NEXT IAS

CSE (MAINS) TEST SERIES - 2023

Test-09

Dated : 19-08-2023

POLITICAL SCIENCE & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

PAPER-I *(Full Syllabus)*

Time Allowed : Three Hours | **Maximum Marks: 250**

QUESTION PAPER SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS

(Please read each of the following instructions carefully before attempting questions)

There are **EIGHT** questions. Candidate has to attempt **FIVE** questions in all.

Question no 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining THREE are to be attempted. Among these THREE questions, one should be from each section.

Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the Admission certification which must be stated clearly on the cover of this Question-cum-Answer (QCA) booklet in the space provided. No marks will be given for answers written in medium other than the authorized one.

Word limit in questions, wherever specified, should be adhered to.

Attempts of questions shall be counted in chronological order. Unless struck off, attempt of a question shall be counted even if attempted partly. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the answer book must be clearly struck off.

DELHI CENTRE:
27-B, Pusa Road, Metro Pillar no. 118,
Near Karol Bagh Metro, New Delhi-110060
Phone: 8081300200

BHOPAL CENTRE:
Plot No. 46 Zone - 2, M.P Nagar,
Bhopal - 462011
Phone: 8827664612, 8081300200

SECTION-A

Q.1 Answer the following questions in about 150 words each:

(a) Discuss the Harm Principle of Mill. *(10 Marks, 150 Words)*

(b) Plato's theory of justice reflects totalitarianism in his ideas. Discuss. *(10 Marks, 150 Words)*

(c) Revolution is the indispensable midwife of social change' (Karl Marx) *(10 Marks, 150 Words)*

(d) Examine the difference Principle in Rawls' theory of justice *(10 Marks, 150 Words)*

(e) Discuss the multiculturalist view of rights/Human Rights. *(10 Marks, 150 Words)*

Q.2 (a) How Gramsci has differentiated Hegemony from Domination. What is the role of intellectuals in creating hegemony in society? *(15 Marks, 200 Words)*

(b) Explain how deliberative democracy reflects both- collective will as well personal freedom. Also, discuss how Deliberative is different from participatory democracy *(15 Marks, 200 Words)*

(c) Power is resorted when the authority fails to get legitimacy in society. In light of this statement, discuss the relation among Power, authority and legitimacy. *(20 Marks, 250 Words)*

Q.3 (a) Arthshastra does not directly concern with the state, yet it is an influential treatise on statecraft. Examine. *(15 Marks, 200 Words)*

(b) How is radical feminism different from another perspective of feminism? Are they contradictory? *(15 Marks, 200 Words)*

(c) Discuss how Gandhi's concept of Swaraj did not simply mean political independence from foreign rule; it also implied the idea of cultural and moral independence. *(20 Marks, 250 Words)*

Q.4 (a) In Marxist ideology, the basis of everything is materialistic, which makes it narrow in its analysis of the nature of the state. Critically examine. *(15 Marks, 200 Words)*

(b) Do you agree that Behavioural revolution makes political science indeed a science of politics? *(15 Marks, 200 Words)*

(c) Trace the evolution of the relationship of state and individual in Western political thought from ancient to contemporary times. *(20 Marks, 250 Words)*

SECTION-B

Q.5 Answer the following questions in about 150 words each:

(a) Discuss the liberal perspective of the national movement. *(10 Marks, 150 Words)*

(b) Makers of the Indian constitution have tried to accommodate the social and cultural diversity of Indian society within the democratic framework. Examine. *(10 Marks, 150 Words)*

(c) Fundamental Rights and Directive Principle of States are not in conflict with each other instead, both complement each other. Examine. *(10 Marks, 150 Words)*

(d) Explain how the Green Revolution has a significant role in increasing political participation. *(10 Marks, 150 Words)*

(e) Explain the evolution of strategies within the environmental movement in India, highlighting some recent environmental movements that exemplify these changes. *(10 Marks, 150 Words)*

Q.6 (a) Discuss the constitutional provisions related to the Election Commission Of India and also examine the challenges involved in its appointment process. *(15 Marks, 200 Words)*

(b) Evaluate the success of constitutional methods in Indian National Movements. *(15 Marks, 200 Words)*

