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95.5  
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### Feedback:

- Some words are difficult to understand, write them clearly. N m
- Improve Content quality of few answers e.g. 1(e), 8(c).
- Avoid jargon in your answer, use lucid language 2(a), 4(a), 5(a)
- Improve introduction in few answer, directly address the demand of question. Also define/explain concept in introduction part.
- Improve your facts and definition of few concept.
- detail comments are given in each question.



**Sleepy Classes IAS**

Awakening Toppers

**Instructions to the candidate:**

- All Questions are Compulsory.
- You should download the question-and-answer booklet, take its print-out, attempt the questions and then scan the same using various mobile apps like Cam Scanner etc. on your mobile. Convert the file using these apps to PDF and upload.
- You will be able to upload the file from where you had downloaded the question-and-answer booklet.
- In case you face any difficulties, you can write to us at [sleepy.classes@gmail.com](mailto:sleepy.classes@gmail.com).
- Those candidates who are not writing on the printed booklet are to leave margins on their answer sheet for comments.
- The above-said candidates are to then make their own evaluation sheet in the format stated below to be uploaded with the answer.
- Compulsory to name your PDF file in the following format (Student Complete Name\_Test Number) e.g.: (Kriti Rathor\_Mains Test-5)

**Comments for the purpose of evaluation of Answer Writing:**

<b>Relevance to the question</b>	
<b>Structure of Answer</b>	 Awakening Toppers
<b>Content</b>	
<b>Presentation (Neatness, charts, diagrams as required)</b>	



**5. Comment on the following in about 150 words each:**

- a. Judicial overreach in India (10M)
- b. Role of CAG (10M)
- c. Discuss the doctrine of harmonious construction with respect to Indian Constitution. (10M)
- d. Comment on the recent trends in electoral behaviour in India. (10m)
- e. Examine Gandhi's critique of Modernisation. 10M

6. a. Point out the philosophy behind the fundamental duties in the Indian constitution. Does it limit the fundamental rights? Elucidate. (20M)

b. Analyse the advantages and disadvantages of UCC. What is your opinion on it? (15M)

c. Critically evaluate the effectiveness of the reservation policy in India in promoting social justice and empowering marginalised communities. (15M)

7. a. A secular state is neither a Godless State nor an irreligious, nor an anti-religious. Discuss in the context of Indian Secularism. Also highlight the challenges that Indian Secularism face and suggest measures to overcome the same. (20M)

b. Fiscal Federalism has been a continuing issue. What are the challenges related to it? What can be the way ahead? (15M)

c. "The Indian party system is shaped by a complex interaction of the country's federal structure, electoral system and social cleavages." Explain. 15M

8. a. Indian federalism is a dialogue between cooperative and uncooperative federalism where the federal units are at liberty to use different means of persuasion ranging from collaboration to contestation." Discuss. 20M

b. Caste and democracy in India are locked in a peculiar relationship. Comment. 15M

c. Discuss the distinctions between traditional and contemporary social movements. 15M



**Section A**

**1. Comment on the following in about 150 words each:**

- a. Plato as the first fascist. (10M)
- b. Cultural Relativism (10M)
- c. Equality of opportunity (10M)
- d. Distinguish between liberal feminism and radical feminism. (10M)
- e. Examine the entitlement theory of justice. (10M)

2. a. How do post-structuralism and postmodernism challenge traditional views of power and identity in today's society? (20m)

- b. The legal subordination of one sex to another is wrong in itself, and now one of the chief hindrances to human development." (J. S. Mill). Comment. 15M
- c. Discuss the relationship between base and superstructure in Marxist theory. 15M

3. a. Meritocracy doesn't necessarily contribute to equality and distributive justice. Critically examine. (20M)

- b. Free and fair deliberation is key to the foundation of democracy." Explain. 15M
- c. The greatest liberty of the subject consists in silence of law. (Hobbes). Comment. 15M

4. a. What do you understand by three generations of Human Rights? 20 M

- b. "State is both guardian and child of law". Comment. 15M
- c. Compare and contrast the views of Kautilya and Machiavelli on Statecraft. 15M

# UPSC

Answer Questions in NOT MORE THAN the Word Limit specified for each in the Parenthesis.  
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1. a)



Whitehead comments :

"Political philosophy is nothing but a set of footnotes from Plato"

The relevance of Plato in Political science is compared to that of Socrates on philosophy. His ideas on justice, state, women, armed education continue to dominate till today.

