

*Very good
No. marks
Imp. w/hts needed
Combine with
full page
Answer*

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Time Allowed: 3 hr.

Max. Marks: 250



Instructions to Candidate

- There are EIGHT questions. Candidate has to attempt FIVE questions in all.
- Question no. 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, THREE are to be attempted.
- Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the Admission certificate which must be stated clearly on the cover of this Question-cum-Answer (QCA) booklet in the space provided. No marks will be given for answers written in medium other than the authorized one.
- Word limit in questions, wherever specified, should be adhered to.
- Attempts of questions shall be counted in chronological order. Unless struck off, attempt of a question shall be counted even if attempted partly. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the answer book must be clearly struck off.

Name GAURAV VATS

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Date 29-10-2016

Signature [Signature]

1. Invigilator Signature [Signature]

2. Invigilator Signature _____

REMARKS

GS SCORE

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1. All questions are compulsory to attempt: (125-150 Words)

(12.5 × 4 = 50)

- Legitimation Crisis by Jurgen Habermas
- Hanna Arendt's Notion of 'Vita Contemplativa' and 'Vita Activa'
- Illustrate the basic features of Kautilya's Mandal theory
- Conception of Historic Block by Gramsci

The concept of Jurgen Habermas's "Legitimation Crisis" is w.r.t his criticism of liberal state.

Habermas said that the Western modern state is free and liberal, only in the nominal sense of term, as in the veil of democracy and popular legitimacy, it is actually serving the interest of corporates and other elites groups.

However, with due course of time, people will realise the true nature of state as:

- The socio-economic goals of state would not be fulfilled, as the entire state is serving corporate's interests.
- In order to retain power, the state will

Remarks

undertake some popular measures, like free food, subsidies etc.

① They will be inimical to the interests of the corporate groups

Thus, the state will face "legitimation crisis" which is inherent in its nature as, it is serving the interest of someone else, and is getting elected, deriving sovereignty from someone else (people)

Habermas has suggested deep and effective deliberation among different stakeholders

(eg NGO's, people, Civil society etc). This will keep the state accountable, transparent & effective

②

Analyse more in detail how this crisis will arise?
How can this be averted?

Remarks

b) Hannah Arendt was a votary of active citizenship, and considered it as a prerequisite to prevent the emergence of a totalitarian state.

In that context, she has given the following concepts:

• Vita Contemplativa: She has considered 'vital contemplation' as a necessary "action" for a person. Contemplation here refers to going beyond the biological and social needs, and requires political reflection. She is ^{is} quite critical towards this.

• Vita Activa: She has given "Vita Activa" the highest priority of all her other terms of references. Vital Action refers to the political participation of an individual and involvement in public life.

Remarks

According to her, power sustains in concerts; when people come together and perform their "vital action", taking the public stage through deliberation and participation.

Thus, 'vital action' on everyone's part gives rise to an active citizenry, and prevents the rise of a totalitarian state.

We can see the effect of Aristotle here, and she is inspired by the "politics being the essence of human being".

She has said this in the context of her persecution by Nazis in Germany, when she fled to U.S.

How & why does she prefer ~~to~~ Action over Contemplation?

4

Remarks

© Kautilya, in his Arthashastra, has given his "Mandala" Theory, in which he has given the full account of directives to be followed by a king in conduct of foreign policy. conceive the system

The following are the basic features: in this context

• He says that the neighbour is the immediate enemy, and neighbour's neighbour is a friend.

• He has talked about rule by one king, rule by two kings (divajya) and rule by a foreign king.

• Thus, Kautilya has justified foreign invasion if it brings benefits to the local kingdom.

• He says that it is imperative for the king to threaten, and if challenged, defeat the other kings in war to maintain prestige and glory.

Remarks

- He asks the king to maintain friendship with the powerful king.
- He prescribes for a big and powerful army, and also talks about the different taxes needed to raise it.
- He makes a differentiation between the home population, and population of other kingdom, and prescribes different Code of Conduct for them (which could involve cruelty).

Thus, Kautilya has given a quite realistic and pragmatic account of conduct of foreign policy.

Mandala theory refers to concentric circles thus

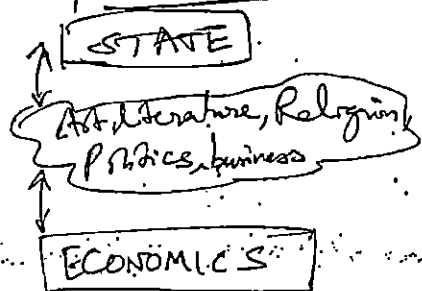
what are the primary circles of states?

Remarks

3

(d) Gramsci, a neo-Marxist, has given the concept of 'hegemony' & 'historic block' to explain why the revolution, as predicted by Marx, did not take place in western liberal states.