(c) Do you agree that Panchayati Raj Institutions have been successful in decentralising the governing powers at the grass root level? How far does it remain effective? *(20 Marks, 250 Words)*

Q.7 (a) Discuss the tools of cooperative federalism in the Indian constitution. Discuss the challenges it is facing in recent times. *(15 Marks, 200 Words)*

(b) Discuss the factors responsible for the decline in the productivity of parliament in recent times. *(15 Marks, 200 Words)*

(c) What are the current challenges faced by the Indian judiciary, and suggest reforms to address these issues to ensure a more effective and efficient legal system. *(20 Marks, 250 Words)*

Q.8 (a) Discuss changing profile of Indian legislators. Analyse its impact on the role of the parliament as a deliberative and legislative body. *(15 Marks, 200 Words)*

(b) Examine the reasons for the issue of ethnicity in the northeast. Also, explain how it impacts the development of the region. *(15 Marks, 200 Words)*

(c) Discuss the nature of women's movements in India. Also, critically examine the success of these movements in increasing the political participation of women in the democratic process. *(20 Marks, 250 Words)*

■■■■

Candidates must not write on this margin

Name: Rekulwar Shubham

- : 9871 392 347

Roll no: MT23 PSIL 1032

06/09/23



Candidates must
write on this s



Candidates must not write on this margin

1(a) It is said that, if there is anyone liberal in true sense it is J.S. Mill. He in 'On Liberty' gave a comprehensive idea of liberty from liberal perspective.

Mill gives freedom of speech and expression and liberty the highest importance and he suggests maximum possible liberty to individual.

The only limitation, is when one's liberty harms others. Thus, he gives 'harm principle'. He categorises human actions into

① self Regarding
② Other regarding.

No role of state in self regarding. According to Mill, the only condition when mankind is warranted

to interfere in liberty of others collectively or individually is harm to others. Even harm to oneself is not sufficient warrant.

He justifies it by saying that no state can become great by dwarfing individual.

Mill's principle of harm was criticised by Ernest Barker who calls Mill prophet of empty 'liberty' and scholar of abstract individualism. His idea, according to Barker, creates more scope for state interference.

Mill's idea however forms basis of democracy, constitutional govt and freedom of speech.

Candidates must not write on this margin

(1b) Plato is known as father of political philosophy. He was student of Socrates.

Plato, in his concern to make Athens ideal state and arrive at perfect idea of justice, gives his theory of justice.

Plato was influenced by Socrates' idea of 'knowledge is virtue' and a State is virtuous if it is ruled by knowledgeable. Thus, Plato concludes'

'until rulers are philosophers or Philosophers are rulers, there is no end to the predicament of human life'..

Plato also talks about duties and not Rights. In this context,

scholars like Karl Popper in his 'open society and its enemies' called Plato a totalitarian thinker. Also, he called him forerunner of fascism.

Winsper also calls Plato authoritarian regarding. Plato's insistence of Rule of philosopher king over Rule of law - also was criticised by Aristotle.

However, the purpose of Plato is arrive at just state and Plato's emphasis on 'reason' suggest it would not have been totalitarian.

Levinson defends Plato in 'In Defence of Plato'. Rajeev Bhargava also states that, Popper has done a misreading of Plato.

Candidates must not write on this margin

1(c) Karl marx's ideas have influenced theory and politics of like no other philosopher.

Karl Marx, in his quest to end exploitation of workers under capitalism, inspires working classes to revolt. He held that philosophers have interpreted the world, but what is required is to change it.

Thus, he gives theory of social change and holds that there is no birth without blood. He gives his scientific theory of history (historical materialism). He says:

'history of all hitherto societies is nothing but class struggle'.

Thus, he calls workers

to revolt against the state. He says, theory of dialectics suggest that, progressive class wins and then revolution against capitalism will lead to communist society. He calls his theory praxis.

Marx believed that revolution will come spontaneously when workers develop consciousness and class in itself changes into class for itself!

However, Marx's analysis is considered reductionist as it ignores brings in role of cultural factors, as given idea of hegemony.

Nevertheless idea of Marx divided world into two blocs, showing the impact of his ideas.

Candidates must not write on this margin

1(a)

Justice is the central principle in political science. John Rawls in his "Theory of Justice" calls, Justice as 'first virtue of institutions'.

