanism" as given by MN Roy. (15 Marks)

"Humanism is the ideology that respects the human dignity of every individual" → MN Roy.

MN Roy gave the concept of "New humanism" after inspiration from humanism of protagoras who said that "Man is measure of all things".

His ideas on New or Radical humanism in his "New humanism: A Manifesto" which aims to build a "cosmopolitan Union of free humans" represents the "Enlightenment of the East".

His New humanism has both critical as well as constructive aspects. Critical aspects include the shortcomings

of Communism/Marxism which subjugates man under "collective ego of class" & ~~fascism~~ fascism which subjugates man under "collective ego of nation".

He criticised parliament system for lack of proper ~~re~~presentation & advocated "partyless democracy" due to threat of "demagoguery" & "mob behavior" in parliamentary system.

Constructive aspects, on the other hand focus on three aspects → (1) Morality among people (2) Rationality based on secular thoughts & ideas (3) freedom of highest extent.

He countered religious dogmas & superstitions and held that rationality in man due to his constant struggle for is existence & is not a special providence of

nature. He emphesised on scientific way of life & scientific rationality. He criticised Gandhi's worry as it is based on religion.

In economic sphere, he vouched for economic reforms & held for nationalisation of agriculture & addressal of vital human needs However, his ideas were too complex for people of that time & Sudipto Kaviraj criticised his ideas as "remarkable failure" due to lack of that level of rationality in the Indian society. He is also criticised for positive aspects of religion altogether

(8) BR. Ambedkar's ideas on Buddhism But also Granville Austin appreciated him for introducing socialism in Indian constitution & his ideas influenced constituent Assembly members at that time.

In present context, his ideas are found in Part IV-A of constitution like scientific temper as a fundamental duty so his ideas on humanism are still relevant.

Que.4(a)

Discuss how Hobbes's psychological egoism, ethical relativism and political absolutism are all supposed to follow logically from the assumptions or principles underlying the physical world which primarily consists of matter and motion. (20 Marks)

Que.4(b) Bring out Dr B. R. Ambedkar's views on Socialism and communism. (15 Marks)

Que.4(c)

Major issues have divided competing traditions and tendencies within socialism. Bring out the faultlines along which there are schism within Socialism. (15 Marks)

Que.5(a) With the help of relevant Supreme Court judgements, analyze how Climate change threatens the constitutional guarantee of the right to life and equality. (10 Marks)

The ultimate Objective of constitution is to give a life of dignity to all as per Dr. B.R. Ambedkar as it is a 'social political charter' for good & Humane governance.

Article 21 of Part III provides right to life & liberty to all individuals. Supreme court in Menka case gave the 'due process of law' where it held that law shall be 'fair, just & reasonable' & it gave a wide interpretation of Article 21 encompassing right to a clean environment as a part of it.

In MC Mehta case [1987], Supreme court explicitly provided for a fundamental right

to clean & pollution free environment. In Vellore citizens case, it recognised 'Polluter Pays principle' to combat pollution & climate change. In Delhi pollution case, it put a ban on Stubble burning, firecrackers to combat pollution & climate change. Recently in Ranjit Singh case, it held that Article 21 is also available for right to be protected against adverse impacts of climate change.

However, SC's judgements are often criticised as judicial adventurism or overreach violating separation of power doctrine as climate change & environment is a 'policy issue' to be decided by legislature & executive.

Although lack of action by legislature & executive necessitated interference by SC to ensure a healthy & dignified life to the people.

Que.5(b) Comment on Non-Cooperation Movement. (10 Marks)

Non-cooperation Movement was started by Gandhi led Khilafat committee in August 1919 to "refuse cooperation with the rulers that misrules". It aimed at making the administration under present conditions impossible. Gandhi encouraged people by saying that "If non cooperation movement was successful, Swaraj will usher in an year".

It included programmes like mass resignation by public servants, lawyers will give up their practice, students will leave Government colleges, non payment of taxes etc. Constitutional changes were

made in 1920 session to achieve swaraj by "legitimate means" & not limited to constitutional methods. "Constructive programme" was initiated to eradicate untouchability & to work for Hindu-Muslim Unity.