Gramsci has modified the base-superstructure model of Marx, and has said that the superstructure has two specific roles:



- It equally, if not more, influences the economic base.
- There is a "historic block" between State & people,

which has successfully managed to keep the revolution out of contact.

The historic block works as an instrument in

the hands of State, comprising of organic intellectuals, which propounds the values & lifestyle of elite class as "common sense", and works as the "instrument" of validation.

Remarks

manufacturing 'consent' from the labour class.

Thus, Civil Society is such historic block, manifested in various forms such as religion, art etc

Gramsci suggests that in order for a revolution to take place, a "war of position" & "manoeuvre" should take place.

Organic intellectuals should help the labour class in "objective realization of the reality", and withdraw the false consent. This was also later supported by Lenin.

What is the need for a creating a new historic bloc in the context?

4

Remarks

2. Attempt all questions: (250-300 Words)

(25 × 2 = 50)

- (a) Marx borrows heavily from both Dialectical Materialism and Historical Materialism. Explain with a detailed elaboration of both methods.
- (b) What do you understand by the term "Negative notion of Liberty"? Also elaborate on how the entire idea of liberty is challenged by Marxist perspective?

Remarks:

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Remarks

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Remarks

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Remarks

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Remarks

3. Attempt all questions:

(a) What are the most significant criticisms of Utilitarianism? How does Mill add and improve the existing theory of Utilitarianism propounded by Bentham?

(200 Words) (15 Marks)

(b) What are the basic features of the Post-colonial state? Why is it considered the "principal actor of change" for the third world?

(250 Words) (20 Marks)

(c) How does Gandhiji differentiate his notion of development from that of West? What role do ethics and spiritualism play in it?

(200 Words) (15 Marks)

(a) Utilitarianism as a concept propounds "Maximum good for maximum number". It could be found in the works of Bentham. Some of the basic features are:

- Focus on Quantity rather than Quality "Pushpin is as good as poetry".
- Utility is the formal value.
- Absolute negative liberty, with no state interference in personal sphere.
- Pleasure through sensory organs.

However, it was severely criticized, some of the criticisms are as follows:

- Pleasure like happiness cannot be experienced by sensory organs.
- Not every pleasure can be quantified, and his "felicific Calculus" was criticized as false.

Remarks

- Every other value subjected to utility, like liberty, democracy etc.
- Justifies slavery to some extent.
- Neglects the positive developmental role of State.
- Perpetuates inequalities in its various forms.
- Neglects "spiritual pleasure" being the essence of human being, therefore his theory was criticized as "pig's philosophy".

Many of the Bentham's concepts were refined by J.S. Mill, and some of them are as follows:

- He places liberty as the highest value, giving priority to freedom of speech & expression.
- He distinguishes spiritual & sensory pleasure and said that the former cannot be quantified.
- He places spiritual (quality) over sensory (quantity) ~~or~~ pleasure. (Better to be unsatisfied as Socrates, rather than a satisfied layman).

Remarks

Adds your
 criteria
 - Importance of
 Issue of
 - Intentional proof
 human rights
 individual vs
 social
 intent

- He distinguishes between "self-regarding" and "other-regarding" actions, and justifies the interference of State in the latter for public good.

However, ambiguous interpretation can lead to the State becoming powerful. Also, his "benevolent despotism" runs counter to his original theme of liberty & democracy. Thus CL Wayer calls him a "prophet of empty liberty".

- (b) The concept of "post-colonial state" emerged in the context of decolonization of former colonies in Africa and Asia post World War-2.

Various scholars has given the basic features of such a state (eg. Hamza Alawi), and some of them are the following:

- The state apparatus like bureaucracy, army, police, revenue etc are well developed due to colonial rule. This has led to the concept of

Remarks

"Overdeveloped State"

- The people face socio-economic backwardness and are unable to participate in the democratic processes as stakeholders.
- Democratic institutions are established but the people are not familiar / trained in the use, causing some inherent confusions and contradictions.
- The bureaucracy has become too powerful, and instead of working under "public trust doctrine", they appropriate all the revenues for personal gains, leaving nothing for development & growth.
- Audit mechanisms have not been developed in true spirit.
- Poor governance results in "legitimation crisis", leading to frequent military coups, eg Pakistan.

Remarks

It can be observed that India, though shows some of the above features, ~~but~~ largely stands out for its truly federal and democratic structure formulated in our constitution, and 'popular sovereignty'.