John Rawls, ~~criticizes~~ criticizes utilitarian conception of justice which compromises individual dignity.

In his social contract, where individual is in 'original position' behind 'veil of ignorance', he arrives at three principles of justice:

① Equal liberty for all
② Fair equality of opportunity } lexical order
③ Difference principle

Difference principle is to ensure the greatest benefit to the least advantaged. Rawls, invokes

'chain principle' saying that society is as strong as the weakest link. He further states that it is going to be our rational choice behind 'veil of ignorance' by applying maximin principle.

Rawls thus, justifies inequality if it is result of fair equality of opportunity and leads to greatest benefit of least advantaged. It is based on option luck.

Nozick criticises Rawls calling his theory as endstate and proposes entitlement theory of justice. Marxists criticised difference principle as charity.

However, Rawls is credited with started golden age in theorising justice.

Candidates must not write on this margin

1e

According to Bhikhu Parekh ^ Multiculturalism is neither a philosophical doctrine, nor an ideology, but a perspective of looking at human rights.

Multiculturalism emerged as a way to address the limitations of value pluralism. Value pluralism is not culturally pluralistic.

Will Kymlicka thus in his 'multicultural Citizenship: A liberal perspective of minority Rights' holds that a person cannot be respected without recognising one's culture.

Multiculturalism states that, Individual's culture is intrinsic part of one's identity. To respect one, his culture has to be recognised which gives sense of togetherness.

Kymlicka, thus suggests

special Rights to the national minorities. It is essential, as per Kymlicka, because of

(1) Rise in diversities
(2) multiple points of contacts
(3) Desecuritisation of ethnic relations.

It believes that man is not atomistic, but embedded'.

Bhikhu Parekh further enriches Kymlicka's idea in his 'Rethinking multiculturalism' — where he extends special rights to international migrants. He proposes civilisational dialogue and intercultural dialogue.

In present times of ethnic conflicts, cultural chauvinism, multiculturalism is way ahead for one earth, one family.

2(a) Gramsci was an Italian marxist, who is considered as father of neomarxism. His concept of hegemony is his unique contribution to political theory.

Gramsci, in his attempt to understand limitations of marxian strategy of revolution, was impressed by study of cultural factors in shaping history as done by Benedetto croce.

Thus, Gramsci contended that the ruling class rules not just by domination but hegemony.

Domination is use of hard power, which is coercive. Hegemony is ideological power, which is invisible. It acts on the mind of individual and generates consent in favor of dominant class, its values.

Thus, hegemony is predominence

उम्मीदवारों को इस भाग में लिखना मना है। Candidates must not write on this margin

by consent' and the values of ruling class becomes 'common sense'. This is 'power of attraction'

Thus, bourgeoisie rule not by controlling economic power, state power (domination) but also by capturing civil society which generates hegemony. He gave concept of 'integral state'.

Gramsci, here analysed the role of intellectuals in propagating values of dominant class. They act as shock absorbers between state and economic structure. He gives two types of intellectuals.

① Traditional intellectuals ② organic intellectuals.

Traditional intellectuals are those having origin in precapitalist

society. They include church fathers, men of letter- who coopted with emergence of capitalism and sided with dominant class.

On the other hand, every dominant class creates its own organic intellectuals who are deputies of the dominant class and acts as apologists and propagandists for the state (Noam Chomsky).

This Gramsci suggests, working class to create its own organic intellectuals. He suggests, 1st battle shall be battle of ideas to challenge hegemony and establish counter hegemony. This is war of position. Then comes 'war of manoeuvre'.

Gramsci's conception of hegemony enriched Marxist theory from crude economic determinism and paved way for neo-Marxism.

उम्मीदवारों को इस भाग में लिखना मना है। Candidates must not write on this margin

2(b) The word democracy was first used by Greek historian Herodotus to mean Rule by people. It comes from two words demos – people and Kration – The Rule.

Deliberative democracy is a reaction against democracy turning into tyranny of majority or game of numbers. It rejects market model of democracy (Shumpeter) which emphasis 'elections' as the core of democracy.

Deciberative democracy emphasises that deliberation by participating constituents is basic of legitimacy. It makes democracy consociational.

It is in line personal freedom as it recognises the deliberative capacity of each individual. It is in line with human dignity,

and equality as it rejects the elitist model of democracy.