Gandhi withdrew it in Feb. 2022 due to chauri-chaura incident. Leaders like Tilak criticised it as it was started on a religious khilafat issue. Revolutionaries like C. Azad, Bhagat Singh moved permanently to revolutionary methods due to sudden withdrawal of NCM. It also estranged J. Nehru & SC Bose.

Also, its legacy is that Jinnah left INC in 1920 due to constitutional change leading to a major breakthrough for Two-nation theory. However it was a part of Struggle - "Truce - Struggle" or "protracted war" strategy of Gandhi as masses were exhausted & communal riots like Moplah riots were happening. Bipan Chandra called it as "Golden phase" of INM.

Que.5(c)

Analyse the Dalit perspective on the nature of the Indian National Movement. (10 Marks)

INM has been subjected to various interpretations. RC Pradhan held that various perspectives on INM is like 6 blind men trying to figure out elephant in the room".

Dalit perspective on ~~neglect~~ INM was provided by Jyotiba Phule & then B.R. Ambedkar. Phule held that "how a ~~caste~~ society divided in so many castes can be called as a nation". Further Dr. BR Ambedkar inspired by French Revolution's idea of liberty, Equality, fraternity held that "India is not a nation but a community of many segmented communities". In "Pakistan or Partition of India" Book, he held that we

cannot separate freedom of nation from freedom of people. He believed in Trinity of Liberty, Equality, Fatemity as core of a Nation.

He warned dalits that INM led by INC will keep them as "Hewers of wood & drawers of water". He held that INM led by INC is not only anti dalit but also anti worker.

By showing Gandhi's support to "varna system", he held that INM is harmful to interests of dalits. He demanded separate electorates for dalits in Simon Commission & at Round Table Conferences.

Scholars like Arun Shourie called him anti-National or a community's leader, for his support to dalits. However we can say that his approach was pragmatist & in constituent Assembly, Ambedkar held that "we shall be Indian first, Indian last & not anything but Indians".

Que.5(d) Comment on India's constitutional resilience. (10 Marks)

Constitution is the fundamental laws of the land which determines how a nation shall be governed.

Indian constitution is one of the greatest contribution to the field of "Constitutionalism" as per P.B. Mehta due to its cosmopolitan nature & its resilience.

Constitutional resilience is seen from its ability to adapt to changing circumstances & ability to address the needs of people & society.

Indian constitution though amended by more than 100 times in 75 years, it still remains the 'North Star' for the society. SC held that constitution is the "organic document" adapting to changing

needs of society. It survived the "black phases" of democracy like Emergency of 1970's.

Its cosmopolitan values & modern values have led to a "social revolution" in the society as per Granville Austin.

Further, Subhash Kashyap held that Indian constitution is a perfect blend of "Unitarian features & federalism", Parliamentary & Presidential system" etc. giving it a unique capability & resilience. Further the elaborate mechanism like doctrine of separation of powers & checks & balances based on interlocking & interdependence provided it a unique resilience to handle tough circumstances

BR Ambedkar rightly held that "Constitution is a vehicle of life & its spirit is the spirit of age" highlighting resilience of constitution

Que.5(e) **Analyze whether Nationalism was a by-product of British rule in India. (10Marks)**

'Nationalism is a primarily political idea that keep political & national unit together' → Maxc Gellenes.

Indian nationalism starting from mid-1850's is a product of various reasons.

First reason is the British rule where presence of foreigners as rulers in India acted as an injection point & for generating consciousness in society. Besides that, modern education system introduced by Britishers led to dissemination of nationalistic idees in India. Also, rule of law & British acting as unifier of India due to all India rule helped in

generating nationalistic ideas.

Besides that, indigenous sources & reasons were also there. Thoughts of leaders like Vivekananda who believed in neo-Vedantic vision of 'Unity in diversity' & popularised the ancient glory of great 'Bharatvarsh' nation rejuvenated nationalistic sentiment.

Popular leaders like Aurobindo Ghosh in his theory of nationalism gave a unique theory of spiritual nationalism blending the western & Indian thoughts leading to awave of nationalism. He openly held that India as a nation from beginning' & falsified moderate's belief that 'India is a nation in making'.

