

**How to use:** attempt the question, then check against the bulleted skeleton — **green** = how to open, **indigo** = body points (scholars/data), **violet** = how to close, **rose** = thinkers/cases/Articles to quote.

## PSIR Paper 1 · 2025

### Section A — Political Theory, Western & Indian Thought

#### 1(a) [10m] Explain the Philosophical approach to the study of Political theory.

- **Intro:** The philosophical (normative) approach asks what political life ought to be — its values, ends and the good life.
- rooted in Plato & Aristotle — justice, virtue, the ideal state
- deductive, value-laden, prescriptive (Leo Strauss)
- contrasts the empirical/behavioural ("is", not "ought")
- method: reason, conceptual analysis, thought-experiments
- revived by Rawls (1971) after the "decline of political theory" claim.
- **Concl:** Questions of rights and justice cannot be value-free, so the philosophical approach remains indispensable.
- **Cite:** *Plato, Aristotle, Leo Strauss, Rawls, Laslett (decline thesis).*

#### 1(b) [10m] Write a note on the relation between equality and liberty from the multi-cultural perspective.

- **Intro:** Liberalism long saw equality and liberty in tension; multiculturalism reframes both around identity and recognition.
- classic tension: equality (redistribution) vs liberty (non-interference)
- multiculturalism: equal recognition of cultures — Taylor's "politics of recognition"
- liberty as cultural autonomy; group-differentiated rights (Kymlicka)
- feminist critique — multiculturalism can curb women's liberty (Okin)
- India: personal laws, reservations.
- **Concl:** From a multicultural lens, real equality requires the liberty to live one's culture — balanced against individual rights.
- **Cite:** *Charles Taylor, Will Kymlicka, Bhikhu Parekh, Susan Okin.*

#### 1(c) [10m] Explain Macpherson's view on power.

- **Intro:** C. B. Macpherson reconceived power through his critique of "possessive individualism".
- "extractive power" — capitalist appropriation of others' labour and capacities
- vs "developmental power" — the capacity to use and develop one's human potential
- liberal-capitalist democracy converts developmental power into extractive power
- true democracy maximises developmental power for all.
- **Concl:** For Macpherson power is not mere control but the human capacity for self-development — denied under capitalism.
- **Cite:** *C. B. Macpherson (Possessive Individualism; Democratic Theory).*

#### 1(d) [10m] Mention the difference between Italian and German brands of fascism.

- **Intro:** Both inter-war fascisms were anti-liberal and totalitarian but diverged in their core ideology.
- Italian (Mussolini): statolatry — "everything within the State, nothing outside" (Gentile), corporatism, nationalism, initially less racial
- German (Nazism, Hitler): race and blood — Aryan supremacy, anti-Semitism, Volk, Führerprinzip, Lebensraum
- Italy = State-centric; Germany = race-centric
- shared: leader-cult, militarism, anti-communism.
- **Concl:** Italian fascism deified the State; German Nazism deified the race — the decisive divergence.
- **Cite:** *Giovanni Gentile, Hannah Arendt (Origins of Totalitarianism).*

**1(e) [10m] Explain briefly the elite theory of democracy.**

- **Intro:** Elite theorists argue democracy is rule by elites, not the masses — "rule of the people" is a myth.
- classical elitism: Pareto (circulation of elites), Mosca (ruling class), Michels ("iron law of oligarchy")
- democratic elitism: Schumpeter — democracy as a competitive struggle for the people's vote
- critique of participatory ideals
- countered by pluralism (Dahl) and participatory democracy (Pateman).
- **Concl:** Elite theory realistically exposes power concentration but risks legitimising oligarchy; deeper participation is the corrective.
- **Cite:** *Pareto, Mosca, Michels, Schumpeter; cf. Dahl, Pateman.*

**2(a) [20m] What is the Marxist and liberal approach towards the state? On what grounds are the theoretical differences between them premised? Explain.**

- **Intro:** Liberalism sees the State as a neutral arbiter; Marxism as an instrument of class domination.
- Liberal: State = neutral referee protecting rights and order (Locke, pluralism); limited, consent-based
- Marxist: State = "executive committee of the bourgeoisie" (Manifesto); superstructure serving the dominant class
- instrumentalist (Miliband) vs structuralist (Poulantzas)
- ends: liberalism preserves the State, Marxism seeks its "withering away"
- grounds: opposed views of human nature, property and history (idealist vs historical-materialist).
- **Concl:** The clash rests on whether the State transcends class (liberal) or expresses it (Marxist) — rooted in rival theories of society and history.
- **Cite:** *Locke, Marx-Engels, Miliband, Poulantzas.*

**2(b) [15m] Karl Popper presents a defence of the open society against its enemies. Elaborate.**

- **Intro:** Popper defended the "open society" against the "enemies" — historicist, totalitarian thought (Plato, Hegel, Marx).
- open society: critical, pluralist, individual freedom, falsifiable institutions
- vs closed/tribal society — authority, taboo, collectivism
- attacks historicism — "laws of inevitable history" justify tyranny
- "piecemeal social engineering" over utopian engineering
- democracy = removing rulers without bloodshed.
- **Concl:** Popper's open society defends fallibilist, reformist democracy against the certainty of utopian and totalitarian projects.
- **Cite:** *Karl Popper (The Open Society and Its Enemies; The Poverty of Historicism).*

**2(c) [15m] Explain how Rawls used the liberal and egalitarian perspective to develop his theory of justice.**

- **Intro:** Rawls fused liberal liberty with egalitarian distribution in "justice as fairness".
- liberal: first principle — equal basic liberties, with lexical priority
- egalitarian: second principle — fair equality of opportunity + the difference principle (inequalities must benefit the least advantaged)
- device: original position + veil of ignorance
- rejects utilitarianism (sacrifices the few)
- "reflective equilibrium".
- **Concl:** Rawls reconciled liberty and equality — a liberal-egalitarian theory making fairness the first virtue of institutions.
- **Cite:** *Rawls (A Theory of Justice, 1971); Nozick (libertarian), Sandel (communitarian) critiques.*

**3(a) [20m] Provide a comparative analysis of behavioural and institutional approach to the study of Political theory.**

- **Intro:** The two approaches differ on what politics studies — formal institutions versus observable behaviour.
- institutional (traditional): constitutions, laws, organs of government; legal-descriptive, normative
- behavioural: individual and group political behaviour — empirical, value-free, quantitative (Easton, Almond)
- behaviouralism's "scientific" revolution vs institutional formalism
- critique: behaviouralism ignored institutions and values → post-behaviouralism and "new institutionalism" (March & Olsen) revived institutions with behavioural rigour.
- **Concl:** From rivalry to synthesis — new institutionalism marries institutional structure with behavioural analysis.
- **Cite:** *Easton, Almond, March & Olsen (new institutionalism).*

**3(b) [15m] "State ... does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality, which lies at the root of all progress." - Mahatma Gandhi. Elucidate.**

- **Intro:** Gandhi was a philosophical anarchist who saw the centralised State as violence that crushes individuality.
- the State = "violence in a concentrated and organised form"; a soulless machine
- it destroys individual conscience and moral agency — the root of progress
- alternative: decentralised Gram Swaraj, "oceanic circles", self-rule
- trusteeship over State ownership
- "enlightened anarchy" as the ideal.
- **Concl:** For Gandhi true progress flows from free, self-governing individuals — hence his deep suspicion of the centralising State.
- **Cite:** *M. K. Gandhi (Hind Swaraj); cf. Thoreau, Kropotkin.*

**3(c) [15m] Explain how the slogan 'the personal is political' addresses the issue of women's oppression and discrimination.**

- **Intro:** The radical-feminist slogan collapsed the public-private divide that long hid women's oppression.
- classical liberalism kept the "private" family beyond political scrutiny
- feminism: domestic life — housework, sexuality, violence — is itself a site of power
- patriarchy operates through the family, not only the State
- politicises rape, domestic violence and unpaid care → law and policy (DV Act, POSH)
- critique: risk of over-extension.
- **Concl:** By politicising the private, feminism exposed patriarchy's deepest roots — reshaping rights, law and the very scope of "the political".
- **Cite:** *Carol Hanisch, Kate Millett (Sexual Politics), Carole Pateman.*

**4(a) [20m] The foundational base of western democracy has been shaped by Locke's ideas of constitutionalism, freedom and property. Elucidate.**

- **Intro:** Locke, the "father of liberalism", supplied a trinity — constitutionalism, freedom and property — that underpins modern democracy.
- constitutionalism: government by consent, limited by natural law, separation of powers, the right to revolt
- freedom: natural liberty and equality in the state of nature; rule of law, not licence
- property: the labour theory — mixing labour creates property; the chief end of government is to protect it
- influence: the Glorious Revolution, the US Declaration and Constitution.
- **Concl:** Locke furnished the DNA of western liberal democracy — limited government securing life, liberty and property.
- **Cite:** *Locke (Two Treatises); Macpherson (possessive-individualism critique).*

**4(b)** [15m] **Hannah Arendt analysed a few categories of vita activa. Explain.**

- **Intro:** In *The Human Condition* Arendt distinguished three activities of the vita activa — labour, work and action.
- labour: meets biological necessity, cyclical, leaves nothing permanent (animal laborans)
- work: fabricates a durable, human-made world (homo faber)
- action: speech and deeds among plural humans — the truly political, the source of freedom and "natality"
- modern danger: action eclipsed by labour and consumption → "world alienation".
- **Concl:** Arendt elevated action as the essence of politics and freedom — warning that modernity reduces humans to labourers.
- **Cite:** *Hannah Arendt (The Human Condition)*.

**4(c)** [15m] **Do you think that legitimacy acquired by consent or manufactured by indoctrination is an essential element in maintenance of political rule? Justify with examples.**

- **Intro:** Legitimacy — the rightful acceptance of authority — may rest on genuine consent or on manufactured belief.
- consent-based: social contract, elections, rule of law (Locke; Weber's legal-rational type)
- manufactured: ideology and propaganda — "manufacturing consent" (Chomsky), hegemony (Gramsci), false consciousness
- Weber's three types: traditional, charismatic, legal-rational
- both sustain rule, but only genuine consent is stable and just.
- **Concl:** Legitimacy is essential to durable rule — yet only consent grounded in free reason, not indoctrination, makes authority rightful.
- **Cite:** *Weber, Gramsci, Chomsky-Herman; David Beetham*.

**Section B — Indian Government & Politics****5(a)** [10m] **Explain briefly the role of Peasant Movements after 1857 and before independence.**

- **Intro:** Peasant movements were a crucial, partly autonomous stream of the anti-colonial struggle.
- early: Indigo Revolt (1859-60), Pabna, Deccan Riots (1875)
- Gandhian phase: Champaran (1917), Kheda, Bardoli (1928)
- Left-led: All-India Kisan Sabha (1936), Tebhaga, Telangana
- grievances: rent, debt, indigo, revenue
- subaltern autonomy (Guha) vs nationalist mobilisation.
- **Concl:** Peasant movements broadened the national movement's social base and radicalised its agrarian agenda.
- **Cite:** *Ranjit Guha (subaltern), D. N. Dhanagare; All-India Kisan Sabha*.

**5(b)** [10m] **Write a note on the Dalit perspective of Indian National Movement.**

- **Intro:** The Dalit perspective (Ambedkar) reads the national movement as an elite project that sidelined the annihilation of caste.
- Ambedkar: political freedom without social democracy is hollow
- critique of Congress and Gandhi ("Harijan" vs annihilation)
- separate electorates demand → Communal Award → Poona Pact (1932)
- swaraj must mean Dalit emancipation, not merely a transfer of power.
- **Concl:** The Dalit lens reframes independence as incomplete without a social revolution — a caution still relevant to Indian democracy.
- **Cite:** *Ambedkar (What Congress & Gandhi Have Done to the Untouchables); Poona Pact 1932*.

**5(c) [10m] Land reforms programmes led to some constitutional amendments. Comment.**

- **Intro:** Zamindari-abolition land reforms clashed with the right to property, forcing early constitutional amendments.
- 1st Amendment (1951): the Ninth Schedule + Arts 31A/31B to shield land laws from judicial review
- 4th, 17th, 25th (Art 31C) and 44th (property moved to Art 300A, a legal right)
- judicial tussle: Shankari Prasad, Golak Nath, Kesavananda, Coelho (Ninth Schedule reviewable post-1973).
- **Concl:** Land reform drove the FR-vs-DPSP and basic-structure jurisprudence — and ultimately reshaped the property right itself.
- **Cite:** *1st Amendment; Kesavananda (1973); Coelho (2007); Art 300A.*

**5(d) [10m] Delineate the key factors that have shaped the evolving political landscape in Jammu and Kashmir post 2019.**

- **Intro:** The abrogation of Article 370 (Aug 2019) and reorganisation into two UTs fundamentally recast J&K politics.
- Art 370/35A diluted; the J&K Reorganisation Act created the UTs of J&K (with legislature) and Ladakh
- delimitation and a new electoral map
- realignment of mainstream parties (NC, PDP); the Gupkar alliance
- 2024 Assembly elections restored an elected government; the statehood demand
- SC upheld the abrogation (2023).
- **Concl:** Post-2019 J&K politics turns on integration, the restoration of statehood and democratic re-engagement.
- **Cite:** *Art 370; J&K Reorganisation Act 2019; In re Article 370 (SC, 2023).*

**5(e) [10m] How far has the National Human Rights Commission been successful in achieving its objectives? Comment.**

- **Intro:** The NHRC (Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993) is the apex rights watchdog — impactful, yet often a "toothless tiger".
- achievements: custodial-death monitoring, suo-motu inquiries, awareness, advisories
- limits: recommendatory only, the one-year limitation bar, no direct jurisdiction over the armed forces (Sec 19), dependence on government for staff and funds
- the Paris Principles benchmark.
- **Concl:** The NHRC has advanced rights awareness but needs binding powers and autonomy to act against the powerful.
- **Cite:** *PHRA 1993; Paris Principles; Sec 19.*

**6(a) [20m] Parliamentary Committees are a strong tool of Parliamentary Democracy. They provide opportunity for cross-pollination of ideas among MPs. Discuss.**

- **Intro:** Committees are the "mini-Parliaments" where the bulk of detailed legislative and oversight work is done.
- types: Standing (DRSCs since 1993), Financial (PAC, Estimates, COPU), Ad-hoc
- functions: scrutinise bills and budgets, hold the executive to account; expertise and non-partisan "cross-pollination"
- insulate work from the floor's adversarialism
- weaknesses: falling referrals, non-binding reports, no technical staff, poor attendance.
- **Concl:** Committees deepen deliberative democracy; mandatory referral and research support are the key reforms.
- **Cite:** *DRSCs (1993); 2nd ARC; Public Accounts Committee.*

**6(b)** [15m] **Examine the constitutional provisions and nature of advisory jurisdiction of Supreme Court of India with examples.**

- **Intro:** Under Article 143 the President may seek the Supreme Court's advisory opinion on a question of law or fact of public importance.
- Art 143(1): a discretionary reference — the Court may opine
- 143(2): on certain pre-Constitution matters the Court must opine
- the opinion is not binding but is highly persuasive
- examples: Berubari, Kerala Education Bill, Special Courts Bill, the Third Judges Case (1998), the 2G/Presidential Reference (2012); the Court declined the Ram Janmabhoomi reference.
- **Concl:** Advisory jurisdiction lets the executive pre-empt constitutional doubts — a consultative, non-binding role distinct from adjudication.
- **Cite:** *Art 143; Third Judges Case (1998); In re Special Courts Bill.*

**6(c)** [15m] **Recent developments in Indian politics have not eroded the true spirit of federalism in India. Critically examine with illustrations.**

- **Intro:** Critics allege creeping centralisation, but defenders argue cooperative and competitive federalism keep the federal spirit alive.
- erosion claims: the Governor's role, Art 356 (curbed post-Bommai), central agencies, GST's "pooled sovereignty", cesses outside the divisible pool, the Delhi-NCT tussle
- federal resilience: the GST Council, Inter-State Council, NITI Aayog, regional parties, the SC as umpire (Bommai; NCT 2023), 15th FC devolution
- "competitive federalism" rankings.
- **Concl:** India's federalism is contested but not eroded — it is evolving toward bargained, cooperative federalism; institutions must be strengthened.
- **Cite:** *S. R. Bommai (1994); GST Council (Art 279A); Govt of NCT of Delhi (2023).*

**7(a)** [20m] **Enunciate the impediments to women's participation in local governance in the process of political decentralisation.**

- **Intro:** Despite reservation under the 73rd/74th Amendments (now up to 50% in many States), women's substantive participation lags.
- "Sarpanch-pati" / proxy rule by male relatives
- patriarchy, low literacy, the dual burden, mobility and safety
- gaps in capacity and training
- caste-class intersection and elite capture
- bureaucratic and financial dependence
- tokenism.
- **Concl:** From presence to power — capacity-building, curbing proxy rule and social change are needed to make women's local leadership substantive.
- **Cite:** *73rd/74th Amendments; 11th/12th Schedules; studies on "Pradhan-pati".*

**7(b)** [20m] **Caste remains a vital axis for political mobilisation in India. How would the caste census address the aspirations of people? Discuss.**

- **Intro:** Caste remains a central axis of mobilisation; the caste-census demand seeks data to match representation to numbers.
- Kothari's "politicisation of caste"; vote banks, Mandal, OBC assertion, the "silent revolution" (Jaffrelot)
- the last full caste enumeration was 1931; SECC 2011 data was flawed; Bihar's 2023 caste survey
- for: evidence-based welfare, sub-categorisation, the debate on breaching the 50% cap
- against: hardening caste identity, fragmentation.
- **Concl:** A caste census could rationalise social justice — but must empower without entrenching caste; data should serve dignity, not division.
- **Cite:** *Rajni Kothari, Christophe Jaffrelot; SECC 2011; Indra Sawhney (50% cap).*

### 7(c) [15m] Examine the debate around the appointment procedure of the Chief Election Commissioner and Election Commissioners.

- **Intro:** The method of appointing the CEC and ECs is central to the independence of the ECI (Article 324).
- earlier: executive-appointed (President on the PM's advice) → independence concerns
- Anoop Baranwal (2023): the SC mandated a committee of the PM, LoP and CJI until Parliament legislated
- the CEC & ECs Act 2023 replaced the CJI with a Union Cabinet Minister → criticism of executive dominance
- debate: neutrality vs executive control; security of tenure.
- **Concl:** A genuinely independent, broad-based selection is vital to insulate the ECI — the guarantor of free and fair elections.
- **Cite:** *Art 324; Anoop Baranwal (2023); CEC & ECs Act 2023.*

### 8(a) [20m] Population Census 2027 has reopened debates around consultation, representation and governance. Discuss.

- **Intro:** The delayed Census (now 2027, with caste enumeration) reopens debates on data, representation and federal governance.
- governance: data for welfare targeting, delimitation, devolution and planning
- representation: post-2026 delimitation could shift Lok Sabha seats toward the populous north → federal "north-south" tension; women's reservation is tied to it
- caste data and social-justice claims
- consultation: cooperative federalism, NPR/privacy anxieties.
- **Concl:** The 2027 Census is not mere counting but a charter for representation and resource-sharing — demanding consultative, federal handling.
- **Cite:** *Art 82 (delimitation); Women's Reservation Act 2023 (post-census); SECC.*

### 8(b) [15m] Discuss the Peruvian experience of planning and its relevance to the early phase of economic planning in India.

