



An Institute for Civil Services

IAS TOPPER'S

TEST COPY

SHUBHRA KUMARI

Rank - 308

Political Science

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.

1. Invigilator Signature _____

2. Invigilator Signature _____

Name Shubhree Kumar

Mobile No. _____

Date _____

Signature Shubhree

REMARKS

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Roll No. _____

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

(12.5 × 4 = 50)

- (a) Criticism of directive principles
- (b) Martial law and fundamental rights
- (c) What is the political-institutional perspective of the Indian State?
- (d) Radical humanist perspective of Freedom struggle

Q.7 Ans :

Directive principle of state policy is enshrined from Art 36 to Art 51 of Indian Constitution. It is mixture of Socialistic vision, Gandhian ideas, liberal vision, environmental vision etc. It laid the foundation of welfare state in India.

The Concept of Directive principles have been criticised on following grounds: -

1. No legal Sanction: - It is not justiciable like fundamental rights. It is on the will of the state to implement it.
2. Source of Confrontation between legislature and Judiciary: -

Remarks

It has led to lot of disputes ~~due to~~ due to conflict between fundamental rights and directive principles. Judiciary in the cases like Solomon Singh Case, Golak Nath Case has shown a very conservative approach and Centre responded with various amendments like ~~1st~~ 1st amendment, 4th amendment, 24th amendment etc.

3. Conservative philosophy not commensurate with change: -

~~It puts~~ The nature of economy worldwide has perceived a change towards neo-liberal philosophy with the advent of globalisation. Too much involvement of state is seen as hindrance in efficient governance. Directive principles assumes deep involvement of state.

4. Pious aspirations: -

It is criticised as moral aspirations bringing no change on the ground level.

Remarks

However, it would be too simplistic to criticise it. During the debate in Constituent Assembly, Ambedkar rightly said that political sanction behind directive principle will act as check on policy making by government. Art 37 of Constitution itself says that it is fundamental in the governance of the country. The recent debate on Art 44 that deals with implementation of Uniform Civil Code indicates the ~~high~~ relevance. Munava mill case accepted the reality of maintaining harmony b/w Directive principle and

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b.) The relation between martial law and fundamental rights is enumerated in Art 34 of the Indian Constitution. Parliament has been empowered to tinkering with the fundamental rights where martial law is in force.

The term martial law literally means military rule. It is implemented to deal with extreme situations and disturbances to restore

Remarks

law and order.

However, implementation of martial law that empowers the government to suspend the fundamental rights of the people and provide the officers ~~it~~ indemnity for the act done by them, is against the ethos of human rights in a democratic society. It often leads to abuse of power.

The case of implementation of draconian laws like AFSPA can be cited here that has led to gross violations of human rights in disturbed areas of Jammu and Kashmir and several North Eastern states like Manipur. It compelled Supreme Court to give a judgment ~~that said~~ where it argued that armed forces cannot enjoy complete impunity for the works done in disturbed areas. So, it is the concept of

Remarks

martial law is contradictory to essence of fundamental rights.

Even if situation arises, it should be implemented with proper checks and balances.

(c.)

The political-institutional perspective of Indian state is explained with the help of liberal-modernisation theory. This view is expressed by thinkers like Morris Jones, Palmer, Rajni Kothari etc.

This perspective holds that with the advent of modernisation, with advancement of industrial revolution, traditional forces like caste, language, region, will lose its relevance. The modernity forces will lead to emergence of more uniform society where primordial loyalties will weaken and a uniform societal structure will emerge.

Remarks

The India will evolve a modern institutions that will be marked by what Lucien pye calls capacity, equality and differentiation.

However, later it was realised that traditional forces in India has developed a very complex relationships between with modernity and the forces of economic modernisation. It was evident with emergence of caste as significant political forces. The scholars like Rudolph and Rudolph, Andre Betlie took into account this unique phenomenon. So, political institutional perspective on state is not fully relevant.

Stephan Hawking said that 21st Century will be Century of Complexity. It holds true for India also. Forces of traditions like Culture is in complex relation with modernity. This dynamics will determine the evolution of Indian state in coming years.

Remarks

d.)

The radical humanist perspective on Indian state is given by M.N. Roy who propounded the idea of radical humanism abandoning the Creed of Crude Marxism.

This perspective holds that emancipation and true empowerment should be the actual goal of freedom struggle. It places human beings at the Centre of analysis and criticises the deterministic approach. The national movement should aspire to enlighten and educate ~~to~~ the human beings so that they can work out their own emancipation. The education of common mass was at the Centre of this perspective.

This perspective is criticised for being too unrealistic, as it advocated for some unrealisable goals like partyless democracy.