However, a few of his strengths have been critiqued as totalitarians.

write  
clearly

why  
+r  
Totalitarian  
thinking

This is why Karl Popper called him the "first fascist", in his book "Open Society and its Enemy"

According to Popper, elements of Plato's theory make him an enemy of the open society. First, his idea of

state as  
a regimented  
society

justice as based on functional specialisation - which divides society into the guardians, the rulers and the farmers is seen as a rendition of caste.

→ duties but no rights

second, the fact that Plato resorts to myths as as when - such as the myth of metals - show his Teleological theorisation.

Further, the lack of reasoning provided on concepts such as 'Philosophical king' have given support to totalitarian tendencies, as per Thomas Hobbes.

This is why Croce says that "Plato was neither good for his times, neither for ours." Despite the Marx, his critique also highlights that one can be Platonian or Anti-Platonian - never non-Platonian.

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b)

→ Statement ① The rise of modernity is regarded  
contradicts Statement ② the age of meta-narratives. This  
meant <sup>multiple</sup> multiple ideas were regarded  
as knowledge and standards. Activities  
that fell out of the mold were  
berated.

Keep it  
simple  
directly  
address  
the  
question.

This was opposed with the  
concept of cultural relativism which  
argued that all knowledge was partial  
and local. Thus, every group of people  
have different ways of understanding good  
the world. ✓

This was not a separate political  
doctrine but emerged as a distinctive  
strand with the rise of post-colonial  
literature and multiculturalism.

leg works of Edward Said & Will Kymlicka

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Further, cultural relativism was espoused by leaders of the east such as Lee Kuan Yew and Mahatma Mohammad who argued that similar application of concept of liberty, equality or rights couldn't be put on societies with different cultural values.

This was also taken up with the evolution of communitarianism which argued against individualism. These scholars such as Moynhyer Walzer called the individual as an embedded organism.

→ Mention criticism e.g. Human Rights violation under the pretext of cultural relativism builds upon John Bechtle's concept of value pluralism - which brings diversity to social life.

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C)



Equality is recognised as a modern concept as it's a feature of non-feudal societies. It doesn't mean an equalisation of conditions rather a push towards equity & fairness

Mention  
Rawls in  
introduction

Equality of opportunity emerged from the classical liberal school and argues that as long as opportunities for all players are equalised, the system can be declared as fair.

(eg) Nozick's free market - ability to participate.

This was criticised by positive liberals such as RH Tawney who argue that equality of opportunity doesn't mean much.

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If the starting lines itself are very different. A tadpole, who is yet to develop, swimming against the forces of the market as per Tawney is likely to lose.

The war taxes forward by Roosevelt - who argued that the state owed fair opportunity for all participants. This could be done by the distribution of welfare goods at public auction. The auction should be endowment insensitive & position sensitive.

The modification of the equity of opportunity to make space for the disadvantaged has become the trend in most welfare states.

3.5  
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d)



Feminism is a political ideology as well as a distinct political stand against  patriarchy - aimed for equality between the sexes.

The ideology of Feminism too has diversity within it. liberal

Feminism was the first kind of feminism to emerge in the liberal west in the 18th century. Works of scholars such as Mary Wollstonecraft such as Vindication of the Rights of Women are regarded as its central works.

This school generally emphasised equal opportunities, legal framework for gender based discrimination, formal equality and the ability to ask for inclusion in structures. There was range of Utilitarianism - especially

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How?

in the works of JS Mill and Harriet Taylor.

The school was instrumental in giving birth to the suffragette movement but wouldn't change the societal attitude to women. This space lead to the rise of radical feminism or the 2nd wave of feminism.

The radical feminists questioned the definition of patriarchy as well as the concept of sex/gender. They argued for equalization of societal conditions through the idea of personal is political. This was seen in works of Kate Millett (Sexual Politics) and Simone de Beauvoir (Second sex)

improve  
conclusion

Despite differences, the basics on wanting rights of women ensued united the same.

45  
10

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Answer Questions in NOT MORE THAN the Word Limit specified for each in the Parenthesis.  
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e)

→ The question is not about the general theory of justice you have to write your answer from Nozick

→ Explain about the Nozick's entitlement theory  
entitlement theory of Justice is based on a core idea of Justice as "to deserve" or "to be and entitled to".