- **Intro:** India's early planning drew on diverse models; Latin-American structuralist planning offers an instructive comparison.
- Indian planning: Soviet-inspired Five-Year Plans, the Mahalanobis model, a mixed economy, the Planning Commission (1950)
- Latin-American structuralism (Prebisch/ECLA): import-substitution, State-led industrialisation, dependency concerns
- shared lessons: balancing growth, equity and autonomy; the pitfalls of over-centralised planning.
- **Concl:** Comparative planning experiences shaped India's State-led, self-reliant model — later corrected by the 1991 liberalisation.
- **Cite:** *Mahalanobis; Prebisch / ECLA structuralism; Planning Commission.*

### 8(c) [15m] Regional parties have helped bring disadvantaged groups into the political mainstream. Discuss.

- **Intro:** Regional parties have been key vehicles for bringing hitherto-excluded groups into the political mainstream.
- Dravidian parties (DMK/AIADMK) — backward-caste, anti-Brahmin mobilisation
- BSP — Dalit empowerment; RJD/SP — OBC assertion
- regional aspirations, a federal voice, the coalition era (1989 onward)
- the "second democratic upsurge" (Yadav)
- critique: dynasticism, casteism, narrow agendas.
- **Concl:** Regional parties have democratised and federalised Indian politics, empowering the marginalised — even as they must institutionalise.
- **Cite:** *Yogendra Yadav ("democratic upsurge"); the Dravidian movement; BSP.*

## PSIR Paper 1 · 2024

### Section A — Political Theory, Western & Indian Thought

**1(a)** [10m] **Behavioral approach to Political Science.**

- **Intro:** A value-free, empirical, "scientific" study of observable political behaviour rather than formal institutions.
- features: scientism, quantification, value-neutrality, search for regularities (Easton's tenets)
- shifted focus from the State/institutions to individual & group behaviour
- tools: surveys, systems theory (Easton), structural-functionalism (Almond)
- rejected normative "armchair" theory
- critique → post-behaviouralism ("Credo of Relevance", Easton 1969).
- **Concl:** Made the discipline empirical and rigorous, but its value-neutrality was overstated — corrected by post-behaviouralism.
- **Cite:** *David Easton, David Truman, Almond.*

**1(b)** [10m] **Pluralist theory of State.**

- **Intro:** The State is one association among many; power is dispersed, not a monolithic sovereign.
- Laski, MacIver, Dahl — sovereignty divided among groups
- State as a neutral arena where interests bargain ("polyarchy")
- attacks Austinian/monist sovereignty
- critiques: Marxist (serves capital — Miliband), elitist (Mills)
- neo-pluralism concedes business privilege (Lindblom).
- **Concl:** Pluralism democratised State theory but understates structural power; neo-pluralism is the corrective.
- **Cite:** *Laski, Robert Dahl, Lindblom; cf. Miliband, Mills.*

**1(c)** [10m] **Locke's views on Revolution.**

- **Intro:** Locke justified a right to revolt when government betrays the trust on which it rests.
- government = a fiduciary trust to protect natural rights (life, liberty, property)
- breach of trust or tyranny dissolves the government, not society
- the people are the final judge — "appeal to heaven"
- inspired the Glorious (1688) and American Revolutions.
- **Concl:** A foundational liberal defence of limited government and legitimate resistance.
- **Cite:** *Locke (Two Treatises); cf. Hobbes (no right to revolt).*

**1(d)** [10m] **Decline of Liberalism.**

- **Intro:** Classical, laissez-faire liberalism faced crises that forced its transformation — a "decline" of its 19th-century form.
- industrial inequality & the 1929 Depression discredited the night-watchman State → welfare/positive liberalism (T.H. Green)
- challenges from socialism, fascism, communitarianism
- recent: neoliberal excess, populism, identity politics
- "end of history" optimism questioned.
- **Concl:** Liberalism mutated rather than died, but today faces a genuine crisis of legitimacy.
- **Cite:** *T.H. Green, Rawls; cf. Fukuyama, Sandel.*

**1(e)** [10m] **Linkage between Power and Hegemony.**

- **Intro:** Hegemony (Gramsci) is power exercised through consent as much as coercion.
- power = capacity to influence; hegemony = moral & intellectual leadership
- the ruling class secures consent via civil society (school, church, media)
- "manufacturing consent"; coercion only at the margins
- counter-hegemony and the "war of position".
- **Concl:** Hegemony is power's most durable form — ruling minds, not merely bodies.
- **Cite:** *Gramsci (Prison Notebooks); cf. Steven Lukes (three faces of power).*

**2(a) [20m] Elucidate the meanings inherent in the term "political" with appropriate illustrations.**

- **Intro:** "Political" is a contested term — from State-centric to all relations of power.
- classical: of the polis/State, governance (Aristotle)
- power-centric: "who gets what, when, how" (Lasswell)
- "the personal is political" (feminism)
- as conflict (Schmitt's friend/enemy) vs as consensus/civilised activity (Crick)
- the public-private divide.
- **Concl:** The political pervades social life, not merely the institutions of the State.
- **Cite:** *Aristotle, Lasswell, Carl Schmitt, Bernard Crick.*

**2(b) [15m] Marxism is a political theory of action demanding strict compliance with its core principles. Comment.**

- **Intro:** Marxism is not mere analysis but a call to revolutionary praxis — yet it is internally plural.
- "philosophers have interpreted the world; the point is to change it" (Theses on Feuerbach)
- praxis, class struggle, revolution
- but many Marxisms — Gramsci, Frankfurt School, Eurocommunism, Analytical Marxism
- Leninist orthodoxy vs open/humanist (M.N. Roy) readings.
- **Concl:** Action-oriented, yes; but rigid compliance betrays its own dialectical, self-critical spirit.
- **Cite:** *Marx, Gramsci, Althusser; cf. M.N. Roy.*

**2(c) [15m] The relationship between equality of democratic citizenship and liberty of citizens is influenced by economic equality. Comment.**

- **Intro:** Political equality and liberty are hollow without socio-economic equality.
- formal (legal) vs substantive equality
- Marx: bourgeois rights mask economic inequality
- Ambedkar: political democracy needs social & economic democracy
- T.H. Marshall: civil → political → social citizenship
- the welfare State and positive liberty.
- **Concl:** Economic equality is the precondition for real liberty and equal citizenship.
- **Cite:** *Marx, Ambedkar, T.H. Marshall, T.H. Green.*

**3(a) [20m] The debate on human rights is caught between the limitations of both universalism and cultural relativism. Comment.**

- **Intro:** Are human rights universal or culture-bound? The debate is trapped between two limits.
- universalism: UDHR, inherent dignity — but charged with Western imposition
- relativism: "Asian values", context — but can shield oppression
- middle path: overlapping consensus, dialogic/"thin" universalism
- India: rights amid cultural diversity.
- **Concl:** Rights need a universal core with cultural sensitivity — a "rooted universalism".
- **Cite:** *UDHR; Amartya Sen, Bhikhu Parekh; the "Asian values" debate.*

**3(b) [15m] Deliberative democracy seeks to promote democratic decision making about public issues among citizens. Discuss.**

- **Intro:** Democratic legitimacy should rest on reasoned public deliberation, not mere vote-counting.
- Habermas: the public sphere, communicative reason, "the unforced force of the better argument"
- beyond aggregative/electoral democracy
- inclusion, publicity, consensus
- critique: feasibility, unequal voice, scale
- India: Gram Sabha, public hearings.
- **Concl:** Deepens democracy from counting heads to weighing reasons — apt for India's plural society.
- **Cite:** *Habermas, Joshua Cohen, John Dryzek.*

**3(c) [15m] Dharmashastra presents a duty-centric worldview for individuals and communities.****Comment.**

- **Intro:** The Dharmashastras present a duty (dharma)-centric, not rights-centric, vision of social and political order.
- dharma = duty by varna and ashrama; svadharma
- Rajadharma — the king's duties, danda, welfare
- social order over individual claims; hierarchy (Manu)
- contrast with the modern rights paradigm
- critique: legitimised inequality (Ambedkar).
- **Concl:** A duty-based ethic that prized order — valuable yet in tension with modern equality and rights.
- **Cite:** *Manusmriti, Kautilya; cf. Ambedkar's critique.*

**4(a) [20m] Legitimacy adds positive value to political authority and obligation. Discuss.**

- **Intro:** Legitimacy converts naked power into rightful authority and grounds political obligation.
- Weber's three types: traditional, charismatic, legal-rational
- Beetham: legality + shared beliefs + expressed consent
- legitimacy lowers coercion, secures stability and compliance
- a "legitimation crisis" breeds instability (Habermas).
- **Concl:** Legitimacy is the moral cement of the State — authority without it is mere domination.
- **Cite:** *Max Weber, David Beetham, Habermas (Legitimation Crisis).*

**4(b) [15m] Critically examine Plato's theory of Forms.**

- **Intro:** Plato's Forms — eternal, perfect Ideas — ground his epistemology and his ideal State.
- Forms vs the changing world of appearances; the Form of the Good
- knowledge of the Forms qualifies the philosopher-king to rule
- the Cave allegory; the divided line
- critique: Aristotle's "third man"; otherworldly, anti-democratic, "totalitarian" (Popper).
- **Concl:** A profound metaphysics, but its elitist politics and dualism drew enduring criticism.
- **Cite:** *Plato (Republic); Aristotle, Karl Popper (critique).*

**4(c) [15m] Manabendra Nath Roy's political thought highlighted the humanistic aspects of Marxism. Discuss.**

- **Intro:** M.N. Roy moved from orthodox Marxism to "Radical/New Humanism", foregrounding the individual.
- critique of party-dictatorship and economic determinism
- man as the measure; freedom and reason as central
- "radical democracy" — organised, decentralised, party-less
- ethics and rationalism over rigid class doctrine.
- **Concl:** Roy humanised Marxism — privileging individual freedom and reason over class dogma.
- **Cite:** *M.N. Roy (Radical Humanism; New Humanism).*

**Section B — Indian Government & Politics****5(a) [10m] Constitutional morality in the Indian Constitution.**

- **Intro:** Constitutional morality means fidelity to the Constitution's spirit and values, not merely its letter.
- Grote's phrase, invoked by Ambedkar in the Constituent Assembly
- adherence to constitutional norms, due process, plurality and self-restraint
- a counter to majoritarian "popular morality"
- judicial use: Naz Foundation, Navtej Johar, Sabarimala, NCT of Delhi.
- **Concl:** A guiding principle aligning law and governance with constitutional values — though its judicial use is debated.
- **Cite:** *Ambedkar, Grote; Navtej Johar (2018), Sabarimala (2018).*

**5(b)** [10m] **Objective Resolution of the Constituent Assembly.**

- **Intro:** Nehru's Objective Resolution (1946) laid down the aims and philosophy that became the Preamble.
- moved by Nehru, adopted Jan 1947
- India as a sovereign republic; justice, liberty, equality, fraternity
- rights and safeguards for minorities and backward classes
- became the basis of the Preamble — the Constitution's "soul".
- **Concl:** The Objective Resolution is the philosophical foundation of the Constitution, crystallised in the Preamble.
- **Cite:** *Nehru; the Preamble; Berubari, Kesavananda.*

**5(c)** [10m] **Legal remedies in Part III of the Constitution of India.**

- **Intro:** Part III makes rights real by guaranteeing constitutional remedies — Ambedkar's "heart and soul".
- Art 32 — the right to constitutional remedies (itself a Fundamental Right)
- writs: habeas corpus, mandamus, certiorari, prohibition, quo warranto
- Art 226 — wider High Court writ power
- PIL and relaxed locus standi
- Art 32 protected except under Art 359.
- **Concl:** Remedies give Fundamental Rights their teeth — the guarantor of constitutional liberty.
- **Cite:** *Arts 32, 226; Ambedkar; PIL jurisprudence.*

**5(d)** [10m] **Relevance of the Legislative Council.**

- **Intro:** The Vidhan Parishad (Art 169) is a debated second chamber in the States.
- composition (Art 171) — MLAs, local bodies, graduates, teachers, Governor's nominees
- for: a revising chamber, expertise, a check on haste
- against: weak powers (only delay), cost, a "backdoor" for defeated leaders
- created/abolished by Parliament on a State resolution.
- **Concl:** A council can add deliberative value but needs real powers to escape the "costly ornament" critique.
- **Cite:** *Arts 169-171; debates over State councils.*

**5(e)** [10m] **Women's role in the anti-arrack movement.**

- **Intro:** The anti-arrack movement (Andhra, 1990s) was a landmark women-led social movement against liquor.
- rural women mobilising against alcohol, domestic violence and indebtedness
- linked to literacy (Akshara) and self-help groups
- forced a State prohibition policy
- a "new social movement" — grassroots, gendered, autonomous.
- **Concl:** It showed women's collective agency reshaping policy from below — a model of gendered grassroots democracy.
- **Cite:** *Anti-arrack movement (Nellore, AP); new social movements theory.*

**6(a)** [20m] **How far do you agree that the Directive Principles of State Policy are more fundamental than the Fundamental Rights in meeting socio-economic justice as mentioned in the Preamble?**

- **Intro:** The DPSP embody the Preamble's socio-economic justice; are they "more fundamental" than the FRs?
- Ambedkar/Austin: FR + DPSP = the Constitution's "conscience"
- DPSP = positive State duties (Arts 38-39, 41, 43) for economic democracy
- but non-justiciable vs justiciable FRs
- tension → 1st, 25th (Art 31C), 42nd Amendments; Kesavananda & Minerva Mills (balance)
- Champakam → harmony.
- **Concl:** Neither is superior — they are complementary; socio-economic justice needs both rights and directive duties.
- **Cite:** *Arts 37-39, 31C; Kesavananda (1973), Minerva Mills (1980); Granville Austin.*

**6(b)** [15m] **Explain the structure and functions of the National Commission for Women.**

- **Intro:** The NCW (NCW Act, 1990) is the apex statutory body for women's rights.
- structure: a Chairperson, five members and a Member-Secretary, government-appointed
- functions: review safeguards, inquire into violations, advise on policy and law, redress grievances
- limits: recommendatory, no penal powers, government dependence, under-resourcing
- demand: statutory teeth and autonomy.
- **Concl:** The NCW has advanced women's rights discourse but needs binding powers and independence to be effective.
- **Cite:** *NCW Act 1990; cf. NHRC; Paris-Principles logic.*

**6(c)** [15m] **The legacy of the Planning Commission still has a bearing on India's development policies. Discuss.**

- **Intro:** Though replaced by NITI Aayog (2015), the Planning Commission's legacy still shapes Indian development.
- 1950-2014: Five-Year Plans, the Mahalanobis model, PSUs, a mixed economy
- achievements: institutions, the Green Revolution, infrastructure
- critiques: over-centralisation, "one-size-fits-all", fund-allocation power
- NITI Aayog: a think-tank, cooperative federalism, no fund powers
- continuity: the planning mindset, schemes, data.
- **Concl:** The Commission built India's developmental State; its planning legacy endures even in the market-NITI era.
- **Cite:** *Planning Commission (1950); NITI Aayog (2015); Mahalanobis.*

**7(a)** [20m] **Discuss the contribution of the Dalit struggle to establish egalitarianism in Indian society during the freedom movement.**

- **Intro:** The Dalit struggle made social equality integral to the very meaning of freedom.
- Phule, Ambedkar, Periyar — anti-caste reform
- temple-entry, Mahad Satyagraha (1927), Kalaram
- Ambedkar: swaraj without social democracy is hollow
- separate electorates → Poona Pact (1932)
- shaped constitutional safeguards (Arts 17, 15, 46).
- **Concl:** The Dalit movement redefined freedom as social emancipation, not merely political independence.
- **Cite:** *Ambedkar, Phule, Periyar; Mahad Satyagraha; Poona Pact 1932.*

**7(b)** [15m] **The blueprint of Gram Swaraj is the key to understanding the Gandhian perspective on planning. Discuss.**

- **Intro:** For Gandhi, true planning is bottom-up — village self-reliance (Gram Swaraj), not centralised industrialisation.
- self-sufficient village republics; "oceanic circles"
- decentralised production, khadi, village industries
- trusteeship; the dignity of bread-labour
- contrast with the Nehruvian heavy-industry model
- echoed in the 73rd Amendment, PESA, local planning.
- **Concl:** Gandhian planning centres the village and the person — a decentralised alternative still alive in Panchayati Raj.
- **Cite:** *Gandhi (Hind Swaraj; Constructive Programme); J.C. Kumarappa; 73rd Amendment.*

**7(c) [15m] Critically assess the role of pressure groups in the decision-making process of the government.**

- **Intro:** Pressure groups articulate interests and shape policy without directly seeking power.
- types: business (FICCI/CII), labour (trade unions), farmers (SKM), professional, caste/religious
- functions: interest aggregation, expertise, feedback, mobilisation
- methods: lobbying, agitation, litigation
- concerns: elite capture, opacity, money power
- less institutionalised than Western lobbying.
- **Concl:** Pressure groups enrich pluralist democracy but need transparency to prevent narrow capture of policy.
- **Cite:** *Robert Dahl (pluralism); Rajni Kothari; farmers' movement 2020-21.*

**8(a) [20m] Discuss the role of environmental movements in shaping environmental governance in India.**

- **Intro:** Environmental movements have driven India's environmental law and governance from below.
- Chipko, Narmada Bachao, Silent Valley, Appiko
- "environmentalism of the poor" (Guha & Martinez-Alier) — livelihood ecology
- outcomes: EPA 1986, FRA 2006, the NGT (2010), EIA
- judiciary: M.C. Mehta, the precautionary principle
- State vs community control of resources.
- **Concl:** Grassroots movements forged India's green governance — making ecology a question of justice, not just conservation.
- **Cite:** *Ramachandra Guha; Chipko, NBA; EPA 1986, NGT, FRA 2006.*

**8(b) [15m] "Relative deprivation is a major source of ethnic conflict." Elaborate with examples.**

- **Intro:** Ethnic conflict often springs from "relative deprivation" — a felt gap between expectation and reality.
- Gurr (Why Men Rebel): relative, not absolute, deprivation drives revolt
- uneven development, exclusion, identity grievances
- India: North-East insurgencies, "sons of the soil", autonomy demands
- ethnicity is politicised when groups feel relatively deprived
- remedies: inclusive development, autonomy (Sixth Schedule).
- **Concl:** Addressing relative deprivation through inclusive, accommodative federalism is key to defusing ethnic conflict.
- **Cite:** *Ted Gurr, Donald Horowitz; India's Sixth Schedule and North-East accords.*

**8(c) [15m] Gram Sabha in Panchayati Raj system is a forum which gives expression to collective wisdom, aspirations and will of the people. Comment.**

- **Intro:** The Gram Sabha — the village assembly of all voters — is the deliberative bedrock of Panchayati Raj.
- Art 243A; the only direct-democracy body in the system
- functions: social audit, beneficiary selection, plans, accountability
- PESA — Gram Sabha control over resources in Scheduled Areas
- weaknesses: low quorum, elite capture, irregular meetings.
- **Concl:** Empowered Gram Sabhas can realise participatory democracy — but need active participation and real powers.
- **Cite:** *Art 243A; PESA 1996; Kerala's "People's Plan".*

**PSIR Paper 1 · 2023****Section A — Political Theory, Western & Indian Thought**

**1(a)** [10m] **Normative approach in Political Science.**

- **Intro:** The normative (philosophical) approach studies what ought to be — values, justice, the good life — not merely what is.
- rooted in Plato-Aristotle; prescriptive and value-laden
- concerned with rights, justice and ends
- contrasts the empirical/behavioural "is"
- "declined" under behaviouralism, revived by Rawls (1971)
- method: reasoned moral argument.
- **Concl:** Indispensable, since political questions are irreducibly evaluative.
- **Cite:** *Plato, Strauss, Rawls; Laslett (decline).*

**1(b)** [10m] **Multicultural perspective on rights.**

- **Intro:** Multiculturalism reframes rights to include the recognition and protection of cultural groups.
- beyond individual to group-differentiated rights (Kymlicka)
- the "politics of recognition" (Taylor)
- minority cultural and self-government rights
- tension with individual rights and gender (Okin)
- India: Arts 29-30, personal laws.
- **Concl:** Rights must accommodate cultural identity without sacrificing individual liberty.
- **Cite:** *Kymlicka, Taylor, Parekh; Susan Okin.*

**1(c)** [10m] **State of Nature as State of War (Hobbes).**

- **Intro:** For Hobbes the state of nature is a "war of all against all" — life "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short".
- equality of vulnerability + scarcity + competition, diffidence, glory → conflict
- no common power → no morality or security
- rational fear drives the social contract
- surrender of rights to the absolute Leviathan.
- **Concl:** The grim state of nature is Hobbes' justification for an undivided, absolute sovereign.
- **Cite:** *Hobbes (Leviathan); cf. Locke, Rousseau.*

**1(d)** [10m] **Foucault's concept of power.**

- **Intro:** Foucault recast power as diffuse, productive and capillary — not merely sovereign or repressive.
- power is everywhere, relational, not "held"
- power/knowledge — discourses produce truth and subjects
- disciplinary power: the Panopticon, surveillance, "docile bodies"
- bio-power over populations
- "where there is power, there is resistance".
- **Concl:** Power, for Foucault, constitutes us — shifting analysis from the State to micro-practices of discipline.
- **Cite:** *Michel Foucault (Discipline and Punish; History of Sexuality).*

**1(e)** [10m] **Decline of political theory.**

- **Intro:** Mid-20th-century critics declared political theory "dead", displaced by empirical, behavioural science.
- Laslett (1956): "for the moment, political philosophy is dead"
- causes: logical positivism, behaviouralism, the fact-value divide, the "end of ideology"
- normative theory dismissed as metaphysics
- revival: Rawls (1971), Berlin.
- **Concl:** The "decline" proved temporary — Rawls revived political philosophy's central questions.
- **Cite:** *Peter Laslett, David Easton; Rawls (revival).*

**2(a) [20m] Success of contemporary democracies lies in the State limiting its own power.****Explain.**

- **Intro:** Mature democracy succeeds by binding itself — by constitutional limits on its own power.
- constitutionalism, separation of powers, judicial review, a Bill of Rights
- self-restraint protects minorities from majority tyranny (Madison, Tocqueville)
- rule of law, a free press, independent institutions
- "limited government" vs majoritarianism
- India: the basic structure.
- **Concl:** Self-limitation is democracy's strength — power restrained is power legitimised.
- **Cite:** *Madison, Tocqueville; Kesavananda (basic structure)*.

**2(b) [15m] Rawls' idea of the 'liberal self' is too individualistic. Explain the communitarian critique of Rawls' theory of justice.**

- **Intro:** Communitarians charge that Rawls' "liberal self" is too abstract and individualistic.
- Sandel: the "unencumbered self" ignores our constitutive communities and ends
- MacIntyre: morality is tradition-embedded (After Virtue)
- Walzer: "spheres of justice", culturally situated
- the self is partly given, not freely chosen
- Rawls' reply: "political, not metaphysical".
- **Concl:** The critique exposes liberalism's thin self — community and context matter to justice.
- **Cite:** *Sandel, MacIntyre, Taylor, Walzer; Rawls*.

**2(c) [15m] 'Credo of Relevance' in post-behaviouralism advocates the importance of action science. Analyse.**

- **Intro:** Easton's post-behavioural "Credo of Relevance" demanded that political science serve human values and action.
- a reaction to behaviouralism's value-neutral detachment
- "relevance and action" — knowledge to solve real problems
- substance over technique; scholars as defenders of human values
- retains rigour while restoring purpose.
- **Concl:** Post-behaviouralism reconciled empirical rigour with normative relevance and engaged "action science".
- **Cite:** *David Easton (1969, "Credo of Relevance")*.

**3(a) [20m] Fascism displays an ambivalent stance towards parliamentary democracy. Explain.**

- **Intro:** Fascism both exploited and despised parliamentary democracy.
- used elections and parliament to seize power, then destroyed them (Italy 1922, Germany 1933)
- rejected liberalism, pluralism and "decadent" parliamentarism
- totalitarian one-party rule, leader-cult, corporatism
- claimed a "truer", organic democracy of the nation/Volk.
- **Concl:** Fascism's ambivalence was tactical — a parasitic use of democracy in order to abolish it.
- **Cite:** *Mussolini, Gentile; Hannah Arendt*.

**3(b) [15m] Affirmative Action Policies draw as much strong criticism as strong support. Analyze in the context of equality.**

- **Intro:** Affirmative action sparks fierce debate between formal and substantive equality.
- for: substantive equality, redress of historical injustice, diversity, representation
- against: "reverse discrimination", merit, efficiency, hardening identity
- India: Arts 15(4)/16(4), Indra Sawhney (50% cap, creamy layer), EWS (103rd Amendment)
- outcome vs opportunity equality.
- **Concl:** Affirmative action serves substantive equality but must be calibrated, time-bound and creamy-layer-screened.
- **Cite:** *Indra Sawhney (1992); Arts 15-16; Dworkin, Rawls*.