Remarks

But, its merit lies in its human centered approach and democratic decentralisation that laid due emphasis on rational, enlightened individual.

Remarks

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

(25 × 2 = 50)

- (a) Nationalist struggle against Colonialism has profound impact on the evolution of Peasant and Worker class movement as well. Discuss their evolution with emphasis on response of Congress leadership towards these movements.
- (b) Analyse the various objectives of Nationalist strategy during freedom struggle. Elaborate specifically on the nature of socialist perspective of the movement and its role in social transformation.

a.) Ans: -

The dynamics of peasant and working class movement in India is closely associated with the struggle for freedom against Colonialism.

The trajectory of peasant movement in India changed with the advent of 20th Century. Earlier, it was not anti-Colonial in nature. It was local in origin. It lacked anti-British tone. It was targeted against the local feudal landlords and moneylenders. However, mainly in 1920s and with the arrival of Gandhi on political scene, nature of peasant movement changed. ~~It~~ It became part and parcel of struggle against Colonialism. The problems

Remarks

of peasantry became a major plank for the mobilisation of Indian masses in villages. It strengthened the national movement. Gandhi took the cause of peasantry in Champaran in Bihar and kheda in Gujarat. The Congress leaders appropriated the cause of peasantry within national movement. The stalwart leader of Congress like Vallabhbhai Patel led Bardoli Satyagraha to fight for the cause of peasantry. The formation of Kishan Sabha in U.P. was also the effort of local Congress leaders.

The world wide depression of 1930s that brought a lot of misery to Indian peasantry further strengthened peasant movement. In 1936, Swami Sahjanand Saraswati formed All India Kisan Sabha to deal with the cause of peasantry. The transformation

Remarks -

of agrarian situation became the major agenda of Congress leadership. Leaders like Nehru, Bose gave due recognition to the cause of peasants and their exploitation at the hands of landlords, moneylenders. Even the slogan "land to the tiller" was given. Thus Congress leadership appropriated the peasant movement ~~and~~ gave it anti-colonial tinge and made it major platform for the mass mobilisation. The increasing influence of Socialist minds in 1930s further boosted the cause of peasantry with the Indian National Congress.

With the establishment of Industries, a pool of working class emerged. Consequently trade unionism surfaced. The Congress lea-

Remarks

dership took the Cause of workers also. Gandhi himself fought for the Cause of workers in Ahmedabad who were agitating against owners of mill ~~for~~ ~~the~~ and demanding hike in wages. All India Trade Union Congress was also formed in 1920. When, the Congress ministry was formed in 1937, it effectively took the Cause of workers and allowed a space for trade union activism.

Thus, Congress leadership who were leading an all inclusive national movement against colonialism provided a sufficient space for peasant and worker's class movement, took their Cause to highlight the anti-India character of British rule. These movements became a major source of unifying the diverse element of India within nationalistic fold.

Remarks

b.)

The nature of Freedom struggle in India had different threads and various strategies. The different ideological orientations gave rise to different strategies. But, the Freedom was the common goal.

Various strategies can be divided into following heads:-

1. Liberals Strategy: The leaders like Brahmal, S.N. Banerjee, Dada Bhai Naoroji belonged to this category. They believed in constitutionalism and relied on petitions, prayers for achieving their goal. Objective was political education.
2. Extremist Strategy: - The leaders like Tilak, Aurobindo Ghosh, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai belonged to this category. They derided constitutional strategy of liberals as being of mendicancy, advocated passive resistance, boycott, Swadeshi and national education. Objective was Swaraj.
3. Gandhian Strategy: - Emphasised on Satyagraha and non-violence.

Remarks

harboring energy of masses. Earlier objective was dominion status but later it adopted Complete independence as its goal. brave slogan of Do or die during Quit India movement. Eradicating evils like untouchability promoting Communal harmony was also its agenda. It was a very holistic strategy that included within its fold social, economic, political & vision.

The Socialist perspective of Indian national movement was represented by stalwart leadership of Subhas, Chandra Bose, J.L. Nehru, Acharya & Narendra Dev, Misro Masani etc.

This perspective gave priority to political freedom of India but at the same time took into account the sufferings of the masses and presented a socialistic vision that independent India will aim at.