The State is considered the "principle actor of Change" for the third world as :

- The National leaders had promised the people "change and development" when they asked for their support against colonial rule.
- The same leaders formed govt after independence, and now were under the pressure to deliver change (eg Nehru & Patel in India). ^{well developed} _{presence of civil society}
- Absence of domestic bourgeoisie class due to their systematic elimination by colonial trade & economic policies. This made the corporate investment impossible.
- State being the only actor with resources &

Remarks

Capital, remained the only actor capable of providing infrastructure & development.

- Foreign Capital was not allowed due to concerns for strategic autonomy.
- With scarce resources, States could centralize planning and provide for egalitarian & equitable distribution.
- State could only provide various amenities like education, health etc, and take care of cultural & ethical issues.

Very
gn

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(C) Gandhiji had appreciated the role of machineries and development of west, refused to apply the same model in India. His notion of development is comprised of the following:

- "Self-ruled" enlightened individuals, with minimization of needs (individual swaraj).
- Machines replace labour. So not using.

Remarks

machines in areas, where human labour could be used. Automation used when its the only alternative.

- Did not support either Capitalism or Communism, but rather "Trusteeship Theory".

The owner of the capital is actual its trustee on behalf of the people (real owner)

So, he should keep some profit for himself & distribute the rest.

- His notion of education included both science & tech; along with humanities, arts, literature & moral education & values. He wanted morally enlightened "citizens"

- He propounded cottage & handicrafts in villages.

- His notion of development was bottom up, with villages being the basic unit of administration.

Remarks

• He believed in "Philosophical Anarchy", with "self-ruled" enlightened citizens having the right to disobey unjust laws of state - (Political Swaraj).

The entire Gandhian thought derives his legitimacy from ethics & spiritualism.

• "Self-ruled" enlightened citizens (Swaraj, Trusteeship, Ahimsa, Sarvodaya, Satyagrah) get the backing of religion & ethics.

• Moral & ethical values form the basis of his scheme of education.

• Villages development & self-rule is based on humanity, ethics & morality of individual.

• Any good deed from human being for welfare of society can be justified only by religion or ethics, to prevent face-off with material dilemma.

10. Remarks



Very good analysis

Analysis is more on spiritual

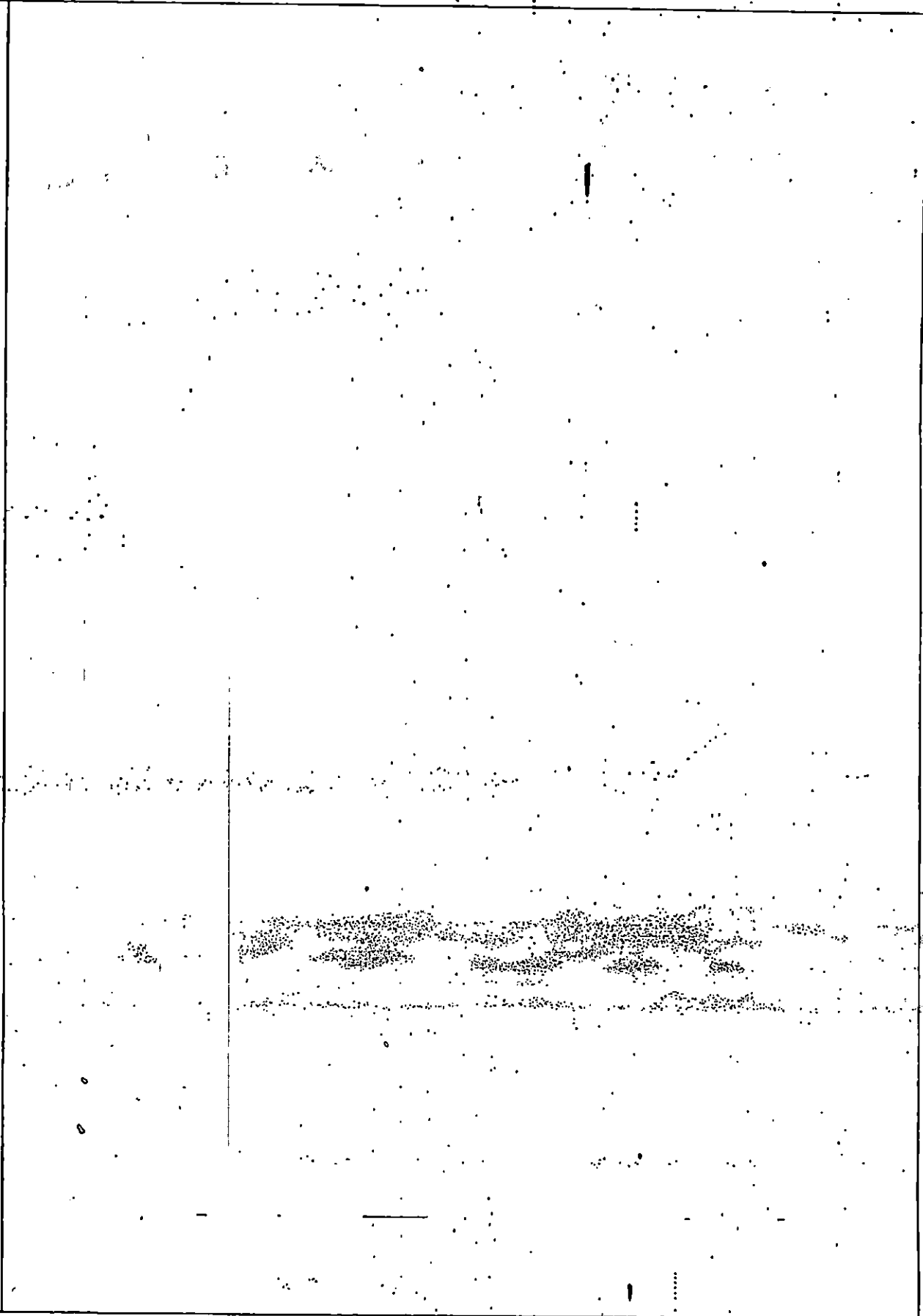
development (his view) notion of material development of west.