**3(c)** [15m] **Eurocentrism is both the target and the motive force of post-colonial political theory. Discuss.**

- **Intro:** Post-colonial theory both attacks Eurocentrism and is driven by the urge to provincialise Europe.
- a critique of the universalising West as the norm
- Said: "Orientalism" — the West constructing the East
- Chakrabarty: "Provincializing Europe"
- the subaltern voice (Spivak, Guha)
- yet it still argues within Western categories — the "motive force".
- **Concl:** Post-colonial theory unmask Eurocentrism while wrestling with its own debt to Western thought.
- **Cite:** *Edward Said, Dipesh Chakrabarty, Spivak, Ranajit Guha.*

**4(a)** [20m] **Buddhist thought on Dhamma facilitates the emancipation of political action. Explain.**

- **Intro:** Buddhist Dhamma offers an ethical foundation that can emancipate political action.
- Dhamma = righteousness, the Middle Path, compassion (karuna), non-violence
- Ashoka's Dhamma — ethical statecraft and welfare
- rejection of caste hierarchy → social equality
- Ambedkar's Navayana Buddhism as a politics of liberation.
- **Concl:** Dhamma supplies a moral, egalitarian basis for emancipatory political action.
- **Cite:** *Ashoka's edicts; Ambedkar (The Buddha and His Dhamma).*

**4(b)** [15m] **"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.**

- **Intro:** In *The Subjection of Women*, Mill condemned women's legal subordination as unjust and a brake on progress.
- "the legal subordination of one sex to another is wrong in itself"
- rooted in force and custom, not reason
- demanded equal rights — suffrage, education, property, divorce
- utilitarian loss: society wastes half its talent
- a foundational liberal-feminist text.
- **Concl:** Mill made gender equality a demand of both justice and human progress.
- **Cite:** *J.S. Mill (The Subjection of Women); cf. Wollstonecraft.*

**4(c)** [15m] **Sri Aurobindo's idea of Swaraj has deep significance in Indian social, political and cultural history. Analyse.**

- **Intro:** For Aurobindo, Swaraj was both political independence and the spiritual self-realisation of the nation.
- early extremist — complete independence, passive resistance, boycott, Swadeshi
- Swaraj as the nation's "soul-force" and dharma
- cultural/spiritual nationalism — India's civilisational mission
- a later turn to yoga and "spiritual evolution".
- **Concl:** Aurobindo fused militant nationalism with a spiritual vision of Swaraj as national self-realisation.
- **Cite:** *Sri Aurobindo (Bande Mataram; The Ideal of Human Unity).*

**Section B — Indian Government & Politics****5(a)** [10m] **Imprint of the British Constitution on the Indian Constitution.**

- **Intro:** The Indian Constitution borrows heavily from the British (Westminster) model.
- parliamentary government — cabinet, PM, collective responsibility
- rule of law and single citizenship
- bicameralism, the Speaker, parliamentary privileges
- the writ system
- but India added a written Constitution, judicial review, federalism and a Bill of Rights.
- **Concl:** India adapted the Westminster system within a written, federal, rights-based framework.
- **Cite:** *Westminster model; Ivor Jennings; the Constitution's borrowings.*

**5(b)** [10m] **Environmentalism of the poor.**

- **Intro:** In the Global South, environmentalism is driven by the poor's struggle over livelihood resources.
- Guha & Martinez-Alier: the "environmentalism of the poor" vs Northern "full-stomach" environmentalism
- ecological-distribution conflicts
- Chipko, NBA, anti-mining, forest rights
- ecology as survival and justice, not leisure
- FRA 2006, community forest rights.
- **Concl:** For India's poor, protecting nature is a fight for survival and justice — an "empty-belly" environmentalism.
- **Cite:** *Ramachandra Guha & Martinez-Alier; Chipko, NBA; FRA 2006.*

**5(c)** [10m] **Functions of District Planning Committee.**

- **Intro:** The DPC (Art 243ZD) consolidates rural and urban plans at the district level.
- mandated by the 74th Amendment
- prepares the draft district development plan
- membership mostly elected from panchayats and municipalities
- aims at integrated, bottom-up planning
- weak in practice — poorly constituted, often bypassed.
- **Concl:** The DPC is the keystone of decentralised planning — yet remains a largely unfulfilled institution.
- **Cite:** *Art 243ZD; 74th Amendment; Kerala's functioning DPCs.*

**5(d)** [10m] **Satyagraha and Indian Nationalism.**

- **Intro:** Gandhi's Satyagraha — truth-force, non-violent resistance — turned Indian nationalism into a mass movement.
- Champaran, Kheda, Non-Cooperation, Civil Disobedience (the Salt March), Quit India
- moralised politics; means as vital as ends
- mass participation across class, caste, gender and region
- a unique non-violent technique of struggle.
- **Concl:** Satyagraha gave the national movement its distinctive mass, moral and non-violent character.
- **Cite:** *Gandhi (Hind Swaraj); Bipan Chandra.*

**5(e)** [10m] **National Commission for Minorities.**

- **Intro:** The NCM (NCM Act, 1992) is the statutory watchdog for India's notified minorities.
- six notified minorities (Muslim, Christian, Sikh, Buddhist, Parsi, Jain-2014)
- functions: monitor safeguards, evaluate development, redress grievances, advise
- constitutional anchor: Arts 29-30
- limits: recommendatory, weak enforcement.
- **Concl:** The NCM advances minority safeguards but needs stronger powers to be truly effective.
- **Cite:** *NCM Act 1992; Arts 29-30; Sachar Committee.*

**6(a)** [20m] **Discuss the major provisions of the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act. Do you think the Act remains an "unfulfilled dream"?**

- **Intro:** The 74th Amendment (1992) gave constitutional status to urban local bodies — yet remains largely unrealised.
- ULBs, regular elections, State Election Commissions, State Finance Commissions, the 12th Schedule (18 functions)
- reservation for women and SC/ST
- DPCs and MPCs for planning
- reality: weak devolution of the "3 Fs", powerful parastatals, fiscal dependence.
- **Concl:** An "unfulfilled dream" — genuine empowerment of city governments still awaits real devolution.
- **Cite:** *74th Amendment; 12th Schedule; Art 243ZE (MPC).*

**6(b) [15m] How does NITI Aayog as a policy think tank with shared vision visualise the reorganisation of planning in India?**

- **Intro:** NITI Aayog (2015) replaced the Planning Commission with a think-tank model for cooperative federalism.
- no fund-allocation power; advisory and strategic
- "Team India" — States as partners (Governing Council)
- tools: the SDG India Index, Aspirational Districts, sectoral strategies
- from directive Five-Year Plans to indicative vision documents
- critique: it lacks teeth.
- **Concl:** NITI reimagined planning for a liberalised, federal economy — strong on ideas, weak on resources.
- **Cite:** *NITI Aayog (2015); Planning Commission; cooperative federalism.*

**6(c) [15m] The Constitution of India is the cornerstone of a nation. (Granville Austin). Analyse.**

- **Intro:** Austin called the Constitution the "cornerstone of a nation" — its foundational, nation-building charter.
- a social document for a "social revolution" (FR + DPSP)
- accommodation of diversity — federalism, language, minorities
- the "seamless web" of liberty, equality and unity
- a living framework (basic structure)
- nation-building through democratic institutions.
- **Concl:** The Constitution is not just a legal code but the cornerstone of India's nationhood and social revolution.
- **Cite:** *Granville Austin (The Indian Constitution: Cornerstone of a Nation).*

**7(a) [20m] Does the actual working of Indian federalism conform to centralising tendencies in Indian polity? Give reasons.**

- **Intro:** India's federalism has a strong unitary tilt — does its working confirm centralising tendencies?
- unitary features: a strong Centre, Art 356, All-India Services, residuary powers, single citizenship
- centralising practice: the Governor, central agencies, fiscal centralisation, cesses
- counter-trends: the coalition era, the GST Council, regional parties, Bommai's limits on Art 356
- "cooperative federalism".
- **Concl:** India is "quasi-federal" with centralising tendencies — though regionalisation and institutions pull the other way.
- **Cite:** *K.C. Wheare; S.R. Bommai (1994); Sarkaria/Punchhi.*

**7(b) [15m] The main goal of Fundamental Duties is to generate civic responsibility among citizens. Explain.**

- **Intro:** The Fundamental Duties (Part IVA, Art 51A) aim to instil civic responsibility in citizens.
- added by the 42nd Amendment (1976) on the Swaran Singh Committee
- eleven duties — the Constitution, unity, environment, scientific temper, etc.
- non-justiciable, but a constitutional reminder of obligations
- they balance rights with duties
- judicial use (AIIMS Students' Union; environment).
- **Concl:** The Duties seek a culture of civic responsibility — moral rather than enforceable, yet constitutionally significant.
- **Cite:** *Art 51A; 42nd Amendment; Swaran Singh Committee.*

**7(c)** [15m] **Dr. Ambedkar's clarion call, 'Educate, Agitate and Organise', strategizes the Dalit movement towards civil liberty. Discuss.**

- **Intro:** Ambedkar's clarion call charts a strategy of empowerment for the Dalit movement.
- Educate — knowledge and rights as liberation
- Agitate — assert dignity, contest injustice
- Organise — collective strength, institutions, political power
- from social reform to constitutional safeguards and conversion
- civil liberty through self-emancipation.
- **Concl:** The triad remains the enduring template of Dalit assertion towards civil liberty and dignity.
- **Cite:** *B.R. Ambedkar; the Dalit movement; Arts 17, 15, 46.*

**8(a)** [20m] **The rise of caste politics is to be attributed to both regional aspirations and electoral manifestations. Comment.**

- **Intro:** The rise of caste politics reflects both regional aspirations and electoral arithmetic.
- Kothari's "politicisation of caste"; the Mandal and OBC assertion
- regional parties as caste vehicles (DMK, SP, RJD, BSP)
- electoral mobilisation, vote banks, social coalitions
- the "silent revolution" (Jaffrelot); the "second democratic upsurge" (Yadav)
- the caste-census demand.
- **Concl:** Caste politics has democratised representation even as it is shaped by region and the ballot.
- **Cite:** *Rajni Kothari, Jaffrelot, Yogendra Yadav.*

**8(b)** [15m] **The decade 1989-1999 marked an epochal shift in the party system in India. Discuss.**

- **Intro:** The decade 1989-1999 marked the shift from one-party dominance to a fragmented, coalitional party system.
- the end of the "Congress system" (Kothari)
- the rise of the BJP and the Mandal-Mandir churn
- OBC and regional parties
- coalition governments (NF, UF, NDA) → a multi-party federal polity
- the "second democratic upsurge".
- **Concl:** The decade transformed India into a competitive, federalised multi-party democracy.
- **Cite:** *Rajni Kothari ("Congress system"); Yogendra Yadav; Jaffrelot.*

**8(c)** [15m] **The Supreme Court of India has emerged as a forum for policy evolution. Discuss.**

- **Intro:** Through PIL and judicial review, the Supreme Court has become a maker, not just an interpreter, of policy.
- PIL and relaxed locus standi → filling governance gaps
- environment (M.C. Mehta), Vishaka (workplace), 2G/coal, electoral reforms (NOTA, ADR)
- continuing mandamus and guidelines
- debate: judicial activism vs overreach and separation of powers.
- **Concl:** The Court shapes policy as a forum of last resort — a role to be exercised with restraint.
- **Cite:** *M.C. Mehta, Vishaka (1997), ADR/PUCL.*

**PSIR Paper 1 · 2022****Section A — Political Theory, Western & Indian Thought**

**1(a)** [10m] **Systems Approach.**

- **Intro:** Easton's systems approach models politics as a "political system" converting inputs into outputs.
- inputs (demands and supports) → the conversion process (authoritative decisions) → outputs (policies) → feedback
- "authoritative allocation of values for a society"
- equilibrium, boundary, environment
- critique: status-quo bias, neglect of power and change.
- **Concl:** A pioneering scientific model of politics, criticised for conservatism and abstraction.
- **Cite:** *David Easton (A Systems Analysis of Political Life)*.

**1(b)** [10m] **Cultural Relativism.**

- **Intro:** Cultural relativism holds that values and rights are valid only within their cultural context.
- no universal moral standard; judge cultures on their own terms
- deployed against "Western" human-rights universalism ("Asian values")
- defends diversity but can shield oppression (e.g., gender)
- counter: a minimal universal core and dialogue.
- **Concl:** Relativism guards against cultural imperialism but risks excusing injustice — a tempered universalism is needed.
- **Cite:** *the universalism-relativism debate; Bhikhu Parekh, Amartya Sen*.

**1(c)** [10m] **Revolution in Permanence.**

- **Intro:** "Permanent revolution" holds that the revolution must continue without halting at a bourgeois stage.
- Marx: the proletariat pushes beyond the bourgeois-democratic phase
- Trotsky: in backward countries, workers lead an uninterrupted revolution to socialism, spreading internationally
- against the Stalinist "two-stage" theory
- international and ongoing transformation.
- **Concl:** A doctrine of continuous, internationalist revolution — against compromise with the bourgeois order.
- **Cite:** *Marx (Address, 1850), Leon Trotsky (The Permanent Revolution)*.

**1(d)** [10m] **Bases of Power.**

- **Intro:** Power rests on varied bases — captured in French and Raven's classic typology.
- reward, coercive, legitimate, referent and expert power (French and Raven)
- informational power added later
- force, influence and authority distinguished
- Lukes: decisions, agenda-setting, shaping preferences
- resources: wealth, status, knowledge, organisation.
- **Concl:** Power is multi-based — ranging from coercion to consent and the shaping of desires.
- **Cite:** *French and Raven; Steven Lukes (three faces of power)*.

**1(e)** [10m] **Locke's Social Contract.**

- **Intro:** Locke's contract creates limited, consent-based government to protect pre-existing natural rights.
- a state of nature that is free and equal, governed by natural law, but "inconvenient"
- a contract to secure life, liberty and property
- government as a trust; majority rule; the right to revolt
- contrast with Hobbes' absolute sovereign.
- **Concl:** Locke's contract founds liberal constitutional government — limited and revocable.
- **Cite:** *Locke (Two Treatises); cf. Hobbes, Rousseau*.

**2(a) [20m] Factors like community, culture and nation weaken the hegemony of neo-liberalism today. Discuss.**

- **Intro:** Neoliberalism's market hegemony is increasingly challenged by community, culture and nationalism.
- neoliberalism: market supremacy, deregulation, individualism, globalisation
- backlash: economic nationalism, protectionism, populism (Brexit, Trump)
- cultural and identity assertion; the communitarian critique
- the 2008 crisis and inequality eroded its legitimacy
- "embedded" vs disembedded markets (Polanyi).
- **Concl:** Community, culture and nation are reasserting themselves against market fundamentalism — neoliberal hegemony is fracturing.
- **Cite:** *Karl Polanyi; Gramsci (hegemony); Joseph Stiglitz.*

**2(b) [15m] "Equality of estates caused equality of power, and equality of power is liberty." Comment.**

- **Intro:** Harrington argued that the distribution of property (estates) determines the distribution of power and hence liberty.
- "empire follows the balance of property" (Oceana)
- equality of estates → equality of power → a free commonwealth
- the economic foundations of politics, anticipating Marx
- an agrarian law to prevent concentration
- property as the basis of liberty.
- **Concl:** Harrington tied liberty to an equitable spread of property — an early materialist theory of freedom.
- **Cite:** *James Harrington (Oceana); cf. Marx.*

**2(c) [15m] Elitist theory of democracy denies the possibility of democracy as 'rule of the people'. Elucidate.**

- **Intro:** Elite theory holds that democracy is rule by elites, making "rule of the people" impossible.
- Pareto, Mosca, Michels ("iron law of oligarchy")
- Schumpeter: democracy as elite competition for votes
- the masses are passive; real power lies with organised minorities
- counter: pluralism (Dahl), participatory democracy (Pateman, Macpherson).
- **Concl:** Elite theory realistically limits the democratic ideal — countered by efforts to deepen participation.
- **Cite:** *Pareto, Mosca, Michels, Schumpeter; cf. Dahl.*

**3(a) [20m] Examine the liberal theory of State in contemporary politics.**

- **Intro:** The liberal State is a limited, neutral guarantor of individual rights — evolving from classical to welfare to neoliberal forms.
- classical: the minimal "night-watchman" State (Locke, Smith)
- welfare/positive liberalism (Green, Keynes)
- the neoliberal rollback (Hayek, Nozick)
- contemporary: a regulatory and competition State amid globalisation
- critiques: Marxist, feminist, communitarian.
- **Concl:** The liberal State endures but is contested — oscillating between market freedom and social protection.
- **Cite:** *Locke, T.H. Green, Hayek, Nozick; Rawls.*

**3(b) [15m] Human Rights are complex and contested social practice that organises relations between individuals, society and the State. Comment.**

- **Intro:** Human rights are not fixed givens but a complex, contested social practice ordering individual-society-State relations.
- three generations: civil-political, socio-economic, and solidarity rights
- contested: universalism vs relativism, indivisibility, enforcement
- rights as claims constructed through struggle, not simply nature
- the State as both protector and violator.
- **Concl:** Rights are an evolving, contested practice — realised through political struggle, not merely declared.
- **Cite:** *UDHR; Karel Vasak (generations); Amartya Sen.*

**3(c) [15m] Individualism is inherent in Hobbes' absolutist ideology. Comment.**

- **Intro:** Paradoxically, Hobbes' absolutism is built on radically individualist foundations.
- it begins from self-interested, equal individuals in the state of nature
- rights and the contract derive from individual rational consent
- the Leviathan is created to serve individual self-preservation
- a "possessive individualist" basis (Macpherson)
- absolutism as the means, individual security the end.
- **Concl:** Hobbes is a foundational individualist — absolutism springs from, not against, the sovereign individual.
- **Cite:** *Hobbes (Leviathan); C.B. Macpherson.*

**4(a) [20m] Dr. Ambedkar's idea of social justice leads to egalitarian justice compared to Rawls' justice as fairness as pure procedural justice. Comment.**

- **Intro:** Ambedkar's social justice yields a substantive egalitarianism, beyond Rawls' procedural "justice as fairness".
- Rawls: original position, veil of ignorance, the difference principle — "pure procedural justice"
- Ambedkar: liberty, equality and fraternity; annihilation of caste; substantive equality (reservations)
- Rawls individualist/procedural vs Ambedkar structural/transformational
- caste as "graded inequality".
- **Concl:** Ambedkar's egalitarian justice confronts the entrenched hierarchy that Rawls' abstraction overlooks.
- **Cite:** *Rawls (A Theory of Justice); Ambedkar (Annihilation of Caste); Amartya Sen.*

**4(b) [15m] "The Panchayats with Gram Sabhas should be organised to identify locally available resources for agricultural and industrial development." Examine in context of Gram Swaraj.**

- **Intro:** Empowering Gram Sabhas to mobilise local resources realises the Gandhian ideal of Gram Swaraj.
- Gandhi: self-reliant village republics, local production, decentralisation
- the Gram Sabha (Art 243A) as the agency of local resource planning
- PESA — community control over minor forest produce, minerals and water
- links livelihoods, ecology and self-rule.
- **Concl:** Local resource self-management through Gram Sabhas is the institutional heart of Gram Swaraj.
- **Cite:** *Gandhi (Hind Swaraj); Art 243A; PESA 1996.*

**4(c) [15m] Examine the entitlement theory of justice.**

- **Intro:** Nozick's entitlement theory defends a libertarian, historical conception of justice in holdings.
- justice = just acquisition + just transfer + rectification of past injustice
- a minimal State; redistribution violates rights ("taxation is on a par with forced labour")
- a critique of Rawls' "patterned"/end-state justice
- self-ownership; the Wilt Chamberlain example.
- **Concl:** Nozick grounds justice in liberty and process — a powerful libertarian counter to egalitarian redistribution.
- **Cite:** *Robert Nozick (Anarchy, State, and Utopia); cf. Rawls.*

**Section B — Indian Government & Politics**

**5(a) [10m] Analyse the workers' movement in India in the pre-Independence period.**

- **Intro:** The pre-1947 workers' movement linked labour struggles to the anti-colonial cause.
- early strikes; the AITUC founded in 1920 (Lala Lajpat Rai)
- communist and socialist leadership; the Meerut Conspiracy Case (1929)
- links with the national movement (Non-Cooperation, Quit India)
- demands: wages, hours, conditions
- tension between economic and nationalist goals.
- **Concl:** Indian labour fused class and national struggle, broadening the freedom movement's social base.
- **Cite:** *AITUC (1920); Meerut Conspiracy Case; B.T. Ranadive.*

**5(b) [10m] The Preamble of the Indian Constitution reflects itself as a social contract. Elucidate.**

- **Intro:** The Preamble can be read as a social contract — "We, the People" constituting the State on agreed terms.
- "We, the People of India ... give to ourselves this Constitution" — popular sovereignty
- the agreed goals of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity
- the source and conscience of the Constitution
- part of the Constitution (Kesavananda); it reflects the Objective Resolution.
- **Concl:** The Preamble embodies a constitutional social contract — the people's foundational compact.
- **Cite:** *the Preamble; Kesavananda (1973); Nehru's Objective Resolution.*

**5(c) [10m] Legislative Council is a house without any effective powers. Comment.**

- **Intro:** The Vidhan Parishad is a largely advisory chamber with limited real power.
- on ordinary bills it can only delay (about three months); it has no power over money bills
- a permanent, indirectly elected body (Art 171)
- for: revision and expertise; against: cost and "backdoor" entry
- created or abolished by Parliament on a State resolution (Art 169).
- **Concl:** The Council adds deliberative value but, lacking real powers, is often a "costly ornament".
- **Cite:** *Arts 169-171; debates over State councils.*

**5(d) [10m] How far is the National Commission for Backward Classes an empowered body? Assess its role amid rising demand for backwardness among dominant communities.**

- **Intro:** The 102nd Amendment (2018) gave the NCBC constitutional status — but its empowerment is contested.
- Art 338B — examine OBC welfare, grievances and safeguards
- now consulted on inclusion in the Central OBC list
- but States keep their own OBC lists (105th Amendment)
- the "creamy layer", sub-categorisation (Rohini Commission), rising demands (Marathas, Jats, Patidars).
- **Concl:** The NCBC is more empowered than before, yet faces limits amid contested, expanding backwardness claims.
- **Cite:** *102nd and 105th Amendments; Art 338B; Rohini Commission.*

**5(e) [10m] High concentration of economic activities and consumption patterns in post-liberalisation period has led to failure of environmental movements in India. Elucidate.**