It enhances personal freedom as it gives scope for participation of individual in development process. Habermas describes this situation as ideal speech condition leading to communicative action. It also treats individuals as end to development not just means.

It also enhances collective welfare as deliberation is key to emergence of general will (Rousseau). According to Joshua Cohen in his 'deliberative democracy' deliberation is best way to gain legitimacy to collective action and also to resolve differences. John Rawls also believes that social contract' where all deliberate will help create just society'.

उम्मीदवारों को इस भाग में लिखना मना है। Candidates must not write on this margin

Deliberative democracy can be part of both representative democracy and participative democracy.

Participatie democracy believes that individuals and institutions cannot be separated. It emphasises on creating platforms for participation and enabling voice for people. Examples include, citizens report card, social audit, RTI, mohalla sabhas etc.

Scholars like Nancy Fraser, Benjamin barber advocate both participation and deliberation for Good Governance.

In present times, as we witness decline of democracy (Larry Diamond), both ~~se~~ participatory and deliberative democracies help make democracy substantive.

उम्मीदवारों को इस भाग में लिखना मना है। Candidates must not write on this margin

2(c) In the words of Arnold Wolfers Power is the ability to influence others to do what one wants them to do - either willingly or unwillingly. Power in political science is compared with money in economics.

Power remains, however, a contested concept. Thomas Hobbes and Marx talk about power of state over people. Hobbes described state as Leviathan which has power to punish the law breakers.

Similarly, Marxists believe that state represent naked power. Lenin held that state represents irreconciliability of class antagonism. Thus, state acts as instrument of application of force by bourgeoisie.

In response to Marxist criticism on the legitimacy of the use of power by state, liberal-capitalist scholars analysed nature of power and held that state does not represent naked power, but there is consent among people.

In this context, Max weber developed the relationship between power, authority and legitimacy and explained the relation as follows.

Power + legitimacy = Authority

Authority is when the use of power is considered just by people. According to Rousseau, even the strongest man is not strong enough unless he converts his power into authority and privilege into Right.

उम्मीदवारों को इस भाग में लिखना मना है। Candidates must not write on this margin

Max weber, thus, held that state represents authority, not power. He gave following basis for the authority of state.

(1) Traditions and customs which can be basis of authority

(2) Charismatic authority, the role of personality factors

(3) Legal-rational authority - Authority as a result of legally framed laws.

T. H. Green, a positive liberal also countered the view of state using naked power. He says, 'will, not the force is basis of state'. State plays role of hindering the hindrance(s).

However, this view is countered by neo-marxists like Habermas - who gave the idea of Legitimation crisis. Even welfare state faces legitimation crisis because of contradiction of capitalism in economy and socialism in politics.

Thus, the relation among them remains contested. The worldwide rise in protests (yellow vests, Hongkong) highlight the crisis of legitimacy in current times.

4(a) Marxist ideology is based on ideas of Karl Marx. Marx is considered one of the greatest philosophers, whose ideas impacted both theory and practice of politics like no one.

Marx, in his attempt to root out evil of capitalism, and end exploitation of workers, gives his theory of social change. He aims to inspire workers to revolt against state.

Marx was influenced by Hegel's dialectical idealism and his three laws of dialectics. Marx modified it into 'dialectical materialism' where he concludes -

'In order to make history one has to live. In order to live, one has to eat. In order to eat - one has to produce'.

Hence, to make history, the

Candidates must not write on this margin

movement of matter is essential. marx, thus gives materialistic interpretation of history.

According to this, he gives a base-superstructure model of society, where base is economic structure and state is part of superstructure.

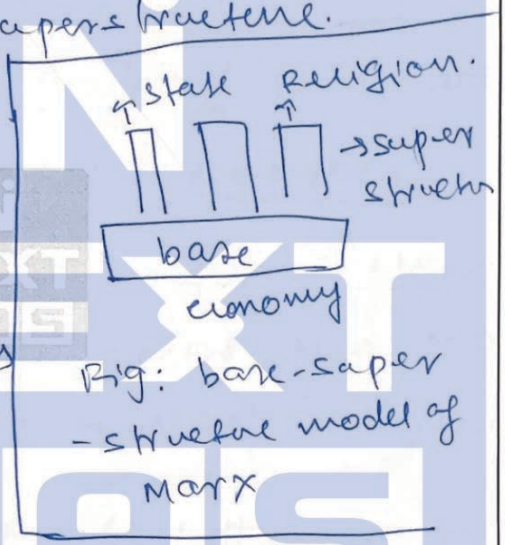


Fig: base-super-structure model of Marx

Thus, marx believes that once economic structure changes, all structs will change automatically.