Indigenous scholars & leaders challenged the orientalist view that nationalism in India is a 'derivative discourse' by strong ideas on nation & nationalism in India

Que.6(a) Give the socio economic profile of the 18th Lok Sabha. Discuss the changing socio-economic profile of our legislators. [20 Marks]

Vinod Rai in his book "Public Institutions in India" called Parliament as the most defining institution of our democratic republic".

It is called as the "mirror" of the Indian society as per the socioeconomic profile of the legislators. As held by Systems Approach of David Easton that a political system is dynamic & it is affected by elements in the environment., Similarly the socio-economic profile of legislators keeps on changing from independence in different Phases as per Shenker & Rodrigues.

Phase-1: Congress System [Rajni Kothari]

From 1951-67, at

was dominated by lawyers & upper caste hindus like Brahmins - Banya coalition. Women & Minorities were underrepresented and the representation of SC's & ST's was at par with the reservation for them.

Phase-2: Phase of Transition →

In 1967-87 phase, it is called as "Pluralisation of politics" due to rise of "Bullock capitalists" [Rudolph & Rudolph]. Agriculturalists & social workers dominated parliament OBC caste representation improved whereas representation of women, minorities remained stagnant. Similarly SC's & ST's had representation at par with the reservation.

Phase-3: Plebianisation of Democracy →

Because due to Kamandel-Mandel politics, Democratic upsurges

[Yogendra Yadav], rise of Youth in politics, there was a 'massification of democracy' in this phase. But the representation remained more or less of the same with domination of agriculturelists & underrepresentation of women & minorities.

When it comes to the Socio-economic profile of 16th Lok Sabha, we see → As per ADR report →

① 46% of MP's have criminal cases with 31% of them having Serious charges leading to 'criminalisation of politics' [Vaishnav]

② 93% of MP's are millionaires [India is a ~~no~~ lower middle income country as per world Bank]

③ Average age of MP's is 56 years [India is going through a demographic

dividend with median age of 28 years]

(4) Women → MP's → 14% [share in population is 48-49%]

(5) Minorities like Muslims → less than 5% [share in population is about 14%]

(6) Share of Youth has continuously decreased.

The profile of 18th Lok Sabha clearly displays the mismatch. Though government has passed the Nari Shakti vandan Adhiniyam to address issue of women representation, still fundamental & structural issue remains like SC's & ST's still contest only on reserved seats representing lack of capacity building. Role of Money & Muscle power is needed to be checked to esure free & fair elections [₹1.35 lakh crore expenditure in 2024 elections as per CMS]

To address it electoral Reforms called as mother of all reforms is the need of hour along with change in First past the post system to ensure due representation of people & Make parliament a mechanism for consensual democracy.

Que.6(b) **The 16th Finance Commission is going to face fiscal difficulties faced by the 15th Finance Commission along with new challenges that have emerged in recent past. Discuss.(15 Marks)**

"Fiscal Federalism is like oxygen to the federal model" → Vijay Kelkar.

The constitution establishing finance commission under Article 280 sees it as a "quasi judicial body" & a "balancing wheel" of fiscal federalism in India

Recently, 15th finance Commission has been established under Dr. Arvind Pangariya to make suggestions under Article 281 for fiscal federalism or distribution of revenues between centre & states, grants-in-aid to the States & the measure to augment the funds of PRI's & ULB's by devolution from State budgets.

However, it is confronted

by multiple challenges.

challenges like also faced by 15th FC under NK Singh are also there. They constitute vocal criticism of states for lack of devolution as centre's revenue pool is 64.7% where states make 64.2% of total expenditure representing an imbalance. Introduction of GST & losses occuring to states in terms of revenue is still a hot topic. Use of surcharges & cesses constituting more than 20% of Gross Tax revenue of centre & a rise of 130% in last 5 years is resented by states as cesses & surcharges are non divisible. Allocation of funds to disaster funds like NDRF & SDRF will also be scrutinised by 16th FC.

However, newer issues are also emerging. for eg the issue

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Debt ceilings by centre on states which led to Kerala vs UOI case recently is a new issue. Freebies by states is a contemporary issue to be addressed, The new ~~issue~~ issue of states reverting back to the old pension schemes eg Punjab & fiscal instability is another issue to be considered by 16th F.C. The issue of southern states complaining of less funds & the due delimitation in 2026 will also be considered by 16th F.C.