- **Intro:** Post-liberalisation, concentrated economic activity and consumption have blunted India's environmental movements.
- the growth imperative, corporate power and "ease of business" dilute green rules
- EIA dilution and fast-track clearances
- movements fragmented, co-opted or repressed
- yet new mobilisations persist (anti-mining, climate, NGT cases)
- "environmentalism of the poor" vs the developmental State.
- **Concl:** Concentrated growth has weakened, but not extinguished, India's environmental movements.
- **Cite:** *Ramachandra Guha; the EIA debate; the NGT.*

**6(a) [20m] Electoral behaviour of voters is governed more by social and economic factors than political factors. Explain.**

- **Intro:** Indian electoral behaviour is driven more by social and economic identity than by ideology or issues.
- caste, religion, community and region as major determinants
- economic interests, welfare and patronage, "freebies"
- but rising issue-voting, governance, anti-incumbency and leadership
- the Michigan (party-ID), sociological (Lazarsfeld) and rational-choice models.
- **Concl:** Social-economic identity dominates Indian voting, though issue and performance voting are growing.
- **Cite:** *Rajni Kothari; Yogendra Yadav (Lokniti-CSDS).*

**6(b) [15m] The Doctrine of Basic Structure has enhanced the power of judicial review of the Supreme Court. Examine.**

- **Intro:** The basic-structure doctrine has greatly enhanced the Supreme Court's power of judicial review.
- Kesavananda (1973): Parliament cannot amend the "basic structure" (Art 368 is limited)
- judicial review is itself part of the basic structure (Minerva Mills, L. Chandra Kumar)
- used to strike down the 39th and 99th (NJAC) Amendments
- critique: judicial supremacy vs parliamentary sovereignty.
- **Concl:** The doctrine made the Court the ultimate guardian of the Constitution — expanding review, but raising the supremacy debate.
- **Cite:** *Kesavananda (1973), Minerva Mills (1980), NJAC (2015).*

**6(c) [15m] Discuss the composition and functions of the Inter-State Council. To what extent has it achieved its objectives?**

- **Intro:** The Inter-State Council (Art 263) is the apex body for Centre-State and inter-State coordination.
- recommended by the Sarkaria Commission; established in 1990
- composition: the PM (chair), CMs and Union Ministers
- functions: discuss disputes, common interests and policy coordination
- but advisory, with infrequent meetings, eclipsed by NITI Aayog and the GST Council
- under-utilised.
- **Concl:** A valuable federal forum that remains largely dormant — reviving it could strengthen cooperative federalism.
- **Cite:** *Art 263; Sarkaria and Punchhi Commissions.*

**7(a) [20m] Examine the unique features of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment. Would it contribute to empowerment of marginalised sections?**

- **Intro:** The 73rd Amendment (1992) constitutionalised rural local government with built-in social inclusion.
- three-tier panchayats, regular elections, State Election Commissions, State Finance Commissions, the 11th Schedule (29 subjects)
- reservation for women (a third, now half in many States) and SC/ST
- the Gram Sabha as the base
- but weak devolution of the "3 Fs", proxy rule, elite capture.
- **Concl:** It opened space for marginalised groups, but substantive empowerment needs real devolution and social change.
- **Cite:** *73rd Amendment; 11th Schedule; Art 243D.*

**7(b) [15m] The Speaker represents the freedom and dignity of the House. Examine.**

- **Intro:** As the presiding, impartial guardian, the Speaker embodies the House's freedom and dignity.
- powers: conduct business, decide points of order, certify money bills (Art 110), apply the anti-defection law (10th Schedule)
- protects privileges and the House's autonomy
- the ideal of impartiality (Arts 93-94)
- concern: partisanship; the UK's "once a Speaker, always a Speaker".
- **Concl:** The Speaker's impartiality guarantees the House's freedom — making neutrality a vital reform concern.
- **Cite:** *Arts 93-94, 110; 10th Schedule; Kihoto Hollohan.*

**7(c) [15m] Fourteenth Finance Commission policy initiatives for agriculture. Discuss.**

- **Intro:** The 14th Finance Commission (Y.V. Reddy) reshaped fiscal federalism with implications for agriculture and the States.
- raised tax devolution to the States from 32% to 42%
- greater untied funds → States' own farm priorities
- a shift from scheme-tied to formula-based transfers
- restructured Centrally Sponsored Schemes
- States gained autonomy to fund agriculture.
- **Concl:** By boosting devolution, the 14th FC empowered States to drive their own agricultural and rural spending.
- **Cite:** *14th Finance Commission (Y.V. Reddy); Art 280.*

**8(a) [20m] Ethnicity and North-East India.**

- **Intro:** The North-East's dense ethnic diversity has produced persistent identity assertion and conflict.
- a tribal and ethnic mosaic, distinct from a "mainland" identity
- insurgencies and autonomy and statehood demands
- causes: relative deprivation, migration, "sons of the soil", neglect
- State response: the Sixth Schedule, autonomous councils, accords, AFSPA
- Act East and connectivity.
- **Concl:** Accommodating ethnic identity through autonomy and inclusive development is the key to peace in the North-East.
- **Cite:** *the Sixth Schedule; Ted Gurr (relative deprivation); Sanjib Baruah.*

**8(b) [15m] Constitution-making as social revolution.**

- **Intro:** Granville Austin saw the making of the Constitution as the charter of a peaceful "social revolution".
- FR and DPSP as the instruments of social transformation
- the abolition of untouchability (Art 17), equality, land reform
- universal adult franchise at a single stroke
- a "seamless web" of liberty, equality and unity
- democratic means for revolutionary social ends.
- **Concl:** The Constitution sought to revolutionise an unequal society through democratic, constitutional means.
- **Cite:** *Granville Austin (Cornerstone of a Nation); Arts 17, 38-39.*

**8(c) [15m] Regional parties have strengthened democracy and federalism in India. Comment.**

- **Intro:** Regional parties have deepened both democracy and federalism in India.
- they articulate regional aspirations and identities
- they bring marginalised and backward groups into power (DMK, BSP, TMC)
- the coalition era → bargaining federalism and a stronger States' voice
- a check on central majoritarianism
- critique: dynasticism, parochialism, instability.
- **Concl:** Regional parties have federalised and democratised Indian politics, empowering regions and communities.
- **Cite:** *Yogendra Yadav; the coalition era; cooperative/bargaining federalism.*

**PSIR Paper 1 · 2021****Section A — Political Theory, Western & Indian Thought**

**1(a)** [10m] **Feminist critique of the State.**

- **Intro:** Feminists argue the State is not neutral but patriarchal — reproducing male dominance.
- liberal feminism: the State can be reformed through equal rights and laws
- radical feminism: the State is inherently patriarchal (MacKinnon) — "male in form and content"
- Marxist/socialist: the State serves capital and patriarchy
- the public-private divide hides oppression
- post-structural: diverse, gendered power.
- **Concl:** The State is a gendered institution — its neutrality is a myth that feminism unmasks.
- **Cite:** *Catharine MacKinnon, Carole Pateman; liberal/radical/Marxist feminisms.*

**1(b)** [10m] **Affirmative action.**

- **Intro:** Affirmative action is positive discrimination to redress historical group disadvantage.
- aims at substantive equality — levelling the playing field
- India: reservations (Arts 15(4), 16(4)), Indra Sawhney (50% cap, creamy layer), EWS (103rd Amendment)
- for: representation, justice, diversity
- against: merit, "reverse discrimination"
- outcome vs opportunity.
- **Concl:** A tool of substantive equality — to be calibrated, time-bound and periodically reviewed.
- **Cite:** *Indra Sawhney (1992); Arts 15-16; Dworkin.*

**1(c)** [10m] **Equality of outcome as a political idea.**

- **Intro:** Equality of outcome seeks equal results, not merely equal opportunity or treatment.
- contrasts formal equality and equality of opportunity
- a socialist/egalitarian ideal — redistribute results
- justifies welfare, reservations, progressive taxation
- critique: ignores merit/effort, curbs liberty (Nozick), "levelling down"
- Rawls' difference principle as a middle way.
- **Concl:** Outcome equality targets real disparities but must be balanced against liberty and incentive.
- **Cite:** *R.H. Tawney; Rawls (difference principle); cf. Nozick.*

**1(d)** [10m] **Tools of legitimating of the State.**

- **Intro:** The State legitimates itself through varied instruments that secure consent and obedience.
- ideology and hegemony (Gramsci; Althusser's "ideological State apparatuses")
- law, constitution and elections — legal-rational legitimacy (Weber)
- nationalism, symbols, education, media
- performance/welfare legitimacy
- coercion as a backstop.
- **Concl:** Legitimacy is manufactured through ideology, law and performance — not coercion alone.
- **Cite:** *Weber, Gramsci, Althusser; David Beetham.*

**1(e)** [10m] **J. S. Mill's ideas on women suffrage.**

- **Intro:** J.S. Mill was a pioneering advocate of women's suffrage and political equality.
- moved the first parliamentary amendment for the women's vote (1867)
- *The Subjection of Women* — equality as both justice and utility
- women's exclusion is irrational, based on custom and force
- suffrage as essential to liberty and development
- a liberal-feminist foundation.
- **Concl:** Mill made women's suffrage a demand of liberal justice — pioneering political feminism.
- **Cite:** *J.S. Mill (The Subjection of Women; the 1867 Reform debate).*

**2(a)** [20m] **How has Rawls enriched the idea of justice in liberalism?**

- **Intro:** Rawls revived and enriched liberal justice by fusing liberty with equality.
- "justice as fairness" — the original position and veil of ignorance
- two principles: equal basic liberties + the difference principle
- rejects utilitarianism's sacrifice of the few
- revived normative theory after its supposed "death"
- later: "political liberalism", overlapping consensus.
- **Concl:** Rawls renewed liberalism — giving it an egalitarian conscience and a rigorous theory of justice.
- **Cite:** *Rawls (A Theory of Justice; Political Liberalism)*.

**2(b)** [20m] **Examine the importance of behavioral approach in political theory. What led to its decline?**

- **Intro:** Behaviouralism made political science empirical and "scientific", but its excesses bred a decline.
- value-free, quantitative study of behaviour (Easton's tenets)
- systems theory, political culture, survey methods
- decline: over-emphasis on technique, value-neutrality, status-quo bias, irrelevance to crises
- → post-behaviouralism ("relevance and action").
- **Concl:** Behaviouralism advanced rigour, but its sterile neutrality led to the post-behavioural corrective.
- **Cite:** *David Easton; the post-behavioural "Credo of Relevance"*.

**2(c)** [15m] **Can there be a universal conception of human rights? Give arguments.**

- **Intro:** Whether human rights are truly universal is fiercely contested.
- for: inherent human dignity, the UDHR, a common moral minimum
- against: cultural relativism, "Asian values", Western imposition
- middle: overlapping consensus, "thin"/dialogic universalism (Parekh)
- the indivisibility of civil and socio-economic rights.
- **Concl:** A universal core of rights is defensible, but must be grounded through cross-cultural dialogue, not imposition.
- **Cite:** *UDHR; Amartya Sen, Bhikhu Parekh*.

**3(a)** [20m] **Explain the Aristotelian view of politics. To what extent has it contributed to modern constitutional democracies?**

- **Intro:** Aristotle's empirical, ethical political science laid foundations for constitutional democracy.
- "man is a political animal"; the polis exists for the good life
- a classification of constitutions (rule by one/few/many; ideal vs perverted)
- "polity" — a mixed, middle-class constitution as the best practicable
- rule of law over rule of men
- constitutionalism and the golden mean.
- **Concl:** Aristotle's mixed constitution, rule of law and citizenship deeply shaped modern constitutional democracy.
- **Cite:** *Aristotle (Politics; Nicomachean Ethics)*.

**3(b)** [15m] **"When a nation becomes devoid of arts and learning, it invites poverty." Assess Sir Syed Ahmad Khan as a reformer in modern India.**

- **Intro:** Sir Syed was a modernising reformer who linked his community's progress to modern education.
- "arts and learning" as essential against poverty and decline
- founded MAO College (1875) → Aligarh Muslim University
- the Aligarh Movement — modern, Western education with reform
- a rational interpretation of religion; social reform
- later political caution toward the Congress.
- **Concl:** Sir Syed's educational reform sought to lift his community through modern learning — the Aligarh legacy.
- **Cite:** *Sir Syed Ahmad Khan; the Aligarh Movement*.

**3(c) [15m] Political ideology is primarily concerned with the allocation and utilization of power.****Comment.**

- **Intro:** Political ideology is fundamentally about the allocation, justification and use of power.
- ideology = a more-or-less coherent set of ideas about power and the good society
- it legitimises or challenges existing power (the left-right spectrum)
- Marx: ideology as the ruling class's "false consciousness"
- Mannheim: ideology vs utopia
- the "end of ideology" debate.
- **Concl:** Ideologies are maps of power — justifying or contesting how it is held and used.
- **Cite:** *Marx, Karl Mannheim; Daniel Bell ("end of ideology").*

**4(a) [20m] Do Buddhist traditions lend greater ethical foundation to ancient Indian political thought? Give arguments.**

- **Intro:** Buddhist traditions lent a strong ethical, egalitarian foundation to ancient Indian political thought.
- Dhamma — righteousness, compassion, non-violence, the Middle Path
- Ashoka's Dhamma — ethical, welfarist statecraft
- rejection of caste and ritual hierarchy → equality
- the Sangha as a model of democratic deliberation
- a moral basis of kingship.
- **Concl:** Buddhism enriched Indian political thought with ethics, welfare and egalitarianism.
- **Cite:** *Ashoka's edicts; the Sangha; Ambedkar's reading.*

**4(b) [15m] Marx's concept of alienation is an essential part of the reality in capitalism. Explain.**

- **Intro:** For Marx, alienation is the defining human cost of capitalist production.
- four forms: from the product, from the process, from "species-being", and from other humans
- rooted in private property and the division of labour
- labour becomes a commodity; workers lose creative agency
- overcome only by abolishing capitalist relations
- from the 1844 Manuscripts.
- **Concl:** Alienation is capitalism's dehumanising essence — transcended only with capitalism itself.
- **Cite:** *Marx (Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts, 1844).*

**4(c) [15m] Free and fair deliberation is key to the foundation of democracy. Explain.**

- **Intro:** Free and fair deliberation is the normative foundation of legitimate democracy.
- Habermas: legitimacy through reasoned public discourse ("the better argument")
- the public sphere and communicative rationality
- beyond the mere aggregation of votes
- inclusion, equality of voice, publicity
- India: the Gram Sabha, public consultation.
- **Concl:** Democracy is legitimised not by counting votes alone but by the quality of public deliberation.
- **Cite:** *Habermas, Joshua Cohen, John Dryzek.*

**Section B — Indian Government & Politics****5(a) [10m] The Constitution of India is a product of a historical process, rich with constitutional antecedents. Comment.**

- **Intro:** The Constitution is the culmination of a long historical process, not a sudden creation.
- colonial antecedents: the Government of India Acts 1858-1935, the 1935 Act (a federal blueprint)
- the national movement's ideals — rights, Swaraj, the Nehru Report (1928), Karachi Resolution (1931)
- comparative borrowings
- Constituent Assembly debates
- continuity with reform and struggle.
- **Concl:** India's Constitution distilled a century of constitutional evolution and nationalist aspiration.
- **Cite:** *Gol Act 1935; the Nehru Report (1928); Granville Austin.*

**5(b) [10m] Constitution makers faced the task of forging a common national identity amid unparalleled social and cultural diversity. Comment.**

- **Intro:** The makers had to forge one national identity across unparalleled diversity.
- diversity of language, religion, region and caste
- tools: single citizenship, federalism with a strong Centre, minority safeguards (Arts 29-30)
- secularism and "unity in diversity"
- the official-language compromise (Art 343)
- a civic, not ethnic, nationhood.
- **Concl:** The Constitution built an inclusive civic identity — unity without uniformity.
- **Cite:** *Constituent Assembly debates; Granville Austin; Bhikhu Parekh.*

**5(c) [10m] Mention the founding principles that define India's Constitution.**

- **Intro:** A set of foundational principles defines the identity of the Indian Constitution.
- popular sovereignty (the Preamble)
- justice, liberty, equality and fraternity
- constitutional supremacy and the rule of law
- secularism, federalism, separation of powers
- fundamental rights and judicial review
- the basic-structure doctrine.
- **Concl:** These principles — crystallised in the Preamble and basic structure — form the Constitution's enduring core.
- **Cite:** *the Preamble; Kesavananda (1973); Granville Austin.*

**5(d) [10m] Analyze the Marxist perspective of the nature of Indian National Movement.**

- **Intro:** The Marxist perspective reads the national movement through class and economic structure.
- R.P. Dutt: a bourgeois-led movement serving capitalist interests
- the Congress as representing the propertied classes
- a neglect of class struggle and radical agrarian change
- a "negotiated"/compromise transfer of power
- yet later Marxists recognise its mass, anti-imperialist character.
- **Concl:** Marxists highlight the movement's bourgeois leadership and class limits, even as it mobilised the masses.
- **Cite:** *R. Palme Dutt (India Today); A.R. Desai.*

**5(e) [10m] Underline the significance of the First Constitutional Amendment.**

- **Intro:** The First Amendment (1951) was a foundational, much-litigated change to the new Constitution.
- added the Ninth Schedule + Arts 31A/31B to protect land reforms from judicial review
- added "reasonable restrictions" to free speech (Art 19(2))
- enabled special provisions for backward classes (Art 15(4))
- triggered the FR-vs-amendment debate (Shankari Prasad).
- **Concl:** The First Amendment set the template for balancing rights with social reform — and for the amendment-power debate.
- **Cite:** *1st Amendment (1951); Arts 31A/31B, 19(2), 15(4); Shankari Prasad.*

**6(a) [20m] Reconciling Fundamental Rights with DPSP has led to frequent amendments and judicial interventions. Comment.**

- **Intro:** The tension between justiciable FRs and non-justiciable DPSPs has driven amendments and judicial interventions.
- Champakam (1951): FR primacy → the 1st Amendment
- Golak Nath; the 24th, 25th (Art 31C) and 42nd Amendments
- Kesavananda and Minerva Mills: harmony and balance as basic structure
- DPSP increasingly read into FRs (Art 21).
- **Concl:** The judiciary moved from FR-primacy to a harmonious balance — both are complementary parts of the Constitution's conscience.
- **Cite:** *Champakam (1951), Kesavananda (1973), Minerva Mills (1980); Art 31C.*

**6(b) [15m] Role of President becomes more significant during minority and coalition governments. Explain.**

- **Intro:** The President's role gains real significance when no party commands a clear majority.
- normally a constitutional head bound by aid and advice (Art 74)
- discretion in choosing a PM in a hung House, dissolution, and the "floor test"
- the Sarkaria and Punchhi guidelines; the S.R. Bommai floor-test rule
- examples: the 1979 and 1989-99 hung Parliaments
- a moral/umpire role.
- **Concl:** In coalition and minority politics the President becomes a crucial constitutional umpire, exercising real discretion.
- **Cite:** *Arts 74, 75; S.R. Bommai (1994); Sarkaria Commission.*

**6(c) [15m] Despite limitations, Panchayati Raj institutions have strengthened democratic decentralization. Give views.**

- **Intro:** Despite limitations, Panchayati Raj has strengthened grassroots democratic decentralisation.
- the 73rd Amendment — constitutional status, elections, reservations, the Gram Sabha
- around 3.1 million elected representatives, nearly half women
- local planning, social audit, welfare delivery
- limits: weak "3 Fs", proxy rule, elite capture, bureaucratic control.
- **Concl:** PRIs have deepened democracy in form; substantive decentralisation still needs genuine devolution.
- **Cite:** *73rd Amendment; 11th Schedule; Kerala's "People's Plan".*

**7(a) [20m] Indian party system is shaped by interaction of federal structure, electoral system and social cleavages. Explain.**

- **Intro:** India's party system is shaped by the interaction of federal structure, the electoral system and social cleavages.
- federalism → strong regional/State parties
- first-past-the-post → fragmentation, regionalisation, coalitions
- social cleavages (caste, religion, region, language) structure parties
- from the "Congress system" to multi-party competition
- a "federalised" party system (Yadav).
- **Concl:** India's distinctive multi-party, federalised system flows from its plural society, federalism and electoral rules.
- **Cite:** *Rajni Kothari; Yogendra Yadav; Giovanni Sartori.*

**7(b)** [15m] **Has there been a gradual shift in the basis of demands for creation of new States? Explain.**

- **Intro:** The basis of statehood demands has shifted over time — from language to development and identity.
- 1950s-60s: linguistic reorganisation (the SRC, 1956)
- later: tribal/ethnic identity (the NE States, Jharkhand)
- recently: development, regional neglect and governance (Telangana; Vidarbha, Bundelkhand demands)
- the "smaller States for better governance" argument.
- **Concl:** Statehood demands moved from language to development and identity — a sign of a deepening, federalising democracy.
- **Cite:** *the SRC (1956); States Reorganisation; Telangana (2014).*

**7(c)** [15m] **What explains India's modest improvements in social development outcomes even as growth accelerated since reforms?**

- **Intro:** India's social-development gains have lagged its post-reform growth — the "growth without development" puzzle.
- high GDP growth post-1991, but only modest HDI, health and education outcomes
- low public spending (health ~2%, education ~3% of GDP)
- inequality, "jobless growth", exclusion
- contrast: Kerala/Tamil Nadu social investment
- Dreze-Sen: "an uncertain glory".
- **Concl:** Growth alone is insufficient — sustained social investment is needed to translate it into human development.
- **Cite:** *Dreze & Sen (An Uncertain Glory); HDI data.*

**8(a)** [20m] **Success of electoral democracy can partly be attributed to status and role of Election Commission of India. Explain.**

- **Intro:** India's successful electoral democracy owes much to the status and role of the Election Commission.
- Art 324 — an independent constitutional body
- conducts free, fair and massive elections; the Model Code of Conduct
- T.N. Seshan's assertive reforms
- EVMs, VVPAT, voter rolls, NOTA
- concerns: appointment (Anoop Baranwal; the CEC Act 2023), money and muscle.
- **Concl:** The ECI's independence has been central to India's democratic success — its autonomy must be safeguarded.
- **Cite:** *Art 324; Anoop Baranwal (2023); CEC & ECs Act 2023.*