4. Attempt all questions: (250-300 Words)

(25 × 2 = 50)

- (a) What is political theory how it is different from Political thought? Discuss Easton understanding of decline of Political theory.
- (b) Rawls evolved a unique methodology for arriving at a unanimous procedure of discovering the principles of Justice. Comment.

Remarks



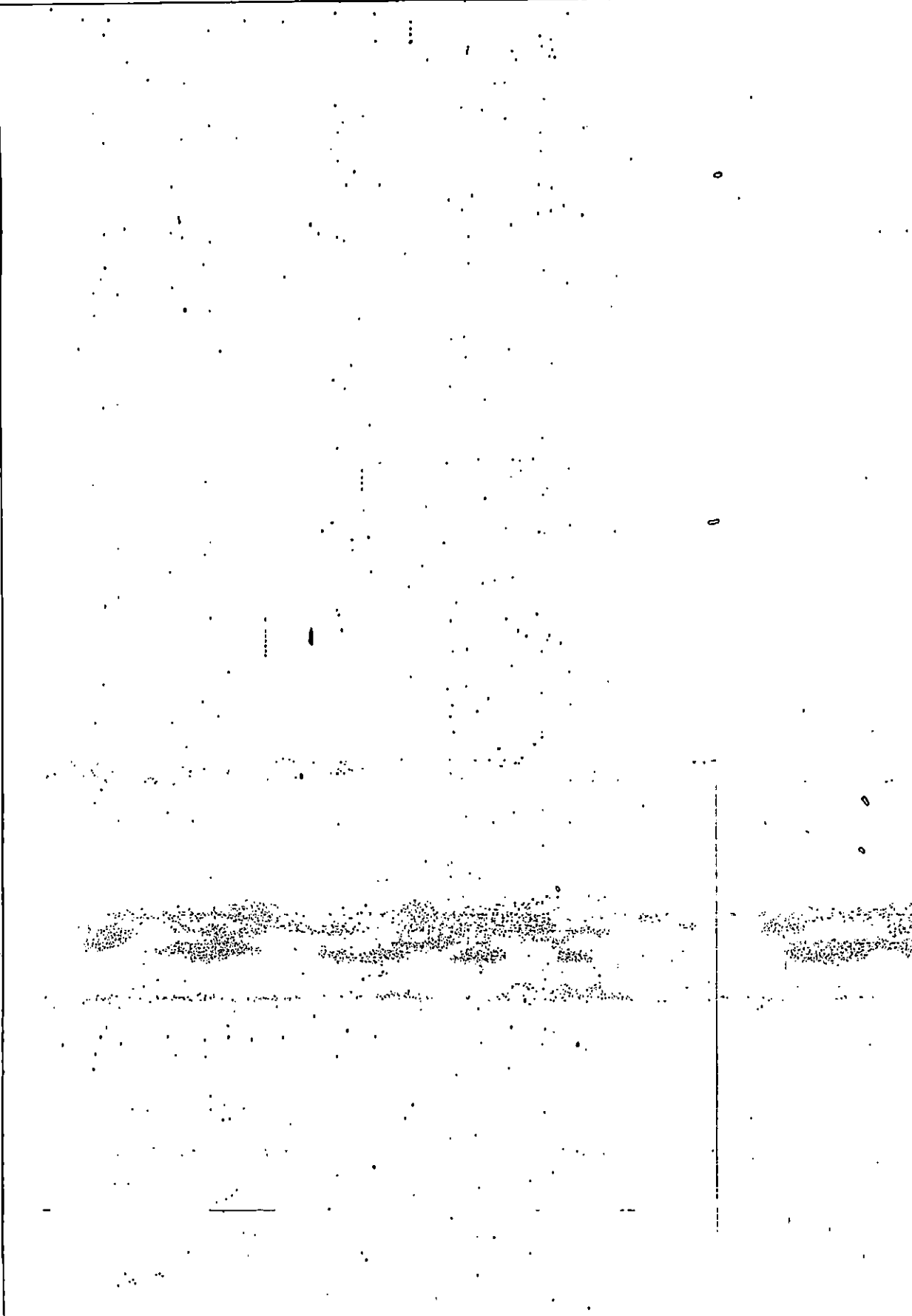
Remarks

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Remarks

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Remarks



Remarks

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Remarks

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Remarks

5. All questions are compulsory to attempt: (100-125 Words)

(12.5 × 4 = 50)

- (a) Bhoodan movement and its contribution to land reforms in India.
- (b) Ethnic movements in North East India.
- (c) Hindu revivalism in Post-Independence India.
- (d) Preamble and DPSP cherish same values with certain differences, discuss.

(a) Bhoodan movement emerged in the post-Independent India. It asked the landlords to wilfully donate their lands for the benefits of landless tenants & poor and marginal farmers.

It was a part of the overall land reforms strategy of the Nehruvian Government, and aimed at correcting the colonial policies. It was aggressively promoted by Congress leaders.

Achievements of Bhoodan Movements:

- Some of the landlords donated their land without asking for compensation.

Remarks

• Some of them asked for some compensation and gave away the land.

However, the movement was largely a failure for following reasons:

• Landlords did not give their land, instead formed groupings to oppose land-reforms.

• They utilized the loop-holes already present in the laws. (eg some divorced their wives, and continued to live with them after getting land on their name).

• Benami transfers increased.

• Since land was a state subject, only successful in W.B. & Kerala (due to absence of political will).

• Many Landlords asked for hefty compensation.

• Many Landlords themselves started farming.

Remarks

These are the
criticisms of
Overall impact
of
R.D. & K. & W.B.
movement

(3)

(b) Indian North-Eastern Region is a complex mix of various ethnic-groups, tribes with different dialects. Seven sisters of India mainly describe the region.

Many of these constitute inter-group rivalries.

The Ethnic movements in North-Eastern India are in response of the following:

- Due to the homogeneity of tribal & ethnic groups along the India-Myanmar border.
- Some of the groups were never under the Ancient/Medieval India empires. They were, later, special protectorates of British. They resist Indian sovereignty.
- Some of them are influenced by Christianity. So ethnic movements takes religious colour.

Remarks

Most arguments are vague & interrelated connected

• They oppose the demarcation of Indian States.
The demand of Nagas, to incorporate some areas of Arunachal & Assam for greater Nagaland.

• It is a resource-rich region, and they oppose exploitation of resources & forests.

Indian govt has taken the following measures :

• Peace talks with willing groups like NSCN (IM) etc

• Ceasefire with other groups till convergence on issues. emerge of ULFA.

• Strengthening of Military Infrastructure & Intelligence.

• Initiatives of Infrastructure, integrating into "Act East Policy".

• Special Ministry of funds for N-E Region.

India is the dominant factor behind the rise of such movement.

Remarks

Refer to hints
(8)

© Putting an end to all the "divide & rule" policies of British, Indian emerged as a "secular state". Championed by Nehru, Gandhi, and later held by SC, secularism constitutes the "basic structure" of the Constitution.

However, some scholars have questioned the applicability of secularism in India (Achin Vinayak). They have said that:

- Religious Communities were not taken into confidence.
- Indian State can interfere in religious matters, thereby taking away the right of "freedom of religion".

Accordingly, some scholars have alleged that there has been a consistent rise & revival of Hindutva in post-Independence India:

- Rise in communal riots, with maximum loss

Remarks

inflicted on the minority community.

- Difficult for minorities to get their grievances redressed.
- Resurgence of groups like RSS & VHP.
- Church & Vandalism.
- Forced conversions allegations to Hinduism.
- Allegations on govt involvement (eg 2002 Gujarat; but was given clean chit by SC in 2013), for vote-bank politics.

However, in spite of the above allegations India remains a secular committed state.

- Adequate safeguards like National Comm. for minorities.
- Constitutional rights → 25-28, & 32 (Remedy).
- Minorities vote are important (eg in SP, BSP & UPA).
- Resurgent & Aggressive Judiciary.