Remarks

This Socialistic perspective of Indian National movement gained momentum with the 1917 Russian revolution. The young nationalists of India wanted to establish Socialistic vision that will lead to emancipation of masses. Its credibility further increased when Russian economy achieved unprecedented prosperity during era of economic depression in West in 1930s. Its impact was evident in Indian national movement also. The Socialistic perspective was reflected in Karachi Session of Congress in 1931 that passed a resolution on Fundamental Rights and Economic policy that laid due emphasis on restructuring the social and economic relation in favour of destitute millions and state was assigned a primary role. votaries of Socialist policy like Nehru became Congress president in 1928, 1929 and 1938, 1939. The National

Remarks

Planning Committee was proposed in 1938. A significant restructuring in agrarian relation in Congress ministries in 1937-38 shows the impact of Socialist perspective.

This vision was further propounded by the formation of Congress Socialist party by Acharya Narendra Dev and J. P. Narayan.

The Socialist perspective brought significant change in social transformation. It led to transformation of agrarian relation and implementation of land reform in independent India. India's adoption of mixed economy and declaration of Socialistic pattern of society as its goal was inspired by this perspective.

Remarks

3. Attempt all questions:

(a) What was the contribution of Communist perspective in Indian Freedom struggle?
(200 Words) (15 Marks)

(b) What was the controversy regarding preamble being a part of the constitution? Elaborate on the significance of the preamble with special references to views of constitutional experts.
(250 Words) (20 Marks)

(c) What are the major criticisms of the constitutional amendment procedure in India?
(200 Words) (15 Marks)

Q.1) Ans: -

Communist perspective of Indian Freedom struggle exposed the bourgeois nature of freedom struggle leadership. It holds the view that leadership was actually bourgeois in nature and it does not represent masses. This view was earlier expressed by Marxist thinker like R. P. Dutt in his book 'India today' and A. R. Desai in his book 'Social background of Indian nationalism'.

Thus, it exposed the Capitalist character of Indian national movement. Leader like Min Roy holds that Gandhian struggle was actually aimed at preserving the

Remarks

interest of rich class. He criticised the Gandhi's withdrawal of Non-cooperation movement on this ground.

However, later historians like Sumit Sarkar and Bipin Chandra denied that Indira's leadership during freedom struggle represented bourgeois. They recognised the all India character of national movement but at the same time acknowledged that, it helped the interest of rich.

The major Contribution of this perspective lies in reflecting on the class character of Indian national movement. It holds that ~~the~~ in India there are divergence of interests between the rich and the masses.

However, the Communist perspective was not able to maintain uniformity in its action, functioning and vision. It weakened the

Remarks

influence of this perspective. Their support for the British during 2nd world war going against the dominant nationalistic mood of non-cooperation with British was blunder. It marginalised them. Sudipto Kaviraj criticised Communists for committing the guilt of heteronomy.

However, their reflection on the existence of underclass ~~is~~ will remain relevant in Inequal Indian Society.

b.) Ans: -

Preamble is document that reflects on the vision of Indian Constitution. It is horoscope of Indian Constitution.

The controversy regarding Preamble as part of Constitution came in Behera's Union Case. Here, judges held that Preamble is not a part of Constitution,

Remarks

although, its guiding character was recognised. However, Kesavanand Bharati case over-turned the previous judgment and held that preamble is an integral part of Indian Constitution. It was characterised as basic feature of Constitution. The provision of preamble can be used to clear any confusion in the interpretation of the Constitution.

Preamble is the mirror of Indian Constitution. It reflects the source of Indian Constitution, objectives of Indian Constitution and nature of Indian Constitution. It is not merely a symbolic document rather it is a visionary document that

Remarks

act as guiding light for the policy makers. Its significance is evident when political leadership of India inserted the word Social, Secular and Integrity ~~to~~ by 42nd amendment Act. The preamble reminds the political leadership of the visionary ambition of Constitution makers. The word like democratic, Secular, Socialist laid the foundation of Indian state.

The Constitutional experts like Austin called preamble as horoscope of Indian Constitution.

However, some has criticised it as mere appendages that has nothing to do with actual Constitution. It has no legal basis and it is non justiciable.

Remarks

But the functioning of Indian Constitution proves that it is not mere appendages. It is part and parcel of policy making. Supreme Court in its various judgments ^{has} used it for better clarification and understanding.

c. Ans: -

Art 368 of Indian Constitution deals with amendment procedure. In India, Constitution can be amended by simple majority. Similar to ordinary laws, special majority and some amendments require the consent of half of the states.

Amendment procedure has been criticised on following grounds: -

Remarks

1. State has no role to play in initiating amendment to the Constitution which is against federal nature.
2. majority of amendments can be done by simple majority
3. ~~Some of the amendment-like Art 2~~
3. There is no concept of joint sitting in case of amendment law. It causes delay.
4. State has been deprived a proper say in amendment procedure once the amendment is initiated. Even in ~~an~~ case of some amendments only the approval of half of state is required while American federation requires 3/4 majority of States consent.
5. It is not consistent with federal spirit.