**8(b)** [15m] **Jurisdiction of Supreme Court as Constitutional Court.**

- **Intro:** The Supreme Court functions as a Constitutional Court — the final interpreter and guardian of the Constitution.
- original jurisdiction (Art 131 — federal disputes)
- writ jurisdiction (Art 32) for fundamental rights
- judicial review and the basic-structure doctrine
- advisory jurisdiction (Art 143)
- appellate jurisdiction on constitutional questions (Art 132).
- **Concl:** As a Constitutional Court, the SC guards federalism, rights and the basic structure — the Constitution's sentinel.
- **Cite:** *Arts 131, 32, 143, 132; Kesavananda (1973).*

**8(c) [15m] Caste as social category is also becoming a political category in Indian politics.****Explain.**

- **Intro:** Caste, a social category, is increasingly mobilised as a political one in Indian democracy.
- Kothari's "politicisation of caste" — caste and politics adapt to each other
- caste associations, vote banks, Mandal, OBC assertion
- the "silent revolution" (Jaffrelot); Bahujan politics
- the caste-census demand
- from ritual hierarchy to political identity.
- **Concl:** Caste has been transformed into a vehicle of political mobilisation and democratic empowerment.
- **Cite:** *Rajni Kothari (Caste in Indian Politics); Christophe Jaffrelot.*

**PSIR Paper 1 · 2020****Section A — Political Theory, Western & Indian Thought****1(a) [10m] Post-colonial theory of the state.**

- **Intro:** Post-colonial theory analyses the State in formerly colonised societies as shaped by the colonial inheritance.
- the post-colonial State is "overdeveloped" (Alavi) — inheriting a strong colonial bureaucracy and army
- relative autonomy from weak indigenous classes
- tasks: nation-building, development, managing diversity
- tensions: a modern form atop a traditional society; neo-colonial dependence
- contrast with the Western liberal State.
- **Concl:** A distinctive, "overdeveloped" formation balancing development, diversity and inherited colonial structures.
- **Cite:** *Hamza Alavi ("overdeveloped state"); Partha Chatterjee.*

**1(b) [10m] Equality of opportunity.**

- **Intro:** Equality of opportunity means careers open to talent — fair access regardless of birth.
- formal: no legal barriers ("careers open to talents")
- substantive/fair (Rawls): correct for social disadvantage at the start
- contrasts equality of outcome
- justifies education and affirmative action
- critique: ignores inherited advantage (the "starting-gate" problem).
- **Concl:** Genuine equality of opportunity requires levelling unequal starting points, not merely removing legal bars.
- **Cite:** *Rawls (fair equality of opportunity); Bernard Williams.*

**1(c) [10m] Liberalism as a revolutionary idea.**

- **Intro:** Liberalism was historically a revolutionary force against absolutism, privilege and feudal hierarchy.
- asserted individual rights, liberty, consent and the rule of law
- powered the English, American and French Revolutions
- challenged divine right, estates and mercantilism
- free markets and constitutionalism
- later became the establishment ideology — its revolution institutionalised.
- **Concl:** Liberalism's championing of rights and consent was genuinely revolutionary — overturning the old hierarchical order.
- **Cite:** *Locke; the French Revolution; Harold Laski.*

**1(d)** [10m] **Ambedkar's ideas on constitutionalism.**

- **Intro:** Ambedkar saw constitutionalism as the instrument to transform an unequal society and limit arbitrary power.
- constitutional morality over social/popular morality
- the Constitution as a tool of social revolution (Arts 17, 15-16, 32)
- rule of law, checks, safeguards for minorities and Dalits
- warned democracy is "a top dressing on undemocratic soil"
- social + economic + political democracy.
- **Concl:** For Ambedkar, constitutionalism was a means to social transformation — its success depends on social democracy.
- **Cite:** *Ambedkar (Constituent Assembly speeches); "constitutional morality".*

**1(e)** [10m] **Machiavelli's secularism.**

- **Intro:** Machiavelli secularised politics — separating it from religion and theology.
- politics judged by results and necessity, not Christian morality
- religion as a useful instrument of statecraft (civic unity, virtue)
- *raison d'etat* — the ends justify the means
- broke with the medieval Church-State fusion
- a founder of modern, autonomous political science.
- **Concl:** His secularism freed politics from theology — a foundational move toward the modern State.
- **Cite:** *Machiavelli (The Prince; Discourses).*

**2(a)** [20m] **Make a comparative assessment of Greek perspective of Justice with the Rawlsian concept of Justice.**

- **Intro:** Greek justice is teleological and hierarchical; Rawlsian justice is egalitarian and procedural.
- Plato: justice = each performing their function (functional harmony), a hierarchy of classes
- Aristotle: giving each their due; distributive (proportionate) and corrective justice
- both teleological — aimed at the good life
- Rawls: "justice as fairness", the original position, the difference principle, individual rights
- Greek communitarian vs Rawlsian liberal-individualist.
- **Concl:** Greek justice is virtue- and order-centred; Rawlsian justice is rights- and equality-centred — a shift from teleology to fairness.
- **Cite:** *Plato (Republic), Aristotle (Ethics); Rawls (A Theory of Justice).*

**2(b)** [15m] **Representative democracy means people as a body must be able to control the general direction of government policy. (J. S. Mill). Comment.**

- **Intro:** Mill held that in representative democracy the people, as a body, must control the general direction of government.
- representative government as the ideal form (Considerations)
- the people control through elected representatives and public opinion
- but governing is for skilled representatives, not direct rule
- safeguards: proportional representation, the open ballot, (controversially) plural voting
- participation as political education.
- **Concl:** Mill balanced popular control with competent governance — representative democracy as both control and education.
- **Cite:** *J.S. Mill (Considerations on Representative Government).*

**2(c)** [15m] **Assess the significance of right to property in political theory.**

- **Intro:** The right to property has been central — and contested — across liberal, Marxist and Gandhian thought.
- Locke: property as a natural right, the basis of liberty and the State's chief end
- Marx: private property as the root of alienation and class division
- Gandhi: trusteeship — property held in trust for society
- India: from a Fundamental Right (Art 31) to a legal right (Art 300A, 44th Amendment).
- **Concl:** Property sits at the crossroads of liberty and equality — its status reflects each tradition's view of justice.
- **Cite:** *Locke, Marx, Gandhi; Art 300A.*

**3(a)** [20m] **Explicate the ideological components of Gandhism.**

- **Intro:** Gandhism is a distinctive ethical-political ideology fusing truth, non-violence and self-rule.
- Satya (truth) and Ahimsa (non-violence); the unity of means and ends
- Satyagraha — truth-force resistance
- Swaraj and Gram Swaraj — decentralised self-rule
- Trusteeship and Sarvodaya — the welfare of all
- a critique of modern civilisation (Hind Swaraj); the spiritualisation of politics.
- **Concl:** Gandhism offers a moral, decentralised, non-violent ideology — a non-Western alternative to both capitalism and communism.
- **Cite:** *Gandhi (Hind Swaraj); Sarvodaya; cf. Tolstoy, Ruskin.*

**3(b)** [15m] **Examine the nature and meaning of power.**

- **Intro:** Power — the capacity to affect others' behaviour — is the central concept of politics, yet deeply contested.
- power as force, influence and authority (Lasswell)
- Dahl: A makes B do what B otherwise would not
- Lukes: three faces — decisions, agenda-setting, shaping preferences
- Foucault: diffuse, productive, relational
- legitimate power = authority.
- **Concl:** Power is multi-dimensional — from coercion to the subtle shaping of desires — and authority is its legitimated form.
- **Cite:** *Lasswell, Robert Dahl, Steven Lukes, Foucault.*

**3(c)** [15m] **Explain the sources of ancient Indian political thought.**

- **Intro:** Ancient Indian political thought draws on diverse religious, secular and epic sources.
- the Vedas and Dharmashastras (Manu) — dharma and Rajadharma
- the Arthashastra (Kautilya) — secular statecraft
- the epics — Mahabharata (Shanti Parva), Ramayana — ideals of kingship
- Buddhist and Jain texts — ethics, the Sangha
- a blend of the sacred and the secular.
- **Concl:** Indian political thought is rooted in a rich plurality of dharmic, secular and epic sources.
- **Cite:** *the Vedas, Manusmriti, Arthashastra, Shanti Parva.*

**4(a) [20m] Trace the evolution of Western Political Thought from ancient to contemporary period.**

- **Intro:** Western political thought evolved through distinct epochs, each redefining the State, justice and the individual.
- ancient (Greek): the polis, virtue, justice (Plato, Aristotle)
- medieval: the Church-State, natural law (Aquinas)
- modern: social contract, sovereignty, rights (Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau)
- 19th century: liberalism, Marxism, utilitarianism
- contemporary: Rawls, communitarianism, post-modernism, feminism.
- **Concl:** From the polis to post-modernism — a journey from community and virtue to individual rights and contested pluralism.
- **Cite:** *Plato to Rawls; George Sabine (A History of Political Theory).*

**4(b) [15m] Discuss the significance of a normative approach to Political theory.**

- **Intro:** The normative approach studies what ought to be — the values and ends political life should pursue.
- prescriptive and value-laden; concerned with justice, rights and the good
- rooted in Plato-Aristotle; the method of reasoned moral argument
- contrasts the empirical "is"
- "declined" under behaviouralism, revived by Rawls
- indispensable to evaluating institutions.
- **Concl:** Since politics is about values, the normative approach remains central to political theory.
- **Cite:** *Plato, Strauss, Rawls; Laslett.*

**4(c) [15m] Discuss Karl Marx's concept of class.**

- **Intro:** Class — defined by one's relation to the means of production — is the engine of Marx's theory of history.
- "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles"
- bourgeoisie (owners) vs proletariat (labour)
- class-in-itself vs class-for-itself (class consciousness)
- exploitation through surplus value
- revolution → a classless, communist society.
- **Concl:** For Marx, class antagonism drives history toward proletarian revolution and a classless society.
- **Cite:** *Marx-Engels (Communist Manifesto; Das Kapital).*

**Section B — Indian Government & Politics****5(a) [10m] Role of socialists in Indian National Movement.**

- **Intro:** Socialists added a radical, pro-poor and anti-imperialist edge to the national movement.
- the Congress Socialist Party (1934 — Narendra Dev, JP, Lohia)
- pushed for class struggle, workers and peasants, socialism
- critiqued Gandhian compromise and bourgeois leadership
- links to the AITUC and the Kisan Sabha
- shaped post-1947 planning and welfare.
- **Concl:** Socialists broadened the movement's social agenda — linking independence to economic justice.
- **Cite:** *Congress Socialist Party; JP, Lohia, Acharya Narendra Dev.*

**5(b)** [10m] **Indian constitution makers' concerns on social inequality.**

- **Intro:** The makers were deeply concerned to dismantle India's entrenched social inequalities.
- abolition of untouchability (Art 17)
- equality (Arts 14-18); special provisions (Arts 15(4), 16(4), 46)
- reserved seats (Arts 330, 332)
- DPSP for socio-economic justice
- Ambedkar: political democracy needs social democracy.
- **Concl:** The Constitution embedded a charter against social inequality — a blueprint for social revolution.
- **Cite:** *Arts 17, 15-16, 46; Ambedkar; Granville Austin.*

**5(c)** [10m] **Right to constitutional remedies in India.**

- **Intro:** Art 32 — the right to constitutional remedies — is the guarantor of all other fundamental rights.
- Ambedkar's "heart and soul of the Constitution"
- writs: habeas corpus, mandamus, certiorari, prohibition, quo warranto
- a fundamental right itself; the SC's writ power
- Art 226 — the wider High Court power
- PIL and relaxed locus standi.
- **Concl:** Without Art 32, rights would be empty declarations — it is the enforcement engine of liberty.
- **Cite:** *Arts 32, 226; Ambedkar; PIL.*

**5(d)** [10m] **Judicial overreach in India.**

- **Intro:** Judicial overreach is the judiciary exceeding its role and encroaching on the legislature or executive.
- through PIL, continuing mandamus and policy directions
- examples: setting environmental policy, liquor bans, administrative monitoring
- blurs the separation of powers (Art 50)
- distinct from legitimate judicial activism — overreach is excess
- "judicial adventurism".
- **Concl:** While activism fills governance gaps, overreach risks the separation of powers — judicial self-restraint is essential.
- **Cite:** *the separation of powers; "activism vs adventurism".*

**5(e)** [10m] **Mechanism for settling inter-state disputes.**

- **Intro:** The Constitution provides mechanisms for resolving inter-State disputes, especially over water and boundaries.
- Art 131 — the SC's original jurisdiction over inter-State disputes
- Art 262 — inter-State water disputes (Parliament may bar the SC) → the ISWD Act 1956 and tribunals (Cauvery, Krishna)
- Art 263 — the Inter-State Council
- zonal councils
- persistent delays and non-compliance.
- **Concl:** India has a layered dispute-settlement framework, but slow tribunals and political friction limit its efficacy.
- **Cite:** *Arts 131, 262, 263; the ISWD Act 1956; the Cauvery Tribunal.*

**6(a) [20m] Examine the role and functioning of Election Commission of India and Comptroller and Auditor General in the last two decades.**

- **Intro:** The ECI and CAG — key constitutional watchdogs — have shaped accountability over the last two decades.
- ECI (Art 324): MCC enforcement, EVMs/VVPAT, NOTA, curbing money and muscle; appointment debates (Anoop Baranwal, CEC Act 2023)
- CAG (Art 148): the 2G, coal and CWG audits exposed scams; expanded "performance audit"
- both strengthened transparency
- concerns over autonomy and executive pressure.
- **Concl:** The ECI and CAG have deepened democratic accountability — but their independence must be vigilantly protected.
- **Cite:** *Arts 324, 148-151; Anoop Baranwal (2023); the 2G and coal audits.*

**6(b) [15m] Trace the role of militant and revolutionary movements in Indian national movement.**

- **Intro:** Revolutionary nationalism offered a militant, armed alternative to constitutional and Gandhian methods.
- early: Anushilan, Jugantar, the Alipore and Kakori cases
- the HSRA — Bhagat Singh, Chandrashekhar Azad; "Inquilab Zindabad"
- Surya Sen (Chittagong); revolutionary action
- a later turn to socialism
- the INA and Subhas Bose's armed struggle.
- **Concl:** Revolutionaries kept alive the spirit of radical sacrifice — complementing the mass movement toward freedom.
- **Cite:** *Bhagat Singh (HSRA); Subhas Bose (INA); Kakori, Chittagong.*

**6(c) [15m] To what extent have 73rd and 74th amendments enhanced women empowerment?**

- **Intro:** The 73rd/74th Amendments mandated women's reservation in local bodies — a landmark for political empowerment.
- a third (now half in many States) of seats and chairpersons reserved (Arts 243D, 243T)
- over a million women in local office
- leadership, voice and gendered priorities (water, schools)
- limits: "Sarpanch-pati"/proxy rule, patriarchy, capacity gaps.
- **Concl:** They opened unprecedented space for women's leadership — substantive empowerment now needs an end to proxy rule.
- **Cite:** *Arts 243D, 243T; 73rd/74th Amendments.*

**7(a) [20m] Does the functioning of federalism in India tend to make it appear as a unitary state in practice?**

- **Intro:** India's federalism has so strong a unitary tilt that in practice it can appear quasi-unitary.
- unitary features: a strong Centre, Art 356, All-India Services, residuary and emergency powers, single citizenship
- centralising fiscal and political practice
- but: the coalition era, the GST Council, regional parties, Bommai's limits
- Wheare: "quasi-federal"; "federal in form, unitary in spirit".
- **Concl:** India is federal in form with a unitary bias — though regionalisation pulls it toward genuine federalism.
- **Cite:** *K.C. Wheare; S.R. Bommai (1994); Art 356.*

**7(b) [15m] Has the thrust of government tilted towards the executive in contemporary Indian politics? Give arguments.**

- **Intro:** Contemporary Indian politics shows a growing concentration of power in the executive.
- a dominant PM and PMO; the decline of cabinet and Parliament
- ordinances (Art 123), money bills, reduced committee scrutiny
- a weak opposition; anti-defection discipline
- "executive aggrandisement" as a global trend
- a tilt from deliberation to executive command.
- **Concl:** The drift toward executive dominance demands a stronger Parliament, committees and institutional checks.
- **Cite:** *Arts 123, 110; the PMO; the parliamentary-decline debate.*

**7(c) [15m] Liberalisation of Indian economy has not been accompanied with adequate reforms. Comment.**

- **Intro:** India's 1991 liberalisation was incomplete — not matched by adequate "second-generation" reforms.
- 1991: de-licensing, trade and FDI opening, partial privatisation
- unfinished: land, labour, agriculture and factor-market reforms
- weak institutions, judicial delays, bureaucracy
- "jobless growth", inequality, social-sector neglect
- reform fatigue and political-economy constraints.
- **Concl:** Liberalisation freed markets but stalled on deeper structural and social reforms — leaving growth uneven.
- **Cite:** *the 1991 reforms; "second-generation reforms"; Dreze-Sen.*

**8(a) [20m] To what extent has inadequate intra-party democracy affected the functioning of Indian Democracy?**

- **Intro:** Weak intra-party democracy undermines the health of Indian democracy itself.
- dynasticism, "high-command" culture, centralised candidate selection
- no regular internal elections; opaque funding
- weakens accountability and genuine representation
- the anti-defection law strengthens leaders over members
- the ECI's limited regulatory power.
- **Concl:** Democratising parties internally is essential — democratic ends require democratic party means.
- **Cite:** *the ECI; the anti-defection law (10th Schedule); 255th Law Commission Report.*

**8(b) [15m] Examine the role of religion in Indian electoral politics in contemporary times.**

- **Intro:** Religion remains a potent factor in contemporary Indian electoral politics.
- communal mobilisation, religious vote banks, identity polarisation
- symbolism, appeals and the Mandir-Masjid axis
- secularism under strain; RPA Sec 123 (corrupt practice — Abhiram Singh, 2017)
- tension with constitutional secularism (S.R. Bommai).
- **Concl:** Religion's electoral salience challenges India's secular ideal — demanding firm enforcement of secular norms.
- **Cite:** *RPA Sec 123; Abhiram Singh (2017); S.R. Bommai (1994).*

**8(c)** [15m] **Examine the nature of the civil liberty movement in India.**

- **Intro:** India's civil-liberties movement has defended rights against State excess, especially after the Emergency.
- roots in the freedom struggle; the Emergency (1975-77) galvanised it
- PUCL and PUDR — custodial deaths, encounters, free speech
- judicial allies: PIL, Maneka Gandhi, habeas corpus
- recent issues: sedition, UAPA, privacy, dissent
- State security vs liberty.
- **Concl:** The civil-liberties movement is the watchdog of constitutional freedom — vital against the security State's overreach.
- **Cite:** *PUCL/PUDR; the Emergency; Maneka Gandhi (1978)*.

**PSIR Paper 1 · 2019****Section A — Political Theory, Western & Indian Thought****1(a)** [10m] **Resurgence of political theory.**

- **Intro:** After its declared "death", political theory revived from the 1970s — a resurgence led by Rawls.
- behaviouralism's value-neutrality had left normative questions unanswered
- Rawls' *A Theory of Justice* (1971) restored grand theory
- Berlin, Nozick, communitarians, feminists, post-modernists
- new themes: justice, rights, multiculturalism, gender
- post-behaviouralism's "relevance".
- **Concl:** Political theory revived as the indispensable home of normative debate — vibrant and pluralistic.
- **Cite:** *Rawls (1971); Isaiah Berlin; Laslett (decline)*.

**1(b)** [10m] **Pluralist theory of the State.**

- **Intro:** The State is one association among many; sovereignty is dispersed, not monolithic.
- Laski, MacIver, Dahl — power diffused among groups
- the State as a neutral arena ("polyarchy")
- attacks monist/Austinian sovereignty
- critiques: Marxist (serves capital), elitist (Mills)
- neo-pluralism (Lindblom).
- **Concl:** Pluralism democratised State theory but understates structural power.
- **Cite:** *Laski, Robert Dahl, Lindblom*.

**1(c)** [10m] **End of Ideology debate.**

- **Intro:** The "end of ideology" thesis claimed grand ideologies were exhausted in post-war industrial society.
- Bell, Lipset, Aron — the decline of left-right ideological passion
- a consensus around the welfare-capitalist mixed economy
- critique: itself an ideology (conservative); ignored new movements
- revived as Fukuyama's "end of history" (1989)
- refuted by resurgent identity and populist politics.
- **Concl:** The "end of ideology" was premature — ideology persists, mutating into identity and populist forms.
- **Cite:** *Daniel Bell (The End of Ideology); cf. Fukuyama*.