He states, history of all hitherto societies is nothing but history of class struggle.. and he calls state as executive committee of bourgeoisie class.

Candid
write o

Marx's conception of state is criticised as economic reductionism. Gramsci, a marxian analyses the excessive emphasis on materialistic aspect and modifies marxism by bringing in socio-cultural factors in his theory of hegemony.

Althusser also gives multistructural analysis where change can start from any level. Karl Popper also criticises Marx for guilt of historicism.

Nevertheless, Marx's ideas on state influenced leaders, scholars like Lenin, Mao, Gramsci which enriched Marxism and also understanding of state power.

उम्मीदवारों को इस भाग में लिखना मना है। Candidates must not write on this margin

4(b) Behavioural Revolution emerged in 1940-50s in political science to arrest the decline of political science due to the arm chair theories.

David Easton in his article in 1951 criticised the emphasis on historical theories and neglect of realities. It was criticised as speculative philosophy with no verifiable theories. More than theory, political science was reduced to preferences of scholar.

In this backdrop, behavioural revolution started under the guidance of American political science association. David Easton gave following foundational principles of behaviouralism.

1. Regularities in human behaviour
2. verification of theories like natural sciences.

(3) systematisation in data collection.
(4) Integration with disciplines like sociology, psychology.
(5) Quantifiable data as in natural sciences
(6) Analysis based on statistical methods
(7) value free theories
(8) make political science, pure science.

Thus, emphasis was on facts and value free analysis. Thus, behaviouralism led to diverting attention to those areas of political science where data collection is possible - such as electoral studies, electoral behaviour.

Thus, as Lord Bryce held we need facts, facts and facts, the attempt of facts without values tried to make political science

उम्मीदवारों को इस भाग में लिखना मना है। Candidates must not write on this margin

a pure science. However, it was realised that, by nature, political science comes closer to social sciences and it cannot be made pure science. With emphasis on purity of techniques it led to decline in scope and relevance of theories.

David Easton in his credo of Relevance, speech called for creative theory - theory guided by actions and relevance. This led to rise of post-behaviouralism.

Thus, while behaviouralism attempted to make political science, a science of politics, post-behaviouralism arrives at synthesis of traditional and behavioural approaches.

उम्मीदवारों को इस भाग में लिखना मना है। Candidates must not write on this margin

4(c) According to Garner political science begins and ends with state. State has been core area of investigation in political theory. Relationship between individual and state is key component of these theories.

The theory of state and relationship with individual can be traced to ancient Greek. Plato, father of political philosophy, gives organic theory of state. For him state is source of virtue and he gives theory of just state and mentions about duties of individuals - based on characteristic of soul.

Aristotle calls man as political animal by nature - as he says man is social by nature. For him state comes into existence

for the sake of life and continues for the sake of good life. He also talks about duties in his theory of citizenship. He doesn't emphasise on Rights.

It was Thomas Hobbes, who establishes state as a result of social contract and Right to self preservation is inalienable. He gives power to state to punish the lawbreaker as life of all cannot be pushed back into anarchy. He says that, law is command of sovereign and individuals must respect, abide by the law.

John Locke in his 'Two Treatises of civil govt' establishes govt by consent and gives idea of night watchman state. For him, citizens are trustees and state is trust.

उम्मीदवारों को इस भाग में लिखना मना है। Candidates must not write on this margin

Locke establishes individual's Rights of life, liberty and property as inalienable natural Rights given by God. state cannot take away these.

J.S. Mill also represents the classical liberal tradition of state. While Rousseau says state represents the general will and man should be forced to be free.

Positive liberals, like T.H. Green broadened the relation between state and individual as T.H. Green says the role of state is hindering the hindrances. Scholars like Laski, talked about socio-economic Rights of individual along with civic and political.