Justice for different political scholars has meant different things.

First, scholars such as Plato focused on the organisational theory of justice where everyone did what was expected as a duty.

Further, Aristotle emphasised on Justice having two dimension - distributive and restorative. Apart from this Aristotle argued that a system is just when equals are treated equally and unequal are treated unequally.

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For entitlement theorists, the concept of it being wrong if unequal are treated equally comes from the idea of merit. Treating two people of differential merit as equally would not only discourage merit but would also cause resentment in the society.

Thus, neo-liberal adages such as the "dismal in the gutter" "where he ought to be" (summer) show support for the entitlement theory.

However, social liberals such as Michael Sonderegger criticise this entire idea in the "tyranny of merit" as merit or entitlement is a product of social classes.

Thus, as Rawls says - Justice is the first principle of the social system and shouldn't be subject to political bargaining.

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2(a)



Post structuralism and Post modernism are systems of knowledge who go against the "common knowledge" that has been established by modernity.

use word  
conventional

Modernity is understood as the age of rationalism and foundationalism. It speaks of meta-knowledge and the discovery of truth and science.

This was opposed by Post modernism which emerged in continental France in the 1960s. It emphasised on opposition to meta-narratives and opposition.

questioning

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Answer Questions in NOT MORE THAN the Word Limit specified for each in the Parenthesis.  
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*Scientific notions of monolithic universals*

to 'objective facts' up to now called  
post-modernism as the incredulity  
to meta-narratives.

Also mention other scholars  
→ Jean Baudrillard

This was taken forward in

Post-structuralism, where scholars

such as Jacques Derrida and Michel

Foucault discounted the existence

of 'knowledge' - calling all of it partial  
and local.

→ Identity is not fixed

The main objective of Foucault  
was the analysis of power. He in his Power  
and Knowledge

"Discipline and Punish" argues that discipline and punishment are  
no longer concentrated in one  
institution. It doesn't coerce but  
rather determines the limits of thinking.

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Powell was seen through a micro lens - where power flows through the society in a capillary kind of motion. It defines the limit of common sense and thus doesn't need to coerce but rather people discipline themselves.

This was also emphasized by Derrida, who in his work on discourses spoke of how language are constructed in a way to disempower a certain section while embolden others. He showed this in the context of post-colonial France.

Further, scholars such as Edward Said in his 'Orientalism'

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Showed how Identity of one group was defined by those in power.

The "occidental" time gave characteristics to the "oriental" - weakening their permanency.

The impact of Post modernism and post-structuralism was great. From language, to race study to de-colonialism studies - the subjects' hood changed.

Despite its impact, the inability of post-modernism to offer alternative and deliberate on the narrative aspect of theory remains.

Modernity is known as the age of meta-narrative regulation while Post-modernism is where these narratives become bankrupt.

Avoid jargon

explain clearly

Explain  
Post modernism  
briefly  
with

Q.5  
70



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b)



It often said that "If anyone  
is liberal, it's Mill." JS Mill is  
regarded as a transitional thinker  
standing at the edge of classical  
and modern liberalisms.

The modernism in Mill's thought  
was reflected in his thought on  
female emancipation. The book  
"On Subjection of Women" written  
with the counter-part Harriet Taylor is  
regarded as the 1<sup>st</sup> piece of liberal  
feminism.

→ Mill saw the emancipation and equal  
legal status of women as integral to  
human development

Mill argued that subordination  
of one sex was so pervasive that it  
had begun to seem normal.

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For him, this subordination was wrong on many different ground. First- was because of his commitment to utilitarianism.

Mill argued that the principle of felicific calculus dictated that the aim of any system should be to maximise happiness for the greatest number. On the current system of patriarchy, women - half of the population, could never maximise true happiness.

Further, in adding a qualitative aspect to Utilitarianism, Mill argued that the lack of participation of women was jeopardising human development.

First, the family remained an institution of deep sexism - oppressing on gender and age. Second, the lack of participation of women lead to ~~women~~ men behaving badly in the public sphere.  
  
<sup>support to</sup> Mill's support to women's right to education, suffrage and equal employment would only increase quantitative but qualitative happiness. While the idea was praised by some - liberal feminists, others argued the lack of stand alone value of women in Mill's system. He was also criticised for his Teleogism.

Despite criticism, Mill's analysis on participation of women laid the foundation - all support to women's emancipation for the first time in Modern era.