Analyse the rise of Hindu Communities in a chronological manner

Remarks

4

(d) Preamble reflects the philosophy of our Constitution like, sovereign, secular, democratic, socialist, republic, with other values like liberty, equality, fraternity, and dignity & integrity, unity of India.

DPSP's are the directives to State for good governance. It has similarities with Preamble as they share the same values:

- Art 39(b)(c) and others promote equality in economic and social form.
- UCC - Art 44. Shares secularism with preamble.
- Entire DPSP's reflect the socialist ideology.
- Art 50 for International Peace, reflect the sovereign character of India.

However, notwithstanding the above similarities, there are some certain differences:

- Preamble reflects the certain ideals (SSSDR) on which India is constituted, whereas DPSP's are directives for state for good governance.

Remarks

• Preamble contains the values like Equality, Liberty, Fraternity, and DPSPs, along with Fundamental rights contains the special rights to achieve the values.

• Preamble contains the philosophy of the constitution, whereas, DPSP's contain the various socio-economic rights of an individual, to be enforced when state has adequate resources.

• Preamble is an introduction (foot-note) to Constitution, whereas DPSP's are just another part of the Constitution.

DPSP can become
legally enforceable
if made into laws
while the rights
be done with Preamble

(S)

Remarks

6. Attempt all questions:

- (a) What was the congress/Nehruvian consensus regarding the social-economic development of free India? Explain. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Women Commission has played an vital role in addressing issues of protection and empowerment of Women. Discuss. (250 Words) (20 Marks)
- (c) What are the challenges being faced by the working class movement in India? How has the rise of Communal Politics and LPG reforms impacted them? (200 Words) (15 Marks)

Remarks

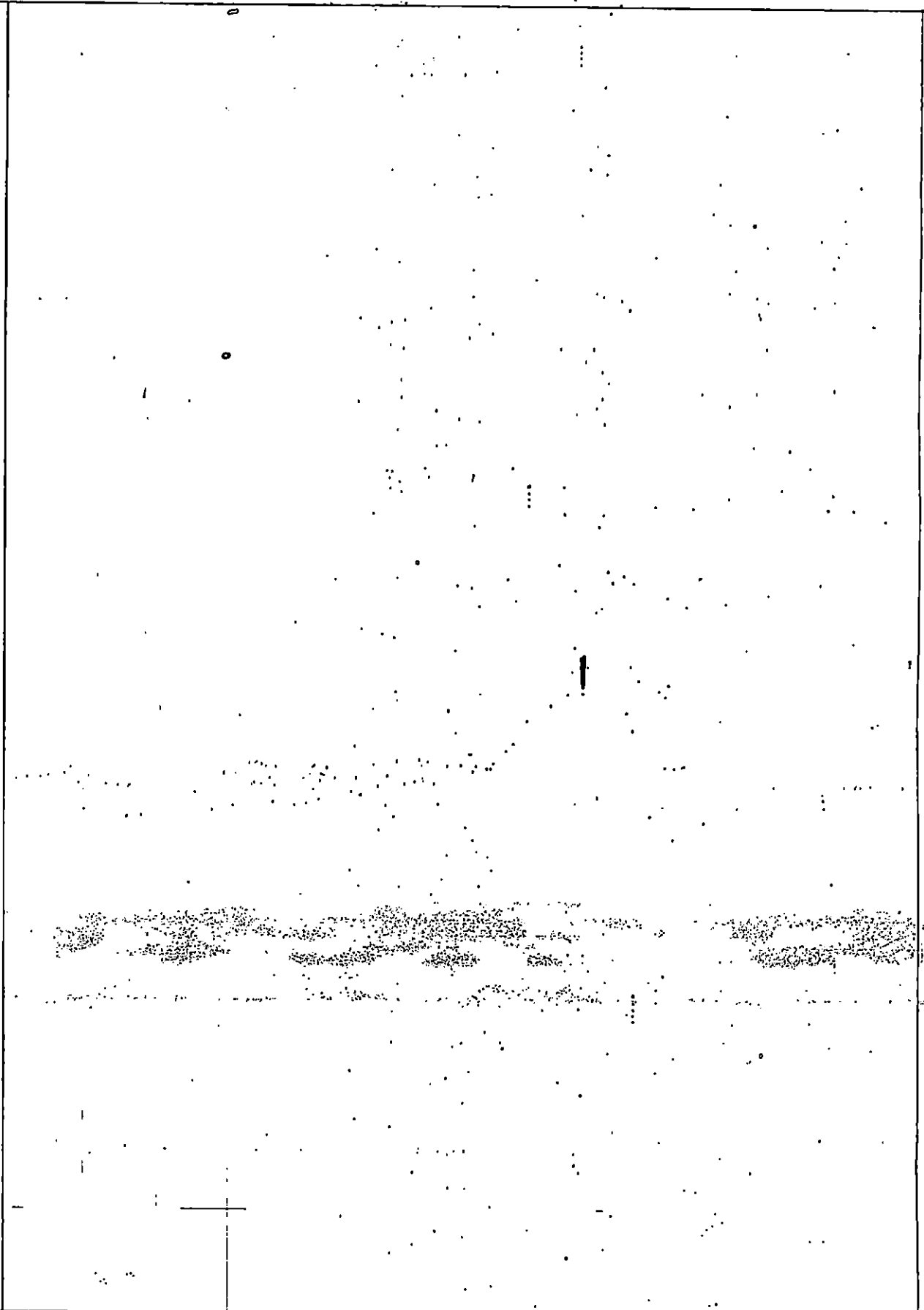
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Remarks