Under neoliberalism the

relationship further weakened with the rolling back of state. Neoliberals like Hayek, Nozick support drunkard in the gutter idea.

social liberals, brought back the focus of state in individual development as Amartyasen calls for 'capability approach', Rawls gives 'difference principle'.

In contemporary times, idea of inclusive growth and post-washington consensus emphasises on the role of state to enhance individuals developments and creative freedom.

5 (a) Indian National movement is one of largest multiclass mass movement it is interpreted by various schools of thought.

~~Libera~~ Liberal view sees national movement as one of the largest civil Rights movement. The demand for Rights like freedom of press, freedom of speech, trade and demand for vote- reflects liberal tradition.

Liberals also saw the economic exploitation of British through drain of wealth' hampering the basic Rights of people.

They see it as a response

Candidates must not write on this margin

of educated, rational individuals for the Rights based on liberty, equality, justice.

The constitution based on values of liberalism also reflects the concern for rights by Indian National movement leaders.

5 b) Indian constitution is world's largest constitution which is correctly described a 'transformative document' revolutionary in goal.

It is essentially a 'social document' that envisages a social revolution by transforming a traditional-hierarchical society into a modern egalitarian society.

The attempts to accomodate social-cultural diversity can be seen as.

① Art 25, 26 which gives freedom of conscience

② Art 29, 30 - special Rights to minorities.

③ Art 15(4) - Reservations to backward sections.

Candidates must not write on this margin

(4) Art 371 A, B, C — to accommodate traditional customs

(5) schedule 5, 6 - for tribals.

Thus, Indian constitution was a brave attempt, a tryst with destiny to achieve the goal of fraternity and unity in diversity. Granville Austin rightly called it 'cornerstone of a nation'.

Today, India entering into Amrit Kaal is symbolic of achievement of the constitution.

5(c) Constitution makers were influenced by both ideas of liberalism and socialism which is reflected in having fundamental Rights and directive principles.

They both appear to be contradictory because, fundamental Rights are based on individual's autonomy, while directive principles are about collective welfare.

Also, there can be apparent contradiction between two - such as freedom to do trade and prohibition of alcohol (directive principle).

However, a deeper analysis reflect the essential unity of both. Supreme court in Minerva Mills

Candidates must not write on this margin

Case held that both are harmonious and court does not see any contradiction between two.

Rights establish political democracy while DPSPs aim socio-economic democracy. Progressive realisations of Rights, and Rights based approach (RTE, NREGA, Food Security Act) reflect the unity between two.

Granville Austin has called Fundamental Rights and DPSPs as the 'soul of constitution'.

(b) Green Revolution was the large scale increase in productivity & production which transformed India from food scarce country to food surplus country.

Political impact of Green Revolution

① Rise of Regional parties is directly linked to success of Green Revolution and assertion of castes at state level.

② Christophe Jaffrelot links rise of demand based on castes to Green Revolution and rise of OBCs.

③ End of congress system in 1967, and 1st democratic upsurge (Y. Yadav) was result of Green Revolution.

Candidates must not write on this margin

(4) Rudolph and Rudolph explain the phenomena via rise of bullock capitalism

(5) It's a pattern links with growing inequalities, insurgency.

(6) The rise of farmer based social movements (BKU) is due to success of Green Revolution.

In today's scenario, the need is evergreen Revolution where the benefits reach to the last mile and small farmers'

(5e) Environmental movements in India are not about 'ecology' but human ecology' (Vandana Shiva). It is not protective conservatism but utilitarian conservatism.

Strategies used

(1) Mass movements at large scale led by environmental and social activists → Save Narmada Bachao Andolan - Medha patkar.

(2) local people, including women fighting for their Rights
→ Chipko movement.

(3) Through editorials, novels
- Anil Agrawal, M. Gadgil.

Candidates must not write on this margin

(5) Judicial Route
- Niyamgiri protests.

Recent movements

(1) Save Aarey movement - based on social media mobilisation

(2) Based on environmental awareness not livelihood centred → protests against Sterlite plant, Tuticorin

Thus, movements moving from old-social movement to New-social movements

6(a)

According to S.Y. Quraishi - democracy and Elections have a congenital and inseparable relationship Election commission of India (ECI) is the constitutional body with the mandate of superintend, conduct control of elections to

(1) Houses of parliament
(2) Houses of state assembly
(3) President and Vice President.