So as to address the issues, there is a need to include role of states in appointment of FC & its TOR as per N.K. Singh. He also highlighted the need of synchronisation in working of FC & GST Council for fiscal federalism

Fiscal federalism going ahead will be a key issue in ensuring a cooperative - collaborative federalism in India [Minerva Mills case]

Que.6(c) More than thirty years have passed since India's Economic reforms. There is now time for India 'economic reforms 2.0'. Discuss (15 Marks)

Dessolution of USSR & Gulf war in 1991 led to the LPG reforms in India based on Manmohonomic or Neoliberal principles of 'washington consensus' of John williamson [1990]

These reforms were done to unleash 'Indian Tyger' based on experiences of 'southeast Asian Tigers' & 'Open door policy' of china.

Though these reforms have done in addressing macroeconomic stability like our forex reserves have increased to more than $670 billion recently and India is called as "star & Performer" by IMF due to its status of fastest growing large economy with a growth

rate of 8.2% as per Economic survey in 2023-24. India needs Economic Reforms 2.0 for various reasons, first is that Economic Reforms 1.0 were aimed at Stability so Economic Reforms 2.0 are needed for growth focus. 'Middle Income Trap' threats looms over India like Brazil as India needs double digit growth to realise vision of VIKSIT Bharat by 2047.

Huge unemployment at more than 8% as per CMIE in June 2024 and high inflation of 5% in June as per CMIE necessitates reforms. World Bank in its recent report "Jobs in South Asia" highlighted that India is not using its demographic dividend & it can lead to "demographic

Bomb". India's rank in HDI is 134 & Global Gender Gap is 129. Imbalanced regional growth with poverty in Binary States [Amartya Sen] & Agrarian distress has marred the growth of economy. India is also not able to derive full benefit of China+1 Strategy of companies due to huge Bureaucracy Red Tapism & delays.

Amartya Sen held that economic reforms 2.0 based on "Capability Approach" is necessity for India to grow like China. Raghuram Rajan recently held that "Boost of manufacturing sector by Labour/Factor market reforms is necessary to transform India from a service sector led economy to Manufacturing sector led economy". PM Modi held that India is committed to economic reforms by encouraging private sector, Ease of business & Ease of living but the pace of reforms has to be increased drastically.

Que.7(a)

Caste continues to play a significant role in Indian politics but some socio-economic differentiation is also taking place that is affecting the voting pattern. Examine in light of recent general elections. (20 Marks)

Going by systems Approach of David Easton, Political system is influenced by elements like caste, religion etc. in Prismatic society [FWRiggs] like India.

In India, as per LokNiti CSDS, caste is a long term determinant of electoral behavior & electoral politics. Hence political sociologists have studied the role of caste even in the recent 18th Lok Sabha elections.

In electoral campaign, the INDIA coalition led by INC played the Mandal 3.0 card & kept the issue of caste census at the forefront. The social

engineering done by INDIA coalition like distribution of tickets was based on caste calculus especially in Hindi Heartland & Jat Belt of western India.

The 'Saffron party' on the other hand though focussed mainly on 'Mandir' issue, also played the card of castes. But it took a different view of castes. PM Modi talked about 'Poverty as only caste' in his speeches. He talked about 4 castes → women, Poors, Tribals & Youth.

BJP focussed on economic extend for definition of caste in alignment with its 103rd Amendment providing reservations for economically weaker sections.

Further, the issue of subcategorisation of OBC's [Rohini commission report], recent issue of subcategorisation of SC's & ST's [Jaswinder Singh judgement] and the issue of reservation to Dalit christins & Muslims enhenced politics of caste in 2024 elections.

When, the results came, Sudha Pai in her article "Mandal over Mandir" held that caste calculus of INDIA won over Mandir issue of BJP represented by huge win of SP & INC in Uttar Pradesh [Hindi Heartland]. BJP also lost mejority of seats in the Jat Belt due to caste politics of 35 vs 1 caste debate.