ALSO  
Mention other  
feminist  
scholars

6.5  
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C)



Karl Marx's theory of base and superstructure is defined as the foundation of the subsequent ideas of dialectical materialism, alienation and state socialism.

Marx in his 'Economic and social Manuscripts' agrees that the ~~man~~ man is an economic animal. As per him, according to him man is creative man can live without reason - but can't live without production.

n m

This is why the natural forces of production are the sorce of innate humanity of man. How man produces, <sup>o</sup> how he thinks, what he creates, what he aspiree to, etc.

This is why the material relations of production at any point of time are known as the base. Upon the economic base, society and polity are established known as the superstructure.

From the early man to feudalism, the relations between the two classes and eventually the structure of the society was defined by the base of economic production.

Thus, in order to bring about socialism, actions must occur at the level of the base - uprooting the current capitalist system. Only then could a classless society be established.

The idea inspired struggles - especially across Europe. However, it was critiqued on several fronts.

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Antonio Gramsci, in his prison notebook, critiqued Marx's economic determinism and argued for the examination of the concept of Hegemony or support for the capitalist system which enabled it to survive emanated from the superstructure.

Thus, the superstructure was a structure in itself. The argument was further examined in the Miliband-Poulantz debate on the relative autonomy of the superstructure.

Mention Criticism of Marx → Postmodernist → for predicting an absolute idea of truth.  
→ Karl Popper  
Thus, the relationship between the base and superstructure remains a source of analysis even today - where economic policies of any country help us understand its state.

4. a)



Rights can be understood as

claims or entitlements that can be made of the state - showing a constitutional relationship between the state and citizens.

Rights are a modern concept emanating from the classical liberal tradition of Locke's inalienable rights. In the modern era, they have seen a far more inclusive rendition in the concept of human rights.

define it?  
every individual  
possesses simply Human Rights emerged after the World War II as a standalone concept and regardless of their citizenship were foundationilised in the UN <sup>full form</sup> 1948 declaration of human rights in 1946,  
or UNHCR

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Karl Vesak, a czech scholar gave  
the understanding of human rights as  
"those rights that are inalienable to  
any human on account of their  
innate humanity."

The concept of human rights  
drew from the idea of natural  
rights, categorical imperatives as  
well as social contract. Vesak to  
standardise this gave the 13 Generation  
of Human Rights.

The first generation of human rights  
in Article 1-22 of UDHR are the  
politicocivil rights. They emphasize  
on formal equality and the ability  
to access all rights and liberties. They  
were inspired by western liberalism.

The second generation of rights were socio-economic rights - detailed in Article 22-28 of the UDHR. They were inspired by socialism and are also called the Red Rights.

Finally, the 3rd Generation of rights is called the intergenerational rights - committing to values of multiculturalism, indigenous as well as self-preservation rights.

While this classification was easy and multi-dimensional, it was critiqued on several accounts. First, the idea of human rights itself is called "nonsense on stilts". This is because there is no authority to enforce these rights - thus remaining just "lines in the sand".

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Further, the 3rd generation of Rights are criticised as going back on modernity and preventing further liberalisation by neo-liberal ✓

Third, the human rights are not universally agreed upon where leaders such as Lee Kuan Yew & Mahathir Mohammad criticised them on the basis of Asian values. Why?

Despite its criticism, the success of human rights in internationalising the idea of 'Rights' as well as enabling people to make their governments accountable raise their importance. This is why human rights are called the most energising concept of our times.

Q  
—  
20

b)

The statement is about  
the 'Sovereignty of State'?

[P.S. Gettel]

→ says that Political  
science is the study of the state  
while [Gaemeel] says that the discipline  
begins and ends with the state.

Thus, investigation into its nature  
is essential.

The study of nature of state  
began in the modern era with Hobbes'  
work on the [Leviathan]. This all  
powerful state birthed the [Moralistic]  
theory of state put forward by

John Austin's in his 'Principle of good

legal  
sovereignty being determinate  
and definite

This theory alleged that the

law is command which law enacted emanated  
of sovereign

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Mention pluralist theory  
by Laski  
The stance was opposed by classical  
liberals who considered the state  
as an instrument of liberty. Locke's  
idea of state as a product of social  
agreement or contract and limited by it made the  
multiple associations subordinate to man.

However, with the rise of social  
liberalism - we see a change in approach

to state. McInnes in his work calls

"State as both guardian and child of  
law."