Under Art 324, ECI is appointed by President and service conditions are determined by parliament. Also, ECI - strength is determined by President along

Candidates must not write on this margin

the tenure, is also as per the law.

The finances of ECI are not charged under ~~the~~ consolidated fund of India.

challenges in appointment

(1) It is done by president on the direction of executive, thus there is role of executive which can undermine the independence of election commission.

(2) The procedure of recommendation is opaque and non-transparent leading to more discretion in appointment.

(3) No role of opposition, which leads to crisis of credibility. Recent allegations on EVM, on the

scheduling of elections show this trend

(5) Hampers overall credibility of EC.

Supreme Court, in Anup Baranwal case, established collegium system of appointment. However govt. came up with bill having 3 member panel to appoint with PM as chairman.

The independence of EC is sine-qua-non for the success of democracy, and elections in India which are considered gold standard (Hillary Clinton).

Candidates must not write on this margin

6(b) Indian National movement is one of largest mass movements. According to Bipin Chandra it is most spectacular movement whose effect is still felt.

Constitutional methods are based on values of liberalism. It is based on the idea of using constitutional means to bring change and achieve goals.

INC in first phase, from 1885-1905 called moderate phase, followed constitutional method. The leaders like Gopal Krishna Gokhale, D.Naoroji, Pherozshah Mehta had faith in British sense of justice and advocated shaping public opinion.

The methods included - petitions, propaganda, press meets and entering

council to hight the causes.

Some of the earlier successes of constitutional methods include passing of Indian council Act-1861/62 and later in 1891. Also, Morley-minto reforms were to placate moderates.

Also, it helped generate awareness among people through Speeches and news paper coverage.

Later, Home Rule league, and swaraj party entering council are also examples of constitutional methods. It generated cadre of young leaders for freedom struggle,

Candidates must not write on this margin

and also filled the gap in non-mass movement phase.

Constitutional method was also part of Gandhian protracted battle of struggle-truce-struggle.

However, constitutional methods were criticised by extremist nationalists like Aurobindo who called it 'political mendicancy'.

Also, it did not have much successes apart from episodic changes in laws. Gandhiji thus changed the method to 'legitimate' from legal constitutional.

Indian national movement is a upsward spiralling controlled mass movement.

Candidates must not write on this margin

6(i) Panchayat Raj institutions were introduced in India with 73rd constitutional Amendment Act with the goal of democratic decentralisation. It is based on idea of subsidiarity principle of Agenda 21, and also Gandhian model of Gram swaraj'.

The 73rd CAA was considered revolutionary in the sense it gave constitutional status to 3rd tier of govt. Gave reservations to the marginalised at gram pols and established direct democracy at gram pols level (Art 243G).

Moreover, it created institutions like state Election Commission (Art 243K) and state Finance Commission. Over the years it

led to more than a million elected women representatives at grassroot level.

Study by Rohini Pandey highlights that women led panchayats have empowered women and had positive external influence on child education, Panchayat raj ministry also studied that women led panchayats fared better than men led.

Also, Kerala model of PRIs were appreciated. With clear role of panchayats in monitoring schools, hospitals, local body ombudsman, it enabled grass root governance transformation.

The successes of Hiware bazaar, Barkhedi Abdullah (sarpanch Bhalchi

Candidates must not write on this margin

Sharma) showcase the positive changes in Governance.

However, PRIs success remain far from what was anticipated. Mani Shankar Aiyar committee setup to evaluate working of PRIs has concluded that only decentralisation of corruption happened. It held that there is disillusionment wrt to PRIs and bad panchayati raj is worse than no panchayati raj.

Devolution of functions has not happened as envisaged under Schedule 11. Also, they suffer 'low equilibrium trap' in finances, with 95% dependent on grants.

Also, institutional factors and structural factors hindered

progress like — caste, patriarchal character, limited capacity building.

While bureaucracy is non-responsive, creation of para statals reduce role of PRIs. Sudha pai mentions phenomena of pati panchayats.

Ashok mehta comitte held that there is a conspiracy to make PRIs fail.

Thus, to make PRIs, true agents of change — giving financial autonomy like those in GST (Vijay Kelkar) creation of National commission for PRIs, activity mapping, role of e-tech is critical.

To make way for viksit Bharat by 2047, viksit villages is key.