Remarks

However, Amendment procedure is primarily designed to suit the Indian context of federation that was very different from American federation.

Remarks

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

(25 × 2 = 50)

- (a) What is rationale behind the provision of Public Interest Litigation? What are its various criteria's evolved through time regarding admittance and entertaining of PIL by Indian courts?
- (b) What are the major areas of concern pointed out in the report of the NCRWC (National commission to Review the Working of the Constitution).

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Remarks:

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

(12.5 × 4 = 50)

- (a) Functional criticism of Indian CAG. ✓
- (b) Analyse the Challenges to the successful functioning of Local Self Governing institutions after the enactment of 73rd and 74th Amendment.
- (c) Organizational Structure and jurisdiction of Subordinate Courts in India.
- (d) Why was the system of proportional representation not adopted for election of members to loksabha?

Q-1) Ans :-

Comptroller and Auditor General of India is a Constitution body. Art 148-51 deal with its Composition, structure and functioning. It is the guardian of public purse and maintains financial accountability of the government.

CAG in India is Criticised for functional activism. It is said that it is encroaching the policy areas and targeting the government bringing disrepute to it. This criticism was popular when it came out with reports on 2G scam, Coalgate Scam, Commo

Remarks

wealth Scams. It was argued that Government is Compelled to ensure its accountability not to the parliament but to an unaccountable body like CAG.

Another criticism is that a body like CAG does not take into account practical difficulties of the Government while doing auditing of the expenditure.

Also, CAG enjoys auditing power once the expenditure has been done. It limits its role as guardian of public purse online in use where it also see the allocation of fund.

However, functional criticism is somewhat politically motivated. It has become a hurdle in the eye of government and a source of embarrassment. Even its proposal

was made to make CAU accountable to the parliament.

However, important body like CAU must enjoy functional autonomy to carry out its duty as envisaged by Constitution maker of India.

b.)

Local Self-governing institutions as enshrined in schedule 11th and 12th of the Constitution are bulwark of political participation at local level and a way towards Gandhian vision of democratic decentralisation.

The major challenges are in its functioning are:-

1. Lack of finances :- These institutions are not receiving adequate finances to carry out its functioning. The problem has been highlighted by Second

Remarks

Administrative Reform Commission,
14th Finance Commission etc.

2. Lack of flexibility: - These institutions lack proper flexibility to draw out their own plan.

They are seen as mere vehicle of State Government and Central government schemes. This top-down approach erodes its basic goal of grass root level planning.

3. Politicisation of Local level Governments: -

It has reduced to a mere tool in the hand of vested politicians to fulfill their vested political interest. It has acted as check on grass-root participation.

4. Social bias at ground level: - persisting social discrimination as not allowed: empowerment of marginals despite reservation.

5. Women are being used ~~by~~ by their husbands to acquire

Remarks

power. Male became actual decision makers.

6. Declining effectiveness of Panchayati Raj Extension to Schedule Areas Act (PESA Act) due to Corporate inclined policy of governments.

7. local level leaders are being appropriated at the cost of aspirations of people.

8. ~~high~~ infiltration of Criminalised politics to the local level.

So, there is an urgent need to revive Local Self government in actual form to fulfill its goals. Punchhi Commission said that a vibrant local self government is a major safeguard against internal security threats like Maoism.

Remarks

c.) Indian Constitution provides for integrated judicial system. Subordinate Courts are at the lowest ladder of the hierarchy. Art 233 to Art 237 deal with structure and jurisdiction of Subordinate Courts.

Below the High Courts, lie district Courts ~~and~~ or Session Courts. When it deals with Civil cases it is called district Courts and when it deals with Criminal Cases, it is called Criminal Court session Courts. Below district Courts lie a Subordinate Court and Municipal Court to deal with civil cases. Session Courts and Judicial magistrates deal with Criminal Cases.

These Courts are initial provider of justice to people.

Remarks

However, backlog, ~~of~~ vacancies, backlog of cases and vacancies, Corruption at lower level are major problems.

There is need to strengthen Judiciary at lower level to deliver effective justice and ensure rule of law.

d.)

While debating in Constituent Assembly, Some Constitutional makers supported ~~the~~ proportional Representation system to provide representation to all sections in a diverse society like India.

However, it was rejected due to various reasons. Firstly, it was said that it will promote sectional interest at the cost of national interest. Since India was born born out of the womb

Remarks

of partition, it was rejected to consolidate unity and integrity. Secondly, it was argued that it will ~~promote~~ hamper the policy making. It will make it difficult to arrive at consensus with so much sectional interests.