The authority of law is greater than the  
authority of state

By this, what McInnes means

is that the state was created by

man in order to bring peace and order

in society as a result of social contract.

Thus, it acquires power as a result

of the fact that it offers services.

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This service state time was to ensure rights and duties are followed. Further, it was also limited in the actions it could do - not becoming a Leviathan or Sea monster as Hobbes predicted.

This analysis was taken forward by other social liberals such as TH Greene and Amartha Sen. However, it was criticised on the grounds of 'over-expansion' by neo-liberals such as F A Hayek and Mozde who called this the nanny state.

Despite these predictions of Totalitarianism by the nanny state (Joseph Berlin) explain in context of sovereignty this concept of service state form foundation of the welfare state.

Mention  
sovereignty  
is subject  
to limitation  
in the  
external  
sphere.

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c)



Kautilya and Machiavelli are often compared in their thoughts and contexts - especially with respect to 'Statecraft'.

First, the thoughts of both Kautilya and Machiavelli emanate from three contexts. As per Kautilya, the state of nature was that of 'Matsyanyaya' or law of the oceans where the big fish ate the small fish.

This was similar in the case of Machiavelli whose Anarchy in the breakdown

of rule in Italy had lead to the spread of Human nature - who were self seeking and evil.

good

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Further, both of them agreed on  
the state being lead by a practical  
non-nature basis on idealism-laying  
foundations to political realism.

Also, the aim for both Machiavelli and Kautilya was the peace  
and stability of the society. For this,  
the king had to maintain a heavy  
hand - allowing space for coercions  
and control.

Finally, both Machiavelli and  
Kautilya emphasised on Expansionist  
foreign policy - laying the base of  
geopolitics. It was predicted by both  
that the external sphere where the  
strength of lion prevails,

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उम्पीदवारों को  
इस प्रश्नाएँ में  
नहीं लिखना  
चाहिए।  
Candidates  
must not  
write on this  
margin

However, the two can be contrasted  
on several grounds as well. Upinder  
singh calls Machiavelli a much softer  
Kautilya. This is because Machiavelli  
still had a "hidden republicanism" in  
himself - while Kautilya was <sup>in</sup>  
support of a strong monarchy.

ALSO  
mention  
Max  
Weber

Further, Machiavelli's thoughts  
were unsubstantiated to a large extent,  
where Kautilya's Mandala Sadhanam  
or Saptang theory of state were only  
thoughts but also put in practice  
in the Maurya empire.

This is why while the nerves of the  
thought of Kautilya and Machiavelli  
may be similar, they still differ in both  
substance and depth.

good

7

15

5(a)



explain 'judicial overreach' in introduction

"The best way to judge the functioning of a society is to take a look at the judiciary"

Constitution of India

The Indian system of separation of powers as espoused by Article 50 wishes for separate domain for the three units of government. However, these are not water-tight separations.

explain judicial review Article 32 & 226 This permeable boundary has created a system of checks & balances - creating space for Judicial activism in India.

Judicial activism in India has been hailed by many as essential with Upendra Baxi calling "it the" therapeutic to oceanographic Indian politics.

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The positive role of the Judiciary could be seen in instances such as the Keshavanda Bharti case or the Nar foundation case. (1973)

However, this occasional medicine has become almost daily bread - with the rise of Judicial overreach. The Judiciary is exceeding its authority and acting as the parliament, leading to what Pratap Bhane calls as the case of Judicial co-governance.

Thus, the Judicial overreach is the MC Mehta case or the TN Godavaram case has led to Judiciary being criticised at the 3rd chamber of the parliament.

This must be arrested in order to keep up the constitutional principle of Separation of powers.

25  
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# UPSC

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b)



The Comptroller and Auditor General <sup>(CAG)</sup> of India was created by Article 148 of the constitution -

establishing what Dr Ambedkar called as the most important office in the Administration.

The CAG was envisaged as a body of checks and balances:

explain

In Article 148, the various roles of the CAG are detailed.

The CAG is empowered to carry out an audit of the central and state government departments as well as bodies such as River Boards, PSCs, etc.

ensuring transparency, accountability and democratic oversight

? define clearly

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Further, the report of the CAG  
is examined by the public accounts  
committee - lending it great importance  
as well as capacity of parliamentary  
oversight.