Remarks

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Remarks



Remarks

7. Attempt all questions: (250-300 Words)

(25 × 2 = 50)

- (a) Analyse the relationship between the Prime Minister and the President? What were the major debates on the President's decision making powers?
- (b) Discuss evolution of state autonomy movement in India; discuss political and economic factors that shape the federal nature of Indian State.

President is the head of State. The entire Executive power is vested in his Office. He is advised by a Council of Ministers headed by a Prime Minister. (Art 74)

President selects the Prime Minister (usually the leader of majority party in Lok Sabha), and other ministers on the advice of Prime Minister.

It is the duty of Prime Minister to keep the President informed about decisions of COM, and other important matters, and any bills in discussion. (Art 78)

The President can remove any minister on the advice of PM. Even the PM is appointed under "The doctrine of pleasure".

Remarks

No need to describe the constitutional arrangement in so much detail

and can be removed by President at any point of time.

The relationship between the two can be analyzed as :

- Supreme Court has held that President is bound by the COM's advise conveyed by PM (Art 75)

- PM influences all the ^{Constitutional} appointments made by President (eg. CAG, EC etc).

- PM's choice (based on Committee) for statutory appointments is final for President.

- PM can ask President to prepone, postpone, ~~and~~ ~~prop~~ prorogue the session of Lok Sabha.

- PM cannot be dismissed by President if he commands a majority support in Lok Sabha.

Thus, some scholars have called PM as

"primus inter pares" & "interstellas lunas",
with President as "Rubber Stamp".

However, in time of crisis, President has the discretion in appointment of PM, also he can reject his advice if he heads a caretaker govt. He also enjoys pocket veto.

Major debates on President's decision making power were:

- Art 75, which was a confusion whether President was bound ~~was~~ by PM's advice or not. The former view was advocated by Nehru, whereas latter was supported by Rajendra Prasad.
 This is the main answer!
- This was solved when Indira Gandhi amended Art 75, replacing "will" by "shall", making advice binding.
- SC has held in various cases that it is the satisfaction of COM & PM,

Remarks

rather than ~~personal~~ satisfaction of President.

- In 1987 when Bofor Scam emerged, it was speculated that President would dismiss Rajiv Gandhi for not providing info under A.A. 78. However President said that there were no differences ~~under~~ between him & P.M.

However, recently we have witnessed instances of Presidential Activism:

- Narayan sent back President's rule proposal in U.P.
- Kalam sent back "Office of profit" Bill.

There has been a convention since then that if President sends a bill back, it won't be sent again.

How was this debate finally settled?

Remarks

11

⑥ India is called federal sui-generis (Ivor Jennings). It has all the federal features, but has centralizing tendencies, the most controversial being Art (3) - changing name, area of state unilaterally by Parliament.

→ Evolution of State Autonomy movement

India is a federation in which States were carved out for administrative conveniences.

However, the following events changed the course of federal movement:

- Demands of various linguistic groups for creation of linguistic States
- Creation of JVP Committee & rejection of above idea
- Death of Potty Srisamulu, creation of SRC (1952) & creation of linguistic States.
- Later, creation of other States for other reasons (Uttarakhand, Chhatisgarh, Jharkhand, Telangana → Development & Geography).

Remarks

However, in addition to the above, other movements for state autonomy got influenced from :-

- 1967 - 9 states got non-congress governments.
- No majority in Rajya Sabha, made state parties important at national level.
- Hung Lok Sabha led to unstable Coalition govt, raising stakes of states.
- Institutionalization of Coalitions (NDA & UPA).

The States Autonomy demands were as following :-

- Abolition of Planning Commission (2015)
- Devolution of more tax revenues in place of discretionary grants (14th FC)
- Abuse of Art 356 & S.R. Bommai Judgement.
- Resistance of Paramilitary forces without consent.
- Opposition of "one-size fits all" in development schemes.