Thirdly, in a diverse society like India, there must be some unifying forces to consolidate India as nation. Proportional representation will not allow the consolidation of India as nation.

Evolution of Indian politics proves that it was wise decision. Anyway, First past the post system has not been an obstacle in the way of democratic aspirations of Indian people. People are able to express their aspirations through various channels.

Remarks

6. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Examine in detail the role of media in determining electoral behaviour with suitable examples and special reference to Government Media. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Briefly illustrate the functions of the Public Accounts Committee and what factors have limited its performance since its inception? (250 Words) (20 Marks)
- (c) Discuss pardoning power of president, what are major guideline-laid down by Supreme Court in difference cases? (200 Words) (15 Marks)

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

(25 × 2 = 50)

- (a) Elaborate point wise on the various recommendations made by Sarkaria, Rajmanner and Punchhi Commission regarding various provisions of the Indian Constitution.
- (b) What is the background of the Special Status of Jammu and Kashmir and its specific provisions? What is the importance of Article 370 in this regard? Examine.

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

(25 × 2 = 50)

- (a) Working of election commission and ongoing electoral reforms is a step forward in Indian democracy, elucidate.
- (b) The evolving profile of legislators in Indian parliament offers both opportunities and challenges. Discuss. How has the changing nature of leadership in parliament affected its efficiency?

Q.1) Ans: -

Art 324 of Indian Constitution provides for Election Commission to supervise, control and conduct election in India to parliament, State legislature, president and vice president. It is an important pillar to maintain democratic functioning of Indian political system.

Election Commission is a successful body that has conducted elections effectively. For its efficient working it ~~must~~ implement various reforms and made various suggestions. Its successful working is evident in following factors:-

1. It has maintained its autonomy from the executive.
2. It implemented model Code of

Remarks

Conduct.

3. In Consistent with SC Judgement in 2002, it made it mandatory on the part of Candidates to indicate educational qualifications, assets and liabilities, criminal antecedents.
4. Implemented the use of EVMS
5. to Conduct free and fair election, strictly regulate the nature of Campaigning.

Simultaneously, Electoral reforms ~~in the form of doing away~~ with it's underway in various forms. ~~Firstly~~, Supreme Court activism has provided major plank for electoral reform. In this direction, Lily Thomas Case, 2013 that asked for immediate disqualification of convicted legislators is significant. Recently, Supreme Court interpreted the clause 123(3) of RPA, 1950 in a way that debar

Remarks

politicians for asking for vote on the basis of Caste, Creed, religion of the elector. Emphasis on cleaning the political funding is significant welcome move. The limiting the cash donation to 2000 and introduction of electoral bonds in 2017-18 will help in electoral reforms.

Democracy needs a clean politics. But the criminalisation of Indian politics, flow of illegal money has become a common feature of Indian politics. It has led to deterioration of democratic culture in India. Election Commission by conducting a efficient, regular election has no doubt strengthened the democratic structure particularly its formal structure but lot needs to be done to ~~clean~~ establish a clean

Remarks

transparent democratic Culture.

b.7

The profile of legislators is quite diverse in parliament of India. It constitutes a mixture of clean and tainted politicians part and parcel of both ruling government and opposition. About 20% of legislators in Lok Sabha are charged with ~~for~~ committing heinous crimes like murder, kidnapping, rape etc.

While proficient and clean leaders provides an opportunity and raises the stature of Indian parliament criminal politicians lowers its stature and undermines the democratic feature. Criminals entering parliament creates unholy nexus b/w politics and criminals who give primary to their vested interest at the cost of ethos of parliamentary

Remarks

democracy which is accountable to the people. It poses challenge.

The nature of leadership has changed particularly after 2014 Lok Sabha elections. The ~~majority~~ single party majority has no doubt strengthened the parliamentary decision-making and its functioning. But at the same ~~at~~ time, rise of populist politics, where leaders prefer directly to appeal to the people has undermined the efficiency of parliament. Opposition leadership has ~~an~~ also emerged obstructionist. The rise of populist tinge ~~in~~ in ruling power leadership and obstructionist attitude of opposition prevented constructive debate and discussion in parliament. It has lowered

Remarks

its efficiency. Leaders are preferring directly to appeal to the masses and garner support. It has given ~~the~~ parliamentary functioning a backseat. It has become a ritual to assemble in parliament. It is not the actual debate and discussions that determines the fate of a bill rather it is public opinion reflected in social media determines the nature of policy-making.

Thus, there is an urgent need of reestablishing the efficient culture of debate and discussions. The leaders have to ensure best and prompt accountability to

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parliament. populist Culture
and Social media Culture should
not erode the Culture of
parliamentary accountability.

Remarks