However, as

Gilles Verniers held that Politics in India is complex & we shall refrain from a 'monocausal explanation'

Also Economic issues like farmer protests 1.0 & 2.0, Agrarian distress & high rural inflation with soaring unemployment rates also led to loss of vote share of BJP in Jat Belt & rural areas especially. Regional parties exploited it & they have 280 seats in 18th Lok Sabha

Yogendra Yadav held that "Indian politics & voters are moving from "Mandal politics" to "Mandal plus" politics" representing multiplicity of factors acting in synchronisation making political & voting behaviour difficult to study.

However, we can still conclude that caste still remains a dominant factor but not the only factor as per Christophe Jaffelot.

Que.7(b) **It is often argued that the Constituent Assembly of India did not represent the masses of India. Do you agree? Bring out the Nature of the constituent assembly's representation (15 Marks)**

Constituent Assembly formed in 1946 based on Cabinet Mission Plan consisted of 289 members that drafted the constitution.

However it is often criticised due to lack of true representation of people for various reasons.

The domination of INC made critics to criticise it as "congress committee". It was elected on proportional representation system by provincial assembly whose members were themselves elected on limited franchise.

& Some members from princely states were also nominated.

Lord Viscont Simon called it as 'a "Body of Hindus" or Churchill called it as "Body of Brahmins". However, the criticism is not apt as it contained the representatives of all sections of the society & including the women of all sections except Gandhi, BR. Ambedkar & Hindu Mahasabha who failed to get elected to it was also included in Constituent Assembly

Granville Austin held that "India was one party State" at that time. "Congress was India, India was Congress". 1951 elections substantiate the proposition. Going by Habermas theory of democracy, even a single party system can

be called as democratic if there is internal democracy which was there in INC.

Constituent Assembly was called as "India in Microcosm" due to "diversity of intellectual representation" by Madhav Khosla further, working of constituent assembly was based on "consociational Model of democracy" [Arend Lijphart]. Constitution was adopted by consensus & not majority like Nehrus constitution.

So working as well as representation of constituent assembly can be called as "Rainbow representation" due to sheer diversity & inclusive approach. The outcome in the form of a "cosmopolitan constitution" [P. B. Mehta] that led to a "social revolution" [Granville Austin] substantiates legitimacy of the Constituent Assembly.

Que.7(c) "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 (15 Marks)

J.S. Mill in his book 'on Liberty' held that Freedom of Speech & Expression is crucial element of a 'deliberative democracy' & for maximum possible liberties to the citizens based on the platonic thought of, ' A state is individual writ large'. on similar lines, Indian constitution guarantees the right to speech & expression under Article 19(1) of part III of the Constitution.

It reads as follows→

The freedom of speech & expression is subject to reasonable restrictions on the criteria of contempt of

Court, public order, national unity & sovereignty etc.

Similar to views of JS Mill, constitution provides freedom of speech & expression for expressing one's ideas & thoughts including acting on them.

However, reasonable restrictions are placed similar to "Harm principle" of JS Mill to protect rights & liberties of all. They are needed because as Isaiah Berlin held that "liberty should not become a license".

These restrictions are needed to curb hate speech in politics (eg) caste & religion based remarks. It is needed to protect fundamental rights of

other actions to maintain social cohesion. These are needed to curb riots & conflicts in society (e.g. Mob riots). Further to protect the dignity of SCs & STs, the limitations are placed. Also to save 'constitutional integrity' & lack of uniformed criticism these restrictions are placed (e.g. Contempt of Court) to preserve faith in judiciary or to curb seditious speech that challenge national unity (e.g. JNU slogan) case.

Bharatiya Nyaya Sanhita has kept false speech & Hate speech provisions to control malicious speech. However, the exploitation of these reasonable restrictions by "Bonapartist executive" is seen. These are used to muzzle dissent (e.g. Prashant Bhushan case).

So enlightened citizenry to make responsible use of rights with corresponding duties as per Laski & Constitutional Morality guiding the behaviour of those in power is way forward to maintain Article 19.

Que.8(a) An Independent judiciary protects the philosophy and wisdom of the constitution. Comment (20Marks)

Que.8(b)

In a democracy attracted by power rather than constitutional form, power will continually need to be projected. Critically analyse the declining role of Parliament in light of frequent disruptions and suspension of Members of Parliament. (15 Marks)

Que.8(c)

"The degeneration of constitutional political secularism into party-political secularism does not augur well for India". Discuss (15 Marks)

Space for Rough Work

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