Remarks

The following factors shape the federal nature of Indian State :

Political :

- Non-majority of Govt in Rajya Sabha makes it to reach out to State's regional parties.
- Coalition govt system institutionalized (lets NDA govt, & not BJP govt, even if BJP got majority).
- Various issues require confidence of all, such as J&K, insurgency, deployment of paramilitary forces.
- Convergence on various issues like Judicial reforms etc.
- Stoppage/reduction of A.A 350 wage, resurgence of Judiciary.

Remarks

Economiz =

- Cooperation ~~en~~ & dialogue on GST requires all states to participate to make it a success.
- Competent Federalism, after LPG reforms, where states are the forerunner to attract investments.
- After LPG reforms, regulative instruments for funds, money & investments in hands of State.
- Aggressive posture of States in regard of revenue sharing.
- Welfare-State responsibilities of formation & implementation transferred to States.

Why
all these
demands

Very
high

premode

Your answer is now
your answer
Consequence of
Practice the factors behind
them as well

Remarks

14

8. Attempt all questions: (250-300 Words)

(25 × 2 = 50)

- (a) Planning in India was an attempt to address the pragmatic economic concern not ideological line, in the light of the above statement how far proposed dissolution of planning commission is justified?
- (b) Indian judiciary is no more exception of under performances and inefficiency, elucidate different judicial reforms required to address these issues.

(a) India after Independence, adopted a planned economy instead of free market economy. Some scholars say that this decision was taken according to the ideological socialistic line taken by Congress & Nehru, who was inspired by Soviet Union (1926-27 visit).

However, this view is criticized on the ground that more than the ideological line, it was an attempt to address the economic concern.

• Indian Capitalists did not have the sufficient capital to develop & modernize infrastructure. Therefore,

Remarks

public sector has to take the lead in investment & production.

- In order to retain strategic autonomy, infrastructure was to be developed from internal resources. This demanded the presence of heavy industries, provided by PSU's (Temples of modern India).

- Consumer goods were left to be produced by private sector.

- License, permit system was strongly enforced to prevent monopoly (fraud etc).

- MRTP Act 1969

- Backward socio-economic indicators made it imperative for the state to take lead in alleviation measures.

This required pooling of resources and centralized planning.

Thus Planning Commission for the purpose was established in 1950, making 5 year plans.

However, the recent govt has abolished the P.C., and this decision has been criticized as breaking ^{from} the ideological line set by early Nationalist leaders.

However, in line of economic interests, the decision can be justified as:

- The nation had moved to 'Competent Federalism', with states attracting FDI.
- CM visit foreign capitalists, inviting investments (A.P. CM)
- P.C. was not in line with financial decentralization, decentralized planning &

Implementation, thus P.R.I's & P.C
 could not sustain together.

- P.C did not have the representation of states, and its mechanism of discretionary grants was heavily criticized as a political tool (recently cancelled by 14th FC).

Thus, in the light of India quickly adopting the LPG reforms, it was imperative of P.C to either reform or perish. The latter was done for a new body to take place, NITI Aayog.

Your answer
 has to show you
 on the critique of
 Planning Commission

13

b) Indian Judiciary is an integrated single judiciary (District Courts, HC, SC), and performs various functions ranging from settling civil suits to interpretation of Constitution (HC & SC). Indian Judiciary was envisaged as a hallmark of accountability, efficiency & transparency.

However, with ~~the~~ due course of time, it has become no more an exception of under performances & inefficiency:

- Many backlog cases has overburdened the judicial system, with ~~so~~ many judicial vacancies lying vacant.
- Many undertrials have served period in jail longer than they would have had they been convicted.

Remarks

- Many errors in judgements of lower courts.
- Charges of Judicial corruption.
- Some ~~SC~~ judges HC judges saying they are punished for being from lower Caste etc.

Therefore, in the light of above discrepancies, the following proposals for judicial reforms ~~are~~ become an urgent need of the hour.

• Judicial Appointments & Vacancies

Collegium System is accused of being opaque arbitrary, promoting nepotism.

Recently, NJAC was struck down, and MOP is in deliberation among

govt & SC. SC is not ready that Centre may ~~so~~ hold appointment in the name of National Security.

- Vacancy issue at HC's and lower courts must be addressed.

- Judicial Corruption : Judges

Accountability Bill has lapsed.

There is a need for some mechanism

to ensure transparency & accountability on part of Judges.

- Backlog of SC

There is an appeal in consideration in SC, which intends to create a

"National Court of Appeal" at 4 centres. It will let SC focus on

only Constitutional cases

- Other recommendations by NCRWC, Law Commission etc, such as creation of Indian Judicial Service.

Considering the immense role of SC in Indian federal democracy, judicial reforms are a must.

Very good analysis

15

Remarks