Finally, the CAG acts as India's  
representative auditor to international  
bodies - ensuring for transparency at  
an international level.

Despite its expansive role - the  
functioning of the CAG is criticised as  
politically influenced as well as lacking  
pro-farmer capacities. Further, secret  
classification limit CAG.

Despite this, Vinod Rai, former  
CAG notes how CAG has emerged as the  
fifth pillar of democracy in India.

35  
10

# UPSC

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C)



The Indian constitution is  
hailed by Granville Austin as a  
social document meant to bring  
about a societal resolution.

In order for ensuring the  
ideals of a welfare state are  
delivered to the people - with the  
most stability in the system - the  
judiciary came up with the doctrine  
of Harmonious construction

The doctrine argues that in the  
event of conflicting aims and interpre-  
tations of the constitution - the desira-  
ble path is one which seeks to ensure  
both aims to the best of their capacity.

3.0  
10

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The doctrine has been applied in two crucial spheres. The first is the debate in implementation of the Fundamental Rights vs the DPSPs. <sup>full form</sup>

On the Mineswa Miller case <sup>full form</sup> it was declared by the SC that the constitution is built on the delicate balance between the two. Thus, harmonious construction is required.

Further, the doctrine has also found application in case of Federation - while demarcating sphere of functioning.

On this case too, the doctrine of harmonious construction puts emphasis on peaceful and equitable management of disputes. <sup>✓</sup>

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d)



electoral behaviour  
→ social identities remain intact  
→ increasing focus  
on economy  
Kenneth Arrow highlighted the  
impossibility theorem in ability of  
predicted electoral trends in India-  
especially with more than 3 variables.

The recent electoral trends  
in India are symbolic of the  
changes in India's economy, society,  
polity as well as international  
position.

The rise in no. of business-  
men and agriculturist vis-a-vis  
lawyers and other service professionals  
show the continuation of dominance  
of 2nd democratic upsurge - where people  
are voting on identity & relativity

# UPSC

Answer Questions in NOT MORE THAN the Word Limit specified for each in the Parenthesis.  
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उम्पीदवारों को  
इस हाइड्रेट में  
नहीं लिखना  
चाहिए।  
Candidates  
must not  
write on this  
margin

2nd, the fall of number of urban voters - for the <sup>4th</sup> consecutive time as per the CCDS lokiniti survey shows an urban-detachment at play in Indian politics.

Mention  
Vaishnav on  
charismatic  
leader

Further, there is a trend of criminalisation of politics - with 43% of all elected MPs in the 12<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha having criminal cases against them. This shows rising ~~corruption~~ capitalisation.

→ increasing  
participation  
of women

Finally, the rise in number of regional parties from 33 to 41 in the 12<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha show a trend towards regionalisation.

3  
10

This is why Yogendra Yadav calls the current trend as that of identity plus politics.

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e)



Gandhi ji was not a philosopher but a political leader - deeply attached to Indian roots and the persistence of the idea of Gram Swaraj.

Gandhi's opposition to modernisation came not from the fact that it was western in nature,

but the fact that it disempowered the individual.

Mention Gandhi's criticism of the <sup>western civilization</sup> individual.

Colonialism, industry The individual and the community were sacrificed at the alter of machinery - machine dominated turned to material force and extending their reliability.

Further, modernization created  
an atomized individual that  
was rooted in morale of the  
society and could present itself as  
a danger to all.

On this same line, he argued  
against capitalism - which asked  
for mass production rather than  
production for the masses.

This is why Gandhi advocated  
for sarvodaya based on a village  
economy. This would ensure that  
last man's life is respected and he  
is not treated as a means to an  
end.

3.5  
10

8a)

explain 'federalism' in *introduction part*



Indian federalism is a unique  
model of Federalism - earning the  
title of cooperative Federalism by  
Granville Austin and Quasi-Federal  
by KC Wheare.

This is because of the fact that  
Indian federalism departs from "traditional" federal models such as the  
USA on a few accounts. The separation  
of powers is not as water tight -  
with many spheres leading with the authority  
of the centre.

This is also why Juris Jennings  
calls the Indian model of federalism as  
having a "centralising tendency".

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Because the model was born at the time of intense national divide, the greater power was given to the centre to keep India united. Further, power was also decentralised in what is called 'asymmetric federalism' to account for different considerations.

Thus, the federal units have gone from choosing constitutional or cooperative ways to the grievances to uncooperative ways of confrontation.