**1(d)** [10m] **Deliberative democracy.**

- **Intro:** Deliberative democracy bases legitimacy on reasoned public deliberation, not mere voting.
- Habermas: the public sphere and communicative reason
- beyond aggregative/electoral democracy
- inclusion, consensus, publicity
- critique: feasibility, unequal voice
- India: the Gram Sabha.
- **Concl:** It deepens democracy from counting heads to weighing reasons.
- **Cite:** *Habermas, Joshua Cohen.*

**1(e)** [10m] **M. K. Gandhi's concept of Swaraj.**

- **Intro:** For Gandhi, Swaraj meant not just political independence but moral self-rule and self-discipline.
- swa-raj = rule over the self; freedom as ethical autonomy
- Gram Swaraj — decentralised village self-government
- Swadeshi and self-reliance
- "Purna Swaraj" (1929)
- a critique of modern civilisation (Hind Swaraj).
- **Concl:** Gandhi's Swaraj fused individual moral self-rule with decentralised political freedom.
- **Cite:** *Gandhi (Hind Swaraj); Purna Swaraj (1929).*

**2(a)** [20m] **Explain Aristotle's critique of Plato's Idealism.**

- **Intro:** Aristotle, Plato's pupil, criticised his teacher's idealism on empirical and practical grounds.
- against the Theory of Forms — the "third man"; universals exist in particulars, not apart
- against Plato's communism of property and family — it destroys responsibility and affection
- against philosopher-king absolutism — favours the rule of law and "polity"
- an empirical method (158 constitutions collected)
- the golden mean.
- **Concl:** Aristotle grounded politics in empirical reality and the rule of law — correcting Plato's utopian idealism.
- **Cite:** *Aristotle (Politics); Plato (Republic).*

**2(b)** [15m] **Examine communitarian perspectives on justice.**

- **Intro:** Communitarians reject the abstract, individualist self of liberal (Rawlsian) justice.
- Sandel: the "unencumbered self" ignores constitutive community and ends
- MacIntyre: morality is tradition-embedded (After Virtue)
- Walzer: "spheres of justice" — culturally situated goods
- the common good over individual rights
- Taylor: the self is dialogically formed.
- **Concl:** Justice, for communitarians, is rooted in shared community and the common good, not abstract individual choice.
- **Cite:** *Sandel, MacIntyre, Walzer, Charles Taylor.*

**2(c)** [15m] **Compare negative and positive concepts of liberty.**

- **Intro:** Isaiah Berlin's classic distinction separates "freedom from" (negative) and "freedom to" (positive) liberty.
- negative liberty: the absence of external interference (Hobbes, Mill, Hayek)
- positive liberty: self-mastery, self-realisation, rational autonomy (Rousseau, Hegel, Green)
- Berlin's warning: positive liberty can justify coercion ("forcing to be free", totalitarianism)
- the welfare-State debate.
- **Concl:** Berlin defended negative liberty against the totalitarian dangers latent in positive liberty's "true self".
- **Cite:** *Isaiah Berlin (Two Concepts of Liberty); cf. T.H. Green.*

**3(a) [20m] According to Gramsci, 'hegemony is primarily based on the organisation of consent.'****Comment.**

- **Intro:** For Gramsci, hegemony is primarily the organisation of consent, not merely coercion.
- the ruling class leads morally and intellectually through civil society (school, church, media)
- the State = political society (force) + civil society (consent)
- the "war of position" (cultural) vs the "war of manoeuvre"
- organic intellectuals and counter-hegemony
- it explains capitalism's durability.
- **Concl:** Hegemony rules through manufactured consent — making cultural struggle central to politics.
- **Cite:** *Antonio Gramsci (Prison Notebooks)*.

**3(b) [15m] Discuss Kautilya's views on the elements of the State.**

- **Intro:** Kautilya's Saptanga theory enumerates the seven organs (prakritis) of the State.
- Swami (the ruler), Amatya (ministers), Janapada (territory and people), Durga (the fort), Kosha (the treasury), Danda (army/coercion), Mitra (the ally)
- each is indispensable; the king is the head
- welfare: "in the happiness of the subjects lies the king's happiness"
- realist statecraft and elaborate administration.
- **Concl:** The Saptanga theory is a sophisticated, organic and realist conception of the State's essential elements.
- **Cite:** *Kautilya (Arthashastra)*.

**3(c) [15m] Distinguish between liberal feminism and radical feminism.**

- **Intro:** Liberal and radical feminism differ on the roots of, and remedy for, women's oppression.
- liberal: oppression from legal and educational exclusion; remedy via equal rights and reform (Wollstonecraft, Friedan)
- radical: patriarchy is the fundamental, universal system; "the personal is political"
- radical targets the family, sexuality and reproduction (Millett, Firestone)
- reform (liberal) vs revolution (radical).
- **Concl:** Liberal feminism seeks equality within the system; radical feminism seeks to overthrow patriarchy itself.
- **Cite:** *Wollstonecraft, Betty Friedan; Kate Millett, Shulamith Firestone*.

**4(a) [20m] Critically examine Hannah Arendt's conceptual triad of labour, work and action.**

- **Intro:** In *The Human Condition*, Arendt distinguished labour, work and action within the *vita activa*.
- labour: meets biological necessity, cyclical (animal laborans)
- work: fabricates a durable world (homo faber)
- action: speech and deeds among plural humans — the political, the source of freedom and "natality"
- the modern peril: action eclipsed by labour and consumption
- critique: an idealised Greek polis, a rigid hierarchy.
- **Concl:** Arendt elevated action as the essence of politics and freedom, warning that modernity reduces us to labourers.
- **Cite:** *Hannah Arendt (The Human Condition)*.

**4(b) [15m] Discuss the doctrine of 'rights as trumps'.**

- **Intro:** Dworkin's "rights as trumps" holds that individual rights override collective or utilitarian goals.
- rights "trump" majority/welfare calculations
- a defence against utilitarianism that sacrifices individuals for the aggregate
- rights as anti-majoritarian protections
- grounded in "equal concern and respect"
- courts as the forum of principle.
- **Concl:** Rights-as-trumps shields the individual from being sacrificed to collective utility — a strong liberal defence of rights.
- **Cite:** *Ronald Dworkin (Taking Rights Seriously)*.

**4(c) [15m] What is the contemporary relevance of Marxism?**

- **Intro:** Despite the USSR's collapse, Marxism retains relevance as a critique of capitalism's inequalities.
- its analysis of inequality, exploitation, alienation and commodification
- the 2008 crisis and global inequality (Piketty) revived interest
- neo-Marxism: Gramsci (culture), the Frankfurt School, world-systems, eco-Marxism
- but: the failures of state socialism, determinism, the missing revolution
- a method of critique more than a blueprint.
- **Concl:** Marxism endures as a powerful critical lens on capitalism — even as its revolutionary prophecy is contested.
- **Cite:** *Marx; Gramsci, the Frankfurt School; cf. Piketty.*

**Section B — Indian Government & Politics****5(a) [10m] Unity and integrity of India was perhaps the single uppermost factor in the minds of Constitution makers. Comment.**

- **Intro:** Amid the trauma of Partition, unity and integrity were uppermost in the makers' minds.
- a strong Centre, residuary powers, Art 356, single citizenship
- the integration of the princely states (Patel)
- Art 1: "a Union of States" — an indestructible Union
- emergency provisions and All-India Services
- "hold-together" federalism.
- **Concl:** The trauma of Partition led the makers to prioritise a strong, unified Union over State autonomy.
- **Cite:** *Arts 1, 356; Granville Austin; the integration of the States.*

**5(b) [10m] Dalit perspective on Indian National Movement. Discuss.**

- **Intro:** The Dalit perspective (Ambedkar) faults the national movement as elite-led, neglecting the annihilation of caste.
- political freedom without social democracy is hollow
- a critique of the Congress and Gandhi ("Harijan" vs annihilation)
- separate electorates → the Poona Pact (1932)
- swaraj must mean Dalit emancipation.
- **Concl:** The Dalit lens reframes independence as incomplete without a social revolution.
- **Cite:** *Ambedkar; the Poona Pact 1932.*

**5(c) [10m] Despite constitutional mandate, the Inter-State Council has not come of age. Discuss.**

- **Intro:** Despite its constitutional mandate, the Inter-State Council remains under-developed.
- Art 263 — established in 1990 on the Sarkaria recommendation
- infrequent meetings; purely advisory
- eclipsed by NITI Aayog and the GST Council
- under-utilised for dispute resolution and coordination
- Punchhi: make it a vibrant forum.
- **Concl:** A potentially powerful federal forum that has failed to "come of age" — reviving it would aid cooperative federalism.
- **Cite:** *Art 263; the Sarkaria and Punchhi Commissions.*

**5(d) [10m] Political decentralization has not been matched by administrative decentralization at the grassroots level. Explain.**

- **Intro:** Political decentralisation (elected PRIs) has outpaced administrative decentralisation at the grassroots.
- the 73rd/74th gave elected local bodies (political)
- but functions, funds and functionaries (the "3 Fs") are not devolved
- the bureaucracy and line departments retain control
- parastatals bypass local bodies
- activity-mapping is incomplete.
- **Concl:** Without administrative and fiscal devolution, political decentralisation remains hollow.
- **Cite:** 73rd/74th Amendments; the "3 Fs"; 2nd ARC.

**5(e) [10m] Write a short note on the significance of the Chipko Movement.**

- **Intro:** The Chipko Movement (1973, Uttarakhand) was a landmark non-violent forest-conservation movement.
- villagers, especially women, hugged trees to stop felling
- leaders: Sunderlal Bahuguna, Chandi Prasad Bhatt
- "ecology is permanent economy"; livelihood plus ecology
- it inspired the Forest Conservation Act 1980 and later movements
- "environmentalism of the poor"; eco-feminism.
- **Concl:** Chipko pioneered India's grassroots, women-led environmentalism — linking ecology with livelihood and justice.
- **Cite:** Sunderlal Bahuguna, Chandi Prasad Bhatt; Ramachandra Guha.

**6(a) [20m] National movement in India was anti-imperialist and increasingly radical in its socio-economic and political programmes. Discuss.**

- **Intro:** The national movement was fundamentally anti-imperialist and grew increasingly radical in its programmes.
- anti-imperialist: it exposed colonial exploitation (the drain theory)
- radicalisation: Purna Swaraj (1929), the Karachi Resolution (1931 — rights, a socio-economic programme)
- socialist and left influence (Nehru, the CSP)
- mass phases — workers and peasants
- a vision of social transformation, not just a transfer of power.
- **Concl:** The movement matured from constitutional demands into a radical, anti-imperialist struggle for social and economic justice.
- **Cite:** the Karachi Resolution (1931); Bipan Chandra; Nehru.

**6(b) [15m] What has been the political fallout of the Green Revolution in India? Explain.**

- **Intro:** The Green Revolution had major political consequences beyond food self-sufficiency.
- the rise of a prosperous farming class (middle/backward castes — Jats, Patidars) → the "bullock-capitalists" (Rudolph)
- rural political assertion and farmers' movements (BKU)
- regional and caste-based parties
- regional disparities (Punjab vs the east)
- later agrarian distress and subsidy politics.
- **Concl:** The Green Revolution empowered a new agrarian political class — reshaping caste, region and party politics.
- **Cite:** Lloyd and Susanne Rudolph ("bullock capitalists"); the BKU.

**6(c) [15m] The changing socio-economic profile of our legislators does not augur well for the health of Indian democracy. Comment.**

- **Intro:** The changing socio-economic profile of legislators raises concerns for democratic quality.
- rising criminalisation (ADR: over 40% of MPs face criminal cases)
- growing wealth — "crorepati" legislators
- dynasticism
- declining professional and educational diversity and deliberative quality
- money-power and representation gaps.
- **Concl:** The criminalisation and plutocratisation of legislatures threatens representative democracy — demanding electoral reform.
- **Cite:** *ADR data; the RPA; Lily Thomas (2013).*

**7(a) [20m] Development has overshadowed the influence of caste in electoral behaviour in recent elections. Discuss.**

- **Intro:** Recent elections suggest development and governance increasingly compete with caste in shaping voting.
- traditionally caste was the prime determinant (Kothari)
- the shift: a "vikas"/development plank, welfare delivery (DBT, housing)
- leadership and performance voting; "labharthi" (beneficiary) politics
- but caste persists, often realigned into broader coalitions
- CSDS-Lokniti evidence is mixed.
- **Concl:** Development has gained salience, but caste endures — Indian voting now blends identity with performance.
- **Cite:** *Rajni Kothari; Yogendra Yadav (CSDS-Lokniti); "labharthi" politics.*

**7(b) [15m] CAG enhances accountability and serves as watchdog of government finances. Explain.**

- **Intro:** The CAG (Art 148) is the constitutional guardian of public finances and accountability.
- audits Union and State accounts; reports to the legislatures (Arts 149-151)
- feeds the Public Accounts Committee
- exposed the 2G, coal and CWG scams
- expanded into performance and propriety audits
- Ambedkar called it the most important officer
- concerns: post-facto, advisory.
- **Concl:** The CAG enhances financial accountability — the legislature's eye over the executive's purse.
- **Cite:** *Arts 148-151; the 2G/coal audits; the Public Accounts Committee.*

**7(c) [15m] Discuss the role of National Commission for Women. Is it a toothless organization?**

- **Intro:** The NCW (1990) advances women's rights but is often called a "toothless" body.
- functions: review safeguards, inquire into violations, advise, redress grievances
- achievements: awareness, recommendations, intervention
- limits: recommendatory only, no penal power, government dependence, under-resourcing, vacancies
- demand: statutory teeth and autonomy.
- **Concl:** The NCW needs binding powers and independence to shed the "toothless" tag and effectively protect women.
- **Cite:** *NCW Act 1990; cf. NHRC; Paris Principles.*

**8(a)** [20m] **The basic structure doctrine is implicit in the Constitution; the Supreme Court has only given it explicit form. Comment.**

- **Intro:** The claim is that the basic-structure doctrine is implicit in the Constitution, only made explicit by the Court.
- Kesavananda (1973): implied limits on the amending power (Art 368)
- the Court "discovered", not invented, the doctrine — deriving it from the Constitution's spirit and Preamble
- elements: supremacy, rule of law, judicial review, federalism, secularism
- critique: a judicial creation with no textual basis.
- **Concl:** Whether discovered or created, the doctrine made explicit the Constitution's implicit identity — guarding it against destruction.
- **Cite:** *Kesavananda (1973), Minerva Mills (1980); Granville Austin.*

**8(b)** [15m] **Prime Minister's Office has emerged as the most powerful institution in India. Discuss.**

- **Intro:** The Prime Minister's Office has emerged as the nerve-centre of Indian governance.
- the PM's pre-eminence in a parliamentary system (Arts 74-75)
- the PMO coordinates ministries, policy, appointments and security
- "prime-ministerialisation"/presidentialisation
- strong PMs (Indira, Modi) centralised power
- concerns: the decline of cabinet and Parliament.
- **Concl:** The PMO's rise reflects executive centralisation — efficient, but a challenge to cabinet government and checks.
- **Cite:** *Arts 74-75; the "presidentialisation" thesis.*

**8(c)** [15m] **Comment on the relevance of DPSP in an era of liberalization and globalization.**

- **Intro:** In an era of liberalisation and globalisation, the welfare-oriented DPSP remain highly relevant.
- the DPSP (Arts 38-39, 41-43) mandate a welfare State and socio-economic justice
- liberalisation's inequality and "jobless growth" heighten their relevance
- a basis for welfare laws (MGNREGA, NFSA, RTE)
- DPSP read into Art 21 (health, livelihood, environment)
- tension with market logic.
- **Concl:** Far from obsolete, the DPSP are a vital counterweight to market excess — anchoring socio-economic justice.
- **Cite:** *Arts 38-39, 41-43; MGNREGA, NFSA; Art 21 jurisprudence.*

**PSIR Paper 1 · 2018****Section A — Political Theory, Western & Indian Thought****1(a)** [10m] **John Stuart Mill is a 'reluctant democrat'. - C. L. Wayper.**

- **Intro:** Mill championed democracy yet feared majority tyranny and mass mediocrity — hence a "reluctant democrat".
- for: representative government as the ideal, liberty, participation as education
- fears: the "tyranny of the majority", mob rule, the levelling of excellence
- safeguards: plural voting for the educated, proportional representation, the open ballot
- elitist qualifications on democracy
- liberty over pure majoritarianism.
- **Concl:** Mill embraced democracy only with safeguards against majority despotism — a cautious, qualified democrat.
- **Cite:** *J.S. Mill (On Liberty; Representative Government); C.L. Wayper.*

**1(b)** [10m] **Decline of Political Theory.**

- **Intro:** Mid-20th-century critics pronounced political theory "dead", eclipsed by empirical science.
- Laslett (1956): "political philosophy is dead"
- causes: logical positivism, behaviouralism, the fact-value divide, the "end of ideology"
- normative theory dismissed as metaphysics
- revival: Rawls (1971), Berlin.
- **Concl:** The "decline" was temporary — Rawls revived political philosophy.
- **Cite:** *Peter Laslett; Rawls (revival)*.

**1(c)** [10m] **Distributive Justice.**

- **Intro:** Distributive justice concerns the fair allocation of benefits and burdens in society.
- Aristotle: proportionate distribution by merit
- utilitarian: maximise aggregate welfare
- Rawls: the difference principle — favour the least advantaged
- Nozick: entitlement — just acquisition and transfer, not patterns
- Marx: "to each according to need".
- **Concl:** Distributive justice spans merit, welfare, fairness and need — the core debate of modern political philosophy.
- **Cite:** *Aristotle, Rawls, Nozick, Marx*.

**1(d)** [10m] **Substantive Democracy.**

- **Intro:** Substantive democracy looks beyond procedures to real outcomes — social and economic equality.
- procedural/minimal: elections and the rule of law (Schumpeter)
- substantive: the actual realisation of equality, rights, welfare and participation
- "social democracy" (Ambedkar)
- measured by the HDI, inclusion, dignity
- formal democracy can mask substantive inequality.
- **Concl:** True democracy is substantive — delivering equality and dignity, not merely procedures.
- **Cite:** *Ambedkar; cf. Schumpeter (procedural)*.

**1(e)** [10m] **"Nothing against the State, nothing over it, nothing beyond it." - Mussolini.**

- **Intro:** Mussolini's dictum captures fascism's totalitarian deification of the State.
- statolatry (Gentile) — the State as absolute, organic, ethical totality
- the subordination of the individual; corporatism
- anti-liberal and anti-individualist
- a leader-cult and one-party rule
- "everything within the State".
- **Concl:** It expresses fascist totalitarianism — the absolute, all-absorbing State above the individual.
- **Cite:** *Mussolini, Giovanni Gentile (The Doctrine of Fascism)*.

**2(a)** [20m] **Critically examine the neo-liberal theory of State.**

- **Intro:** Neo-liberalism revives the minimal State and market supremacy against the welfare State.
- Hayek, Friedman, Nozick — markets over planning; the State as a threat to liberty
- the "night-watchman"/minimal State; deregulation and privatisation
- "rolling back the State" (Thatcher-Reagan)
- critique: inequality, market failures, the 2008 crisis, the "market society" (Sandel).
- **Concl:** Neo-liberalism restored the minimal State, but its market fundamentalism produced inequality and crisis.
- **Cite:** *Hayek (The Road to Serfdom), Nozick, Friedman; cf. Sandel*.

**2(b)** [15m] **Analyse John Rawls justification of discrimination to achieve the goals of Justice.**

- **Intro:** Rawls justifies certain inequalities (a kind of "discrimination") through the difference principle.
- inequalities are just only if they benefit the least advantaged
- fair equality of opportunity precedes it
- the original position and veil of ignorance ground impartiality
- it legitimises welfare, redistribution and affirmative action
- not arbitrary discrimination but reasoned, justice-enhancing inequality.
- **Concl:** Rawls permits inequality only when it improves the worst-off — turning "discrimination" into a tool of justice.
- **Cite:** *Rawls (A Theory of Justice — the difference principle).*

**2(c)** [15m] **Equality means fair treatment rather than equal treatment. Comment.**

- **Intro:** Real equality often demands fair (differentiated) treatment, not identical treatment.
- formal equality: treat all alike — but this can entrench disadvantage
- substantive equality: treat unequals unequally to achieve fairness
- the basis for affirmative action and reservations
- Aristotle: justice as proportionate
- India: Arts 14-16, "reasonable classification".
- **Concl:** Genuine equality requires fair treatment sensitive to difference — not mechanical sameness.
- **Cite:** *Aristotle; Arts 14-16; Indra Sawhney.*

**3(a)** [20m] **What do you understand by three generations of Human Rights?**

- **Intro:** Karel Vasak classified rights into three "generations" by theme and historical emergence.
- first generation: civil and political rights ("liberty") — life, speech, vote
- second: socio-economic and cultural rights ("equality") — work, education, health
- third: solidarity/collective rights ("fraternity") — environment, development, peace, self-determination
- their indivisibility and interdependence.
- **Concl:** The three generations capture rights' expansion from liberty to equality to solidarity — together, indivisible.
- **Cite:** *Karel Vasak; the UDHR, ICCPR, ICESCR.*

**3(b)** [15m] **Critically examine Macpherson's views on Democracy.**

- **Intro:** Macpherson critiqued liberal democracy as compromised by "possessive individualism" and offered a developmental ideal.
- liberal-democratic theory is trapped in market assumptions (possessive individualism)
- four models: protective, developmental, equilibrium, participatory
- "developmental power" — human self-development for all
- a critique of the elitist "equilibrium" (Schumpeter) model
- a more egalitarian, participatory democracy.
- **Concl:** Macpherson sought to free democracy from market individualism — toward genuine human development.
- **Cite:** *C.B. Macpherson (The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy).*

**3(c)** [15m] **Explain the relationship between power, authority and legitimacy.**

- **Intro:** Power, authority and legitimacy are linked concepts at the heart of political rule.
- power: the capacity to influence (including force/coercion)
- authority: rightful/legitimate power — the right to command
- legitimacy: the belief in authority's rightfulness (Weber's three types)
- legitimacy converts power into authority
- a "legitimation crisis" (Habermas) erodes both.
- **Concl:** Legitimacy transforms naked power into rightful authority — the moral basis of stable rule.
- **Cite:** *Max Weber; David Beetham; Habermas.*

**4(a)** [20m] **John Locke is the father of liberalism. Explain.**

- **Intro:** Locke is widely called the "father of liberalism" for systematising its core ideas.
- natural rights — life, liberty and property
- government by consent; limited, constitutional rule
- separation of powers; the right to revolt
- religious toleration and the rule of law
- shaped the US Constitution and liberal democracy.
- **Concl:** Locke's rights, consent and limited government make him the foundational theorist of liberalism.
- **Cite:** *Locke (Two Treatises; A Letter Concerning Toleration)*.

**4(b)** [15m] **Discuss Ambedkar's ideas on annihilation of caste.**

- **Intro:** In Annihilation of Caste, Ambedkar argued that caste must be destroyed, not merely reformed.
- caste is not a division of labour but a "division of labourers" — graded inequality
- rooted in religious sanction (the Shastras)
- inter-caste marriage and dining as solvents; "the real remedy is the destruction of belief in the Shastras"
- a rejection of Gandhian varna reform
- liberty, equality, fraternity.
- **Concl:** Ambedkar called for annihilating caste at its religious roots — a radical agenda of social revolution.
- **Cite:** *B.R. Ambedkar (Annihilation of Caste, 1936)*.

**4(c)** [15m] **Critically examine Machiavelli's views on religion and politics.**

- **Intro:** Machiavelli treated religion instrumentally — as a tool for the unity and strength of the State.
- religion valued for civic utility, not truth — it fosters obedience, virtue and cohesion
- praised Roman religion; criticised the Church for weakening Italy and civic virtue
- the separation of politics from Christian morality (raison d'etat)
- the prince should appear religious.
- **Concl:** Machiavelli subordinated religion to statecraft — a secular, instrumental view that founded modern politics.
- **Cite:** *Machiavelli (The Prince; Discourses)*.

**Section B — Indian Government & Politics****5(a)** [10m] **Revolt of 1857 is a 'Sepoy Mutiny' or 'First War of Independence'.**

- **Intro:** The 1857 Revolt is contested between "Sepoy Mutiny" and "First War of Independence".
- the "mutiny" view: a limited sepoy military revolt, lacking national consciousness
- the "first war" view (Savarkar): a popular, planned, anti-colonial uprising
- causes: political (annexations), economic, religious (the cartridges), social
- limits: no pan-India spread, no unified leadership
- a watershed → Crown rule (1858).
- **Concl:** 1857 was more than a mutiny but less than a national war — a major anti-colonial upheaval and a turning point.
- **Cite:** *V.D. Savarkar; R.C. Majumdar; S.N. Sen*.

**5(b)** [10m] **Indian Constitution is a 'Lawyers' Paradise'. - Ivor Jennings.**

- **Intro:** Ivor Jennings called the Constitution a "lawyers' paradise" for its length, detail and legalism.
- the longest written constitution — exhaustive, technical detail
- many amendments and much litigation
- critics: rigid, legalistic, elitist
- defenders: detail suits India's diversity and ensures certainty (Austin)
- a "living document" through interpretation.
- **Concl:** Its detail invites litigation, but also provides the clarity a diverse, new democracy required.
- **Cite:** *Ivor Jennings; Granville Austin*.

**5(c) [10m] New Panchayat Raj is an effective instrument for women empowerment.**

- **Intro:** The 73rd Amendment made Panchayati Raj a powerful instrument of women's political empowerment.
- a third (now half in many States) of seats reserved for women (Art 243D)
- over a million women leaders
- a voice in local planning and gendered priorities
- but proxy rule ("Sarpanch-pati"), patriarchy and capacity gaps
- from presence to power.
- **Concl:** It opened historic space for women's leadership — though substantive empowerment requires ending proxy rule.
- **Cite:** *Art 243D; the 73rd Amendment.*

**5(d) [10m] Implementation of GST and NEET is a major challenge to Indian federalism.**

- **Intro:** GST and NEET illustrate the centralising pressure on India's federalism.
- GST (101st Amendment): "pooled sovereignty"; States lost independent taxation; the GST Council and compensation disputes
- NEET: a central exam over State medical admissions → friction (Tamil Nadu)
- a tension between uniformity and State autonomy
- "one nation" vs federal diversity.
- **Concl:** GST and NEET reveal the trade-off between national uniformity and State autonomy — testing cooperative federalism.
- **Cite:** *101st Amendment (GST); Art 279A; NEET.*

**5(e) [10m] Political personalities are more significant than political parties in India.**

- **Intro:** In India, personalities (leaders) often outweigh parties in shaping politics.
- leader-centric mobilisation, charisma, "presidentialised" campaigns
- weak intra-party democracy and dynasticism
- regional parties built around individuals (DMK, TMC, BSP)
- but parties provide organisation, ideology and continuity
- personalisation weakens institutions.
- **Concl:** Personality dominates Indian politics, but durable democracy needs strong, institutionalised parties.
- **Cite:** *Rajni Kothari; the "presidentialisation" thesis.*

**6(a) [20m] Whether judicial activism has undermined or strengthened Parliamentary Democracy in India? Discuss.**

- **Intro:** Whether judicial activism has strengthened or undermined parliamentary democracy is keenly debated.
- strengthened: protects rights and the basic structure, fills governance gaps (PIL — environment, Vishaka), checks the executive
- undermined: judicial overreach and policy-making, a breach of the separation of powers ("government by judiciary")
- the NJAC strike-down; PIL excess
- "activism, not adventurism".
- **Concl:** Activism has deepened constitutionalism but, unchecked, threatens the separation of powers — restraint is key.
- **Cite:** *Kesavananda, Vishaka (1997), NJAC (2015).*

**6(b) [15m] Do Lieutenant Governors have more powers than Governors of States? Explain.**

- **Intro:** In some Union Territories the Lieutenant Governor wields powers exceeding those of State Governors.
- Governors of States: largely nominal, bound by aid and advice (Art 163)
- LGs of UTs (Delhi, Puducherry): a more administrative role; Delhi's special status (Art 239AA)
- the Delhi NCT tussle: the SC (2018, 2023) held the LG bound by the elected government except on police, land and public order
- the GNCTD (Amendment) Acts.
- **Concl:** UT Lieutenant Governors can hold greater real power than State Governors — a source of federal-democratic friction.
- **Cite:** *Arts 163, 239AA; Govt of NCT of Delhi (2018, 2023).*

**6(c) [15m] Critically examine ethnic conflicts in North-East India.**

- **Intro:** The North-East's ethnic diversity has bred persistent identity-based conflict.
- a tribal/ethnic mosaic; "us vs them", "sons of the soil"
- insurgencies and autonomy/secession demands (Nagas, Mizos, Bodos)
- causes: relative deprivation, migration, identity, neglect
- State response: the Sixth Schedule, autonomous councils, accords, AFSPA
- Act East.
- **Concl:** Accommodating ethnic identity through autonomy and inclusive development is key to North-East peace.
- **Cite:** *the Sixth Schedule; Ted Gurr; Sanjib Baruah.*

**7(a) [20m] Examine the provisions of Panchayat Extension Services Act (PESA), 1996.**

- **Intro:** PESA (1996) extended Panchayati Raj to Fifth Schedule (tribal) areas with special self-governance powers.
- it empowers the Gram Sabha — control over minor forest produce, minor minerals, water and land alienation
- consultation before land acquisition and resettlement
- approval of plans and beneficiary selection
- recognition of customary law and traditional self-government
- poor implementation, diluted by States.
- **Concl:** PESA is a radical charter of tribal self-rule — but weak implementation has limited its promise.
- **Cite:** *PESA 1996; the Fifth Schedule; cf. FRA 2006.*

**7(b) [15m] Analyse arguments in favour and against lateral entry into higher civil services in India.**

- **Intro:** Lateral entry brings outside domain experts directly into senior civil-service posts.
- for: specialised expertise, fresh ideas, breaking the generalist monopoly and silos
- against: it bypasses merit and reservation, risks politicisation, lacks field experience, hurts morale
- the 2nd ARC and NITI Aayog recommended it
- recent UPSC-routed lateral appointments
- the "specialist vs generalist" debate.
- **Concl:** Lateral entry can inject expertise if done transparently, merit-based and with reservation safeguards.
- **Cite:** *2nd ARC; NITI Aayog; UPSC lateral recruitment.*

**7(c) [15m] Discuss asymmetrical federalism in India.**

- **Intro:** India's federalism is asymmetrical — different States and units enjoy different powers and arrangements.
- special provisions: Art 371 (the NE, Maharashtra, Gujarat etc.) and the former Art 370
- Sixth Schedule autonomous councils
- UTs vs States; special-category status (finance)
- it accommodates diversity and regional aspirations
- "holding-together" federalism.
- **Concl:** Asymmetry is India's tool to accommodate deep diversity — federal flexibility, not uniformity.
- **Cite:** *Arts 371, 244 (Sixth Schedule); "asymmetric/holding-together federalism".*

**8(a)** [20m] **Examine the various causes of agrarian crisis in India.**

- **Intro:** India faces a deep agrarian crisis of low incomes, debt and distress.
- small and fragmented holdings, low productivity, rising input costs
- price volatility, weak MSP access, indebtedness → farmer suicides
- groundwater depletion and climate stress
- poor marketing (APMC) and middlemen
- stagnant rural wages, disguised unemployment.
- **Concl:** Resolving the crisis needs income support, market and credit reform, irrigation and diversification — not just loan waivers.
- **Cite:** *M.S. Swaminathan (C2+50%); PM-KISAN; the agrarian-distress literature.*

**8(b)** [15m] **Explain the increasing role of regional political parties in national politics.**

- **Intro:** Regional parties have grown into decisive players in national politics.
- the coalition era (1989 onward) → kingmakers in the NDA/UPA
- they articulate regional and caste aspirations
- a stronger States' voice → bargaining federalism
- a check on central majoritarianism
- critique: parochialism, dynasticism, instability.
- **Concl:** Regional parties have federalised national politics — making coalition bargaining and regional voice central.
- **Cite:** *the coalition era; Yogendra Yadav; cooperative federalism.*

**8(c)** [15m] **Critically analyse the environmentalist movement in Tuticorin, Tamil Nadu.**

- **Intro:** The Tuticorin anti-Sterlite movement (2018) was a major environmental-justice protest against industrial pollution.
- protests against the Sterlite copper smelter's pollution and health harms
- police firing killed 13 protesters (May 2018)
- the State ordered the plant's closure
- "environmentalism of the poor" — livelihood and health
- it raised questions on EIA, the right to a clean environment (Art 21) and the policing of protest.
- **Concl:** Tuticorin exemplified grassroots environmental justice — and the lethal cost of unaccountable industry and policing.
- **Cite:** *the Sterlite case; Art 21 (clean environment); the NGT.*

**PSIR Paper 1 · 2017****Section A — Political Theory, Western & Indian Thought****1(a)** [10m] **According to Sri Aurobindo, Swaraj is a necessary condition for India to accomplish its destined goal.**

- **Intro:** For Aurobindo, Swaraj (complete independence) was the precondition for India's spiritual-civilisational destiny.
- early extremist — Purna Swaraj, passive resistance, boycott, Swadeshi
- Swaraj as the nation's soul-force and dharma
- India's destined mission of spiritual leadership to the world
- freedom as essential to that self-realisation
- a later turn to yoga and spiritual evolution.
- **Concl:** Aurobindo saw Swaraj as the indispensable condition for India to fulfil its spiritual destiny.
- **Cite:** *Sri Aurobindo (Bande Mataram; The Ideal of Human Unity).*

**1(b)** [10m] **Neo-liberal perspective of State.**

- **Intro:** The neo-liberal view favours a minimal State and free markets over the welfare State.
- Hayek, Nozick, Friedman — the State threatens liberty and efficiency
- the "night-watchman" State; deregulation and privatisation
- markets as superior coordinators
- critique: inequality and market failure.
- **Concl:** Neo-liberalism champions a lean State and free markets — but at the cost of equity.
- **Cite:** *Hayek, Nozick, Friedman.*

**1(c)** [10m] **Post-modernism.**

- **Intro:** Post-modernism rejects grand narratives, universal reason and fixed truths in politics and theory.
- "incredulity toward metanarratives" (Lyotard)
- power/knowledge and discourse (Foucault); deconstruction (Derrida)
- a critique of the Enlightenment, universalism and the unified subject
- it celebrates difference, plurality and the local
- critique: relativism and political paralysis.
- **Concl:** Post-modernism unsettles universal truths and foregrounds difference — empowering yet risking relativism.
- **Cite:** *Lyotard, Foucault, Derrida.*

**1(d)** [10m] **Eco-feminism.**

- **Intro:** Eco-feminism links the domination of women and the domination of nature under patriarchy.
- both women and nature are exploited by patriarchal-capitalist structures
- women seen as custodians of nature
- Vandana Shiva: the "feminine principle" and an anti-"maldevelopment" critique
- Chipko read as eco-feminist
- critique: essentialism (the women = nature equation).
- **Concl:** Eco-feminism unites ecological and gender justice — though its women-nature link is debated.
- **Cite:** *Vandana Shiva (Staying Alive); Maria Mies.*

**1(e)** [10m] **Hobbesian notion of Political Obligation.**

- **Intro:** For Hobbes, political obligation flows from the rational social contract to escape the state of nature.
- self-preservation drives consent to an absolute sovereign
- obligation grounded in self-interest and the covenant
- obey so long as the sovereign provides security
- no right to revolt, except when life itself is threatened
- a "negative" basis — fear and necessity.
- **Concl:** Hobbes grounds political obligation in rational self-interest and the need for security — obey in order to survive.
- **Cite:** *Hobbes (Leviathan).*

**2(a)** [20m] **Rawls' theory of justice is both contractual and distributive. Examine.**

- **Intro:** Rawls' justice is both contractual (in its derivation) and distributive (in its content).
- contractual: principles chosen in the original position behind a veil of ignorance
- distributive: the two principles — equal liberties + the difference principle
- a social-contract method with Kantian roots
- it distributes liberties, opportunities and primary goods
- it rejects utilitarian aggregation.
- **Concl:** Rawls fuses the contract method with a distributive outcome — a hypothetical agreement on fair distribution.
- **Cite:** *Rawls (A Theory of Justice).*

**2(b) [15m] Everywhere, inequality is a cause of revolution - Aristotle. Comment.**

- **Intro:** Aristotle held that perceived inequality is the chief cause of revolution and constitutional change.
- revolutions arise from a desire for equality (by the many) or superiority (by the few)
- "stasis" springs from distributive injustice
- democracies fall from the excess of the poor's claims, oligarchies from the rich's
- remedy: a large middle class and the "polity" (mixed constitution)
- proportionate justice.
- **Concl:** Aristotle located revolution in felt inequality — prescribing the middle class and the mixed constitution as stabilisers.
- **Cite:** *Aristotle (Politics, Book V)*.

**2(c) [15m] Define Socialism. Discuss the salient features of Fabian Socialism.**

- **Intro:** Socialism seeks social ownership and equality; Fabianism pursues these gradually and democratically.
- socialism: collective ownership, against capitalist exploitation, equality
- the Fabian Society (1884 — the Webbs, Shaw): "evolutionary", not revolutionary
- the "inevitability of gradualness"; permeation of institutions
- a democratic, parliamentary, reformist road to socialism
- it shaped the British Labour Party and welfare State and influenced Nehru.
- **Concl:** Fabian socialism is the gradual, democratic, reformist route to social ownership — not revolution.
- **Cite:** *Sidney and Beatrice Webb, G.B. Shaw; the Fabian Society*.

**3(a) [20m] What do you understand by Multiculturalism? Discuss Bhikhu Parekh's views on Multiculturalism.**

- **Intro:** Multiculturalism affirms the equal worth and rights of diverse cultural communities within a polity.
- recognition of cultural diversity beyond mere tolerance
- group rights and accommodation (Kymlicka, Taylor)
- Parekh: a "dialogical" multiculturalism — cultures interacting and mutually enriching; no culture is final
- "operative public values" arrived at through dialogue
- India as a model of plural coexistence.
- **Concl:** Parekh's dialogical multiculturalism seeks unity-in-diversity through inter-cultural dialogue, not assimilation.
- **Cite:** *Bhikhu Parekh (Rethinking Multiculturalism); Kymlicka, Taylor*.

**3(b) [15m] Deliberative democracy does not have salience without participation and participatory democracy lacks credence without deliberations. Comment.**

- **Intro:** Deliberation and participation are complementary — each is incomplete without the other.
- deliberative democracy: legitimacy through reasoned discourse (Habermas)
- participatory democracy: active citizen involvement (Pateman, Macpherson)
- deliberation without participation is elitist and empty
- participation without deliberation is mere aggregation or populism
- together: informed, inclusive self-government (India: the Gram Sabha, social audit).
- **Concl:** Robust democracy needs both reasoned deliberation and active participation — they reinforce each other.
- **Cite:** *Habermas (deliberative); Pateman, Macpherson (participatory)*.

**3(c) [15m] Differentiate between Freedom and Liberty. Discuss Marx's notion of freedom.**

- **Intro:** Freedom and liberty overlap but differ in emphasis; Marx redefines freedom as emancipation from necessity.
- liberty: often the absence of legal/external constraint (negative)
- freedom: a broader capacity for self-realisation (positive)
- Marx: bourgeois "liberty" is formal and illusory under capitalism
- true freedom = emancipation from exploitation and necessity (the "realm of freedom")
- overcoming alienation.
- **Concl:** For Marx, real freedom is not abstract liberty but liberation from class exploitation — a collective self-emancipation.
- **Cite:** *Marx (Capital, Vol. III — the "realm of freedom"); cf. Berlin.*

**4(a) [20m] Political democracy could not last unless social democracy lay at its base - B. R. Ambedkar. Comment.**

- **Intro:** Ambedkar warned that political democracy cannot endure without social democracy as its foundation.
- social democracy = liberty, equality and fraternity as "a way of life"
- political democracy atop social inequality is fragile
- his warning of "a life of contradictions — equality in politics, inequality in social and economic life"
- the annihilation of caste and constitutional safeguards
- fraternity as the binding value.
- **Concl:** Without social and economic democracy, political democracy is "a top dressing on undemocratic soil".
- **Cite:** *Ambedkar (Constituent Assembly speech, 25 Nov 1949).*

**4(b) [15m] Write a brief note on The End of History debate.**

- **Intro:** Fukuyama's "end of history" thesis claimed liberal democracy as the final form of human government.
- after 1989 and the Soviet collapse — liberal democracy and capitalism triumphant
- "the end point of mankind's ideological evolution"
- Hegelian/Kojevean roots
- critiques: Huntington's "clash of civilizations"; the return of authoritarianism, identity and religion; 9/11, populism
- history did not "end".
- **Concl:** The "end of history" proved over-optimistic — ideological and civilisational conflict persist.
- **Cite:** *Francis Fukuyama (The End of History); cf. Samuel Huntington.*

**4(c) [15m] What do you understand by Statecraft? Discuss Kautilya's theory of statecraft.**

- **Intro:** Kautilya's Arthashastra is a comprehensive, realist manual of statecraft.
- the Saptanga theory — the seven elements of the State
- the Mandala theory of inter-State relations and the four upayas (sama, dana, danda, bheda)
- an elaborate administration, espionage, economy and law
- Dandaniti — the science of governance
- welfare: the king's happiness lies in his subjects'.
- **Concl:** Kautilya's statecraft blends hard-headed realism with welfare — a sophisticated theory of governance and diplomacy.
- **Cite:** *Kautilya (Arthashastra).*

**Section B — Indian Government & Politics**

**5(a) [10m] The success of Mahatma Gandhi lay in transforming both political and non-political movements into a unified nationalist movement.**

- **Intro:** Gandhi's genius lay in fusing diverse political and social movements into one mass national struggle.
- he linked political freedom with social reform (untouchability, khadi, Hindu-Muslim unity) — the Constructive Programme
- mass techniques (Satyagraha) across class, caste, region and gender
- the moralisation of politics
- he converted elite politics into a mass movement.
- **Concl:** Gandhi unified political and social struggles into a single, mass, moral national movement.
- **Cite:** *Gandhi (Constructive Programme); Bipan Chandra.*

**5(b) [10m] Right to privacy is an intrinsic part of the right to life.**

- **Intro:** The Supreme Court held the right to privacy to be an intrinsic part of the right to life (Art 21).
- Puttaswamy (2017): a nine-judge bench unanimously recognised privacy as a fundamental right
- it flows from Art 21 (life and liberty) and dignity
- it overruled M.P. Sharma and Kharak Singh
- implications: Aadhaar, data protection, decriminalisation (Sec 377, adultery)
- the proportionality test.
- **Concl:** Privacy is now a constitutionally protected facet of life and liberty — a landmark for digital-age rights.
- **Cite:** *K.S. Puttaswamy (2017); Art 21.*

**5(c) [10m] Indian federation has moved from cooperative federation to competitive federation.**

- **Intro:** India's federalism has shifted from cooperative toward competitive federalism.
- cooperative: Centre-State collaboration (the GST Council, NITI, planning)
- competitive: States compete for investment and rankings (ease of business, Aspirational Districts)
- NITI Aayog promotes both
- risks: inter-State inequality; benefits: efficiency and a reform incentive
- "competitive cooperative federalism".
- **Concl:** India increasingly blends cooperative and competitive federalism — collaboration plus a race to reform.
- **Cite:** *NITI Aayog; "competitive federalism" rankings.*

**5(d) [10m] State subvention/funding may be an effective instrument in strengthening electoral democracy in India.**

- **Intro:** State funding of elections is proposed to curb the role of money power and corruption.
- aims: a level playing field, less illicit/corporate funding, a check on quid pro quo
- models: full vs partial; in-kind (the Indrajit Gupta Committee)
- for: cleaner politics and equality
- against: fiscal cost, regulatory difficulty, the opacity of electoral bonds
- it needs internal party reform first.
- **Concl:** State funding could clean up election finance — but only alongside transparency and intra-party reform.
- **Cite:** *Indrajit Gupta Committee (1998); Law Commission 255th Report; electoral bonds.*

**5(e) [10m] In the post-liberalization era, Indian politics is moving from ascriptive politics to developmental politics.**

- **Intro:** Post-liberalisation, Indian politics is said to be shifting from ascriptive (identity) to developmental (governance) concerns.
- ascriptive: caste, religion and region as the prime axis
- developmental: "vikas", welfare delivery, governance, beneficiary politics
- an aspirational, urbanising electorate
- but identity persists, often realigned
- a blend rather than a clean shift.
- **Concl:** Development has gained ground, but ascriptive identity endures — Indian politics now mixes both.
- **Cite:** *Yogendra Yadav (CSDS-Lokniti); "labharthi" politics.*

**6(a) [20m] Differentiate parliamentary supremacy from parliamentary sovereignty. Would you consider the Indian Parliament as a Sovereign Parliament?**

- **Intro:** Parliamentary sovereignty (UK) means unlimited legislative power; the Indian Parliament is not sovereign.
- UK: Parliament is legally sovereign — no codified limits, no judicial review of laws (Dicey)
- India: a written Constitution is supreme, not Parliament
- Parliament is limited by FRs, federalism, judicial review and the basic structure (Kesavananda)
- the Art 368 amending power is bounded
- "constitutional supremacy".
- **Concl:** Unlike the UK, India has constitutional, not parliamentary, supremacy — Parliament is powerful but not sovereign.
- **Cite:** *A.V. Dicey (UK); Kesavananda (1973); Art 368.*

**6(b) [15m] Has the 73rd Constitutional Amendment empowered women in panchayats in India? Discuss.**

- **Intro:** The 73rd Amendment opened panchayats to women through reservation — with mixed empowerment.
- a third (now half in many States) of seats and chairs reserved (Art 243D)
- over a million women representatives
- leadership and gendered priorities
- but "Sarpanch-pati"/proxy rule, patriarchy and capacity gaps.
- **Concl:** It enabled women's entry into local power, but real empowerment needs ending proxy rule and building capacity.
- **Cite:** *Art 243D; the 73rd Amendment.*