The cooperative ways are generally used by states and include constitutional ways such as the airing of grievances in Rajya Sabha or taking up topics with the central.

Eg) Rajya Sabha debate on NEET and AP CM meeting PM for special status.

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Further, the President is seen as an agent of Federalism - called by Prof M P Singh as the guardian of the federal axis.

Other platforms such as the zonal concile, interstate council or GCT concession are also used, however good disparately.

The inability of cooperative mechanisms to solve the issue of the federal units leads to reliance on methods of Incooperative Federalism.

These include methods such as walk outs of parliament, public speeches on demands for greater autonomy, etc. These demands are further used by political parties to unleash son of soil movements.

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Further, uncooperative federalism is seen operationalised in metitude of the Governor or the use of unceremonious President's rule by the centre.

soli sasabjee notes how the institution of the Governor is turning the institution of cooperative Federations

Mention challenges like → communalism, → vote bank politics, → minority appeasement to Bargaining federalism. Thus, these are elements of cooperation also rise in

Despite this, the ability of India to stay united, despite its subcontinental size and mega diversity shows the operational success of Indian federations.

This is why, Alfred Stephens calls Indian federations as demos enabling while USA model is called demos constraining.

8  
20

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b)

→ explain caste and democracy  
and link between  
two?



caste politics in India several  
how traditional practices have been  
institutionalised. Rudolph and Rudolph  
called this 'traditionalisation of  
modernity' and 'modernisation of  
tradition.'

by ?

It was assumed in the pre-  
independence and early post independence era, that as Indian politics  
natured - notions of identity would melt  
away.

However, Paul Brass notes an opposite  
trend in India. The end of ideology has  
revealed the era of identity. This species  
the end of politics of reason and  
rise of politics of passion - which once  
unleashed are difficult / to control.

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Thus, caste has become a funda-  
tional feature of Indian politics. Some  
scholars see the relationship between  
caste and democracy in a negative  
way - where caste dominance in politics  
has cast shadows.

CP Bhambhani and Aratap Bhambhani  
mention how caste in politics instead  
of diluting the role of caste in society  
has only made it more predominant.  
It's said "Indians don't caste their  
vote but vote their caste."

Further, the rise in caste  
violence - (Bhima Koregaon) as well as  
caste assertion has lead to democracy  
being on identity contestation.

However, this stand is not  
unambiguous. Scholars such as

Yogendra Yadav praise the role of caste in politics. First, caste has served as a tool of political mobilisation - linking the electorate to the system.

Second, caste has helped in the massification of politics - leading to debate transitioning from the "domain of experts to domain of masses".

Finally, caste has enabled rise of Dalit assertion - accompanied by rise of self-respect. This is ~~for Ambedkar's idea and against Gondwani's idea of passive Dalit upliftment.~~

Thus, caste's role in democracy has had a peculiar effect but effectively shows the features of a prismatic society.

5.5  
15

c)



Doug Adams

?

define social movements  
as collective action, in order to speak  
social change. It is regarded as the  
least institutionalized way of politics  
in a democracy.

### The traditional social movements

18<sup>th</sup> &  
19<sup>th</sup> century  
were born out of the rise of the  
enlightenment era. The belief in the  
object of social contract enabled  
people to raise their voices against  
the establishment.

economic  
issues  
→ groups  
like working  
class and  
peasants

These traditional movements generally  
spoke for social and political rights and  
were often leader-driven?  
eg civil rights movement in the  
USA, African National Movement,

It dominated the period of 1880s & 1900s. However, with the end of World War II and rise of Post-modernism, we see the rise of New social movements.

The ideology behind New social movement <sup>1970's</sup> emanated from the thoughts of

Habermas He in his "one-dimensional man" argued that man in modernity had become "intellectually inactive and politically passive".

To oppose the deskilibration of man, Habermas and contemporaries stressed on a new nature of social movements. These would concentrate on Quality of life issues - <sup>Social changes in identity,</sup> cultural

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True, the struggle for identity such as for LGBTQI+ or the demand for special rights as part of a minority come under the new social movements.

It has been said that it's usually in the post-modern world of the west that new social movements are beginning to dominate.

On the post-colonial world, while the differential development of society is prompting some new social movements, the large focus is still on traditional social movements.

This is why Albert Memmi calls social movements as the labs in which the dominant code of life is challenged.



6  
15