**6(c) [15m] Religion is still an important factor in Indian politics. Discuss.**

- **Intro:** Religion remains an important and contested factor in Indian politics.
- communal mobilisation, vote banks, identity polarisation
- symbolism and the Mandir-Masjid axis
- RPA Sec 123 (corrupt practice — Abhiram Singh, 2017)
- in tension with constitutional secularism (S.R. Bommai)
- debates over Indian "principled-distance" secularism.
- **Concl:** Religion's persistent political salience challenges India's secular ideal — demanding firm secular norms.
- **Cite:** *RPA Sec 123; Abhiram Singh (2017); S.R. Bommai.*

**7(a) [20m] India has moved from one-party dominant system to one-party led coalition. Discuss.**

- **Intro:** India's party system moved from Congress dominance to a one-party-led coalition order.
- the "Congress system" (Kothari) — one-party dominance with internal pluralism
- decline after 1967/1989 → the coalition era (NF, UF, NDA, UPA)
- recently a one-party-led (BJP) coalition/dominance
- regionalisation, social cleavages, alliances
- a "fourth party system" (Yadav).
- **Concl:** India shifted from single-party dominance to coalitions, and now to a dominant-party-led coalition — a federalised system.
- **Cite:** *Rajni Kothari ("Congress system"); Yogendra Yadav.*

**7(b) [15m] How is the President of India elected? Outline salient characteristics of the electoral college of the Indian President.**

- **Intro:** The President is elected indirectly by an electoral college through proportional representation.
- the electoral college: elected MPs + elected MLAs (Art 54)
- proportional representation by the single transferable vote, by secret ballot (Art 55)
- the value of votes is weighted by population (MLAs) and uniformity (MPs)
- a "winning quota"
- election disputes decided by the Supreme Court.
- **Concl:** The President's election balances the Union and the States through a weighted, proportional electoral college.
- **Cite:** *Arts 54-55; the single transferable vote.*

**7(c) [15m] Examine the role of National Commission for Minorities in preserving, promoting and protecting minority rights in India.**

- **Intro:** The NCM (1992) is the statutory body to safeguard the rights of notified minorities.
- six notified minorities; the constitutional anchor of Arts 29-30
- functions: monitor safeguards, evaluate development, redress grievances, advise
- limits: recommendatory, weak enforcement
- the Sachar Committee on Muslim backwardness.
- **Concl:** The NCM promotes minority safeguards but needs stronger powers and real teeth.
- **Cite:** *NCM Act 1992; Arts 29-30; the Sachar Committee.*

**8(a) [20m] Judiciary has acquired the role of both legislature and executive in recent years. Examine with examples.**

- **Intro:** Through activism the judiciary has at times assumed legislative and executive functions.
- "judicial legislation": the Vishaka guidelines, environmental norms, filling legal vacuums
- an "executive" role: continuing mandamus, monitoring administration, policy directions
- via PIL and Art 142 ("complete justice")
- this blurs the separation of powers (Art 50)
- the debate: activism vs overreach.
- **Concl:** The Court's expansive role fills governance gaps but risks the separation of powers — calling for self-restraint.
- **Cite:** *Vishaka (1997); Art 142; "judicial overreach".*

**8(b)** [15m] **What is Green Revolution? Is a Second Green Revolution needed to address agrarian challenges?**

- **Intro:** The Green Revolution achieved food self-sufficiency; a "Second" one is now urged for sustainability and the east.
- 1960s-70s: HYV seeds, irrigation and fertilisers → wheat/rice surpluses (Punjab, Haryana)
- costs: groundwater, soil, regional and crop imbalance, distress
- a Second Green Revolution: eastern India, pulses/oilseeds/millet, sustainable and climate-resilient, new tech (biotech, precision)
- the "evergreen revolution" (Swaminathan).
- **Concl:** A Second, "evergreen" revolution must be sustainable, diversified and equitable — correcting the first's excesses.
- **Cite:** *M.S. Swaminathan ("evergreen revolution")*.

**8(c)** [15m] **Differentiate Moderate Nationalism from Extremist/Militant Nationalism in terms of objectives and means.**

- **Intro:** The national movement's early phase split between Moderates and Extremists over objectives and methods.
- Moderates (1885-1905 — Naoroji, Gokhale): constitutional methods, the "3 P's", faith in British justice, gradual reform
- Extremists (Tilak, Lajpat Rai, Bipin Pal): Swaraj as a birthright, self-reliance, boycott, Swadeshi, militancy
- the Surat Split (1907)
- different means, a shared anti-colonial goal.
- **Concl:** Moderates built the base through constitutional means; Extremists radicalised the goal to Swaraj — together advancing the movement.
- **Cite:** *Gokhale (Moderate); Tilak (Extremist); the Surat Split (1907)*.

**PSIR Paper 1 · 2016****Section A — Political Theory, Western & Indian Thought****1(a)** [10m] **"How would I and my fellow human beings behave if we were to find ourselves in a pre-state of nature, and what does this behaviour tell us about our innate pre-dispositions?" (Thomas Hobbes).**

- **Intro:** Hobbes' thought-experiment of the state of nature reveals what he saw as humanity's innate dispositions.
- without a common power, humans are driven by competition, diffidence and glory
- self-interest, fear and the desire for self-preservation
- the result: a "war of all against all"; life "nasty, brutish and short"
- a pessimistic, mechanistic view of human nature
- hence the need for the absolute Leviathan.
- **Concl:** For Hobbes, our innate self-interested, fearful nature makes an absolute sovereign necessary for peace.
- **Cite:** *Hobbes (Leviathan)*.

**1(b)** [10m] **The Post-Behavioural Approach.**

- **Intro:** Post-behaviouralism corrected behaviouralism's value-neutrality, demanding relevance and action.
- Easton's 1969 "Credo of Relevance"
- "relevance and action" over technique
- knowledge to address real social crises
- scholars as defenders of human values
- it retains rigour but restores purpose.
- **Concl:** Post-behaviouralism reconciled scientific rigour with social relevance and engaged purpose.
- **Cite:** *David Easton (1969)*.

**1(c) [10m] Affirmative Action.**

- **Intro:** Affirmative action is positive discrimination to redress historical group disadvantage.
- it aims at substantive equality
- India: Arts 15(4), 16(4); Indra Sawhney (the 50% cap, the creamy layer)
- for: justice, representation, diversity
- against: merit and "reverse discrimination"
- outcome vs opportunity.
- **Concl:** A tool of substantive equality — to be calibrated and time-bound.
- **Cite:** *Indra Sawhney (1992); Arts 15-16.*

**1(d) [10m] Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's idea of state socialism.**

- **Intro:** Ambedkar advocated "State Socialism" to secure economic democracy and prevent exploitation.
- in States and Minorities — State ownership of key industries, agriculture and insurance
- a constitutional, not revolutionary, socialism — established "by law"
- protection against private concentration and exploitation
- linking political with economic democracy
- collective farming.
- **Concl:** Ambedkar sought a constitutionally guaranteed State Socialism to underpin real democracy with economic justice.
- **Cite:** *Ambedkar (States and Minorities, 1947).*

**1(e) [10m] Gramsci's concept of Hegemony.**

- **Intro:** Hegemony is the ruling class's domination through consent, exercised via civil society.
- moral and intellectual leadership, not just coercion
- civil society (school, church, media) manufactures consent
- the "war of position" vs the "war of manoeuvre"
- organic intellectuals and counter-hegemony.
- **Concl:** Hegemony explains capitalism's durability — rule by consent as much as by force.
- **Cite:** *Gramsci (Prison Notebooks).*

**2(a) [20m] "The political ideology of Globalization is Neo-liberalism." Comment.**

- **Intro:** Globalisation, in its dominant form, has been driven by the ideology of neo-liberalism.
- neo-liberalism: free markets, free trade and capital, deregulation, privatisation
- the "Washington Consensus" and IMF/World Bank conditionality
- rolling back the State; the market over society
- critique: inequality, loss of sovereignty, the 2008 crisis (Stiglitz, Polanyi)
- alter-globalisation movements.
- **Concl:** Mainstream globalisation has been neo-liberal in ideology — spreading markets, but also inequality and discontent.
- **Cite:** *Joseph Stiglitz; Karl Polanyi; the Washington Consensus.*

**2(b) [15m] Discuss Feminist theory of the State.**

- **Intro:** Feminists argue the State is patriarchal, not gender-neutral.
- liberal: the State is reformable through equal rights
- radical: it is inherently patriarchal — "male in form and content" (MacKinnon)
- Marxist/socialist: it serves capital and patriarchy
- the public-private divide hides oppression
- post-structural: diverse, gendered power.
- **Concl:** The State is a gendered institution — feminism unmask its claimed neutrality.
- **Cite:** *Catharine MacKinnon, Carole Pateman.*

**2(c)** [15m] **Critically examine John Rawls' argument for democratic equality.**

- **Intro:** Rawls' "democratic equality" combines fair equality of opportunity with the difference principle.
- it rejects "natural liberty" (formal equality only) and "liberal equality" (opportunity alone)
- "democratic equality" = fair equality of opportunity + the difference principle
- inequalities are just only if they benefit the least advantaged
- it corrects for the morally arbitrary lottery of birth and talent
- derived from the original position.
- **Concl:** Democratic equality is Rawls' fairest reading of the second principle — equal opportunity plus benefit to the worst-off.
- **Cite:** *Rawls (A Theory of Justice)*.

**3(a)** [20m] **Discuss Sri Aurobindo's views on Cultural Nationalism.**

- **Intro:** Aurobindo grounded Indian nationalism in a spiritual-cultural vision of the nation as a living divinity.
- the nation as "Mother" — a spiritual being
- India's civilisational, spiritual mission
- Swaraj as soul-force and self-realisation
- cultural revival as the basis of political freedom
- critique: it risks conflating nation with religion.
- **Concl:** Aurobindo's cultural nationalism fused spirituality and politics — making freedom a quest for the nation's soul.
- **Cite:** *Sri Aurobindo (Bande Mataram; The Spirit and Form of Indian Polity)*.

**3(b)** [15m] **Explain Marx's understanding of Human Essence and Alienation.**

- **Intro:** Marx held that capitalism alienates humans from their creative "species-being" (essence).
- the human essence = free, conscious, creative productive activity (species-being)
- under capitalism, labour becomes coerced and commodified
- four alienations: from the product, the process, species-being and others
- private property and the division of labour as the cause
- communism as the recovery of the human essence.
- **Concl:** Alienation estranges humans from their creative essence — overcome only by transcending capitalism.
- **Cite:** *Marx (Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts, 1844)*.

**3(c)** [15m] **"The implementation of human rights is regarded as a matter of changing the conduct of States." Comment.**

- **Intro:** Realising human rights is largely a matter of altering the conduct of States, the main duty-bearers.
- States are both the primary protectors and the primary violators of rights
- implementation: treaties, monitoring, domestic incorporation
- international pressure, naming-and-shaming, courts
- but sovereignty, non-intervention and weak enforcement
- the "responsibility to protect" debate.
- **Concl:** Since States are the chief duty-bearers, protecting rights means constraining and reforming State conduct.
- **Cite:** *the UDHR; the international human-rights regime; R2P*.

**4(a)** [20m] **Discuss Hannah Arendt's analysis of the role of Ideology in modern totalitarian regimes.**

- **Intro:** Arendt analysed how ideology became a weapon of total domination in modern totalitarian regimes.
- ideology = the logic of a single idea (race, class) claiming to explain all of history
- it asserts a total, "scientific" certainty
- combined with terror to remould reality and destroy plurality
- it isolates atomised individuals ("loneliness")
- Nazism and Stalinism as novel forms of total domination.
- **Concl:** For Arendt, ideology plus terror enabled totalitarianism's unprecedented assault on human plurality and freedom.
- **Cite:** *Hannah Arendt (The Origins of Totalitarianism)*.

**4(b)** [15m] **Explicate the features of Representative Democracy.**

- **Intro:** Representative democracy entrusts governance to elected representatives accountable to the people.
- periodic, free and fair elections; universal adult franchise
- government by elected representatives, not direct rule
- accountability, responsibility and the rule of law
- political parties, opposition and civil liberties
- majority rule with minority rights
- as against direct/participatory democracy.
- **Concl:** Representative democracy makes mass self-government feasible — rule by accountable, elected representatives.
- **Cite:** *J.S. Mill; Schumpeter; Robert Dahl (polyarchy)*.

**4(c)** [15m] **Examine Gandhi's critique of Modernisation.**

- **Intro:** In Hind Swaraj, Gandhi launched a radical critique of modern (Western) civilisation and industrial modernity.
- modern civilisation as a "disease" — materialism, greed, machinery, exploitation
- it enslaves both coloniser and colonised
- the alternative: simple living, self-reliance, decentralisation, ethics
- a critique of railways, lawyers and doctors as instruments of bondage
- Swaraj as moral, not merely political.
- **Concl:** Gandhi rejected industrial modernity for an ethical, decentralised, self-reliant civilisation — a moral critique of "progress".
- **Cite:** *Gandhi (Hind Swaraj, 1909)*.

**Section B — Indian Government & Politics****5(a)** [10m] **Critically examine the Radical Humanist perspective on Indian National Movement.**

- **Intro:** M.N. Roy's Radical Humanist perspective critiqued the national movement's leadership and ideology.
- Roy: the movement was bourgeois-led, not truly revolutionary
- it neglected the masses' economic emancipation
- a critique of both Gandhian spiritualism and nationalism's irrationalism
- his call for "New Humanism" — rationalism, freedom, decentralised radical democracy
- nationalism as a transitional, limited force.
- **Concl:** Radical Humanism judged the movement as incomplete — demanding rational, humanist, mass emancipation beyond nationalism.
- **Cite:** *M.N. Roy (Radical Humanism; New Humanism)*.

**5(b) [10m] Cultural and Regional differences are the enduring bases on which politics is played out in India.**

- **Intro:** India's politics is enduringly played out along cultural and regional lines.
- language, region, ethnicity and sub-nationalism shape political identity
- linguistic States, regional parties, "sons of the soil"
- federal accommodation of diversity
- cultural pluralism as both a strength and a fault-line
- regionalism vs national integration.
- **Concl:** Cultural and regional diversity is the durable terrain of Indian politics — federally managed, not erased.
- **Cite:** *Rajni Kothari; the linguistic reorganisation; the regionalism literature.*

**5(c) [10m] Article 368 does not enable Parliament to alter the basic structure or framework of the Constitution.**

- **Intro:** Article 368 empowers Parliament to amend the Constitution but not to alter its basic structure.
- Art 368 — the amending procedure (special majority, some amendments needing State ratification)
- Kesavananda (1973): Parliament cannot destroy the "basic structure"
- Minerva Mills: a limited amending power is itself basic structure
- struck down clauses of the 42nd and 99th Amendments
- "constituent power is not unlimited".
- **Concl:** Art 368's amending power is wide but bounded — it cannot demolish the Constitution's basic identity.
- **Cite:** *Art 368; Kesavananda (1973); Minerva Mills (1980).*

**5(d) [10m] The purpose of the 42nd Constitutional Amendment was to make the economic and social democracy explicitly visible.**

- **Intro:** The 42nd Amendment (1976) sought to make socio-economic democracy explicit, among sweeping changes.
- it added "Socialist", "Secular" and "Integrity" to the Preamble
- new DPSPs (Arts 39A, 43A, 48A) and Fundamental Duties (Art 51A)
- Art 31C primacy of DPSP over some FRs
- but it also curbed judicial review and extended terms (the "mini-Constitution")
- much was reversed by the 44th Amendment and Minerva Mills.
- **Concl:** The 42nd Amendment foregrounded socio-economic goals but also tilted toward authoritarianism — later partly reversed.
- **Cite:** *the 42nd Amendment (1976); Arts 39A, 48A, 51A; Minerva Mills (1980).*

**5(e) [10m] The philosophy and administration of the distribution of powers between Centre and State is required to be re-assessed.**

- **Intro:** There are recurring demands to re-assess the Centre-heavy distribution of powers.
- the strong-Centre bias: the Union and Concurrent Lists, residuary powers, Art 356, fiscal centralisation
- demands for greater State autonomy (the Rajamannar Committee, the West Bengal memorandum)
- commissions: Sarkaria, Punchhi — cooperative federalism
- GST, cesses and central agencies reignite the debate
- devolution and fiscal federalism.
- **Concl:** A periodic re-assessment toward genuine cooperative federalism is warranted to balance unity with State autonomy.
- **Cite:** *the Sarkaria and Punchhi Commissions; the 7th Schedule; the Rajamannar Committee.*

**6(a)** [20m] **Critically examine the politics of Economic growth in India.**

- **Intro:** India's economic-growth strategy has been deeply shaped by, and has shaped, its politics.
- Nehruvian State-led planning → the 1991 liberalisation (a political-economy shift)
- "growth coalitions", business-State relations, crony-capitalism concerns
- growth vs equity; "jobless growth" and inequality
- welfare/"labharthi" politics and freebies
- federal competition for investment.
- **Concl:** Growth in India is a political project — its pattern reflects shifting coalitions, ideology and the growth-equity tension.
- **Cite:** *Pranab Bardhan; Atul Kohli; the 1991 reforms.*

**6(b)** [15m] **Comment on the emergence of Backward Classes in Indian Politics.**

- **Intro:** The rise of the Backward Classes (OBCs) transformed Indian politics, especially after Mandal.
- from a social to a political category — the Kalelkar and Mandal Commissions
- the Mandal moment (1990): 27% OBC reservation → assertion
- Indra Sawhney (1992): upheld with the creamy layer and the 50% cap
- OBC parties (SP, RJD, JD(U)) — the "second democratic upsurge"
- social-justice politics.
- **Concl:** The OBC ascendancy democratised power, shifting it toward the numerically dominant backward classes.
- **Cite:** *the Mandal Commission; Indra Sawhney (1992); Yogendra Yadav.*

**6(c)** [15m] **Discuss the pattern of political parties from one dominant party system to coalition politics in national politics.**

- **Intro:** India's party system evolved from Congress dominance to coalition politics.
- the "Congress system" (Kothari) — one-party dominance with internal pluralism
- decline after 1967/1989
- the coalition era (NF, UF, NDA, UPA)
- regional parties as kingmakers
- recently a dominant-party-led coalition.
- **Concl:** From one-party dominance to coalitions — a more competitive, federalised party system.
- **Cite:** *Rajni Kothari; Yogendra Yadav.*

**7(a)** [20m] **Land reforms have failed in the eradication of rural poverty. Comment.**

- **Intro:** India's land reforms largely failed to eradicate rural poverty.
- measures: zamindari abolition, tenancy reform, land ceilings, consolidation
- successes: the abolition of intermediaries; Operation Barga (WB), Kerala
- failures: weak political will, loopholes (benami), poor land records, landlord evasion
- persistent landlessness and inequality
- an unfinished agenda.
- **Concl:** Land reform abolished intermediaries but failed at redistribution — leaving rural poverty and landlessness largely intact.
- **Cite:** *Operation Barga; the land-reform literature; SVAMITVA.*

**7(b)** [15m] **Critically examine the role of the Governor in recent times.**

- **Intro:** The Governor's office has become controversial for partisan and discretionary conduct.
- a constitutional head bound by aid and advice (Art 163), but with some discretion
- controversies: government formation in hung Houses, Art 356, sitting on or reserving bills (Arts 200-201)
- the "agent of the Centre" critique
- recent SC strictures (the Tamil Nadu, Punjab cases)
- the Sarkaria/Punchhi reforms.
- **Concl:** The Governor must act as a neutral constitutional head, not a central agent — reforms in appointment and conduct are overdue.
- **Cite:** *Arts 163, 200-201, 356; S.R. Bommai; the Sarkaria/Punchhi Commissions.*

**7(c) [15m] Discuss the Right to Information and underline the challenges being posed before it.**

- **Intro:** The RTI Act 2005 empowered citizens with transparency — but faces mounting challenges.
- access to information; Sec 4 suo-motu disclosure; the CIC and SICs
- it exposed corruption (PDS, MGNREGA)
- challenges: the 2019 amendment (CIC tenure), vacancies and backlogs, attacks on RTI activists, wide exemptions, the DPDP 2023 dilution of Sec 8(1)(j)
- implementation gaps.
- **Concl:** RTI is the "oxygen of democracy" — protecting the CIC's independence and curbing dilution are vital to keep it effective.
- **Cite:** *the RTI Act 2005; the 2019 amendment; the CIC.*

**8(a) [20m] The goal of Good Governance will be achieved only by strengthening grassroots democracy.**

- **Intro:** Good governance is best achieved by strengthening grassroots (local) democracy.
- good governance: participation, transparency, accountability, rule of law, responsiveness (UNDP/2nd ARC)
- grassroots democracy (PRIs/ULBs) brings government closer to the people
- social audit, the Gram Sabha, local planning, last-mile delivery
- but weak devolution undermines it
- the subsidiarity principle.
- **Concl:** Empowered grassroots institutions are the foundation of good governance — devolution makes governance participatory and accountable.
- **Cite:** *the 2nd ARC; the 73rd/74th Amendments; the subsidiarity principle.*

**8(b) [15m] Examine the objective and role of the National Human Rights Commission.**

- **Intro:** The NHRC (1993) is the apex statutory body for the protection of human rights.
- objectives: protect and promote rights; inquire into violations
- powers: inquiry, recommendation, custodial-death monitoring, awareness
- limits: recommendatory only, the one-year bar, no direct armed-forces jurisdiction (Sec 19), resource dependence
- the Paris Principles benchmark.
- **Concl:** The NHRC advances rights but, lacking binding power and autonomy, remains a partly "toothless" watchdog.
- **Cite:** *PHRA 1993; the Paris Principles; Sec 19.*

**8(c) [15m] Critically examine the provisions made in the Constitution for protection of environment.**

- **Intro:** The Constitution provides a robust framework for environmental protection.
- DPSP: Art 48A (protect the environment, forests and wildlife)
- Fundamental Duty: Art 51A(g)
- Art 21 read to include the right to a clean and healthy environment (judicial)
- the 42nd Amendment added these
- judiciary: M.C. Mehta, the precautionary and polluter-pays principles, the NGT
- EPA 1986 under Art 253.
- **Concl:** Through Arts 48A, 51A(g) and 21, the Constitution makes environmental protection a State duty and a citizen's right.
- **Cite:** *Arts 48A, 51A(g), 21; the M.C. Mehta cases; the NGT.*