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**AIR - 112
(CSE 2022)**

POLITICAL SCIENCE



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POLITICAL SCIENCE**Time Allowed: 3 hr.****Max. Marks: 250****Instructions to Candidate**

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

Mention the important keywords with relevant details. There's immense scope for ease/ fluency/ short answers need to be more detailed, and with your answers critical analysis

1. Invigilator's Signature _____

2. Invigilator's Signature _____

Name Javed Pratik Anil
Mobile No. _____
Date _____
Signature Bikash

REMARKS

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SECTION-A

Attempt all questions:

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

 $(12.5 \times 4 = 50)$

- (a) Superiority of Satyagraha to Passive Resistance. Comment.
- (b) Examine the relevance of non-violence in today's times
- (c) Examine the nature of the Constituent Assembly's Representation
- (d) Socialist perspective of Freedom Struggle

a)- Satyagraha & passive resistance were two mechanism of protests used widely used in Indian National movement. though appears synonymous, but it involves basic difference in term form & basic philosophy & its functioning.

Extremists like Aurobindo, Tilak & Bipin Chandra Pal promoted passive resistance against foreign rule after failure of early moderates' 3P - P machinery.

It involves protest against colonial through picketing & foreign goods, violation of British laws as well as open challenge to British machinery of administration.

~~whereas satyagraha~~ whereas satyagraha mechanism of protest was utilized by Gandhian struggle. It doesn't though it doesn't use violence as means like people used resistance but it rejects violence because it is unjust. Passive resistance doesn't use violence because,

Remarks

they consider violence, would not fetch any result.
 satyagrahi considers enemy as pure & themselves.
 thus they try to appeal to consciousness of
 enemy, whereas passive protesters hate enemy and
wants for elimination of enemy.

there is feeling of hate & desire to kill
 evil tendencies of enemy, rather than elicit in
 satyagrahi, whereas passive resistance has feeling
 of hate & disaffection towards enemy.

Hence, we can conclude that satyagraha
 was superior to passive resistance as it tries
 to address not only manifestations of evil, but
 also to works to change evil itself.

b) → Non-violence is fundamental principle of
 Gandhian struggle which became trademark of
 Indian National movement. In present age
 when there has been numerous protest & social
 movements, Gandhian idea of non-violence acquires
 special importance

Remarks

Non violence is based on principle of "address evil tendencies rather than evil" unlike violence which is based on idea of "power flows through bones & guts". Gandhi has advocated that through non-violence, greatest of injustices can be addressed.

As Indian democracy is maturing, there has been significant protests regarding issues like women, farmer, workers rights, etc. Non violence can be best mechanism to address injustices due to

- i) its ability to reduce loss of lives as well as property
- ii). its appeal to opposite party, which wouldn't utilize violence in opposition to protests
- iii) it maintains morale of protesting party, which would otherwise suppressed by opposite force.

iv) It can bring different sections of society like others,

workers, etc.

Hence, it is necessary to utilize non-violence mechanism like satyagraha, peaceful protest along with institutional channels like parliament & media to address injustices. As rightly said by Gandhi, "eye for eye makes the world blind".

Remarks

c) → Maurice Gwyer while appalled by Indian condition suggested that constituent assembly, suggest that it must perform by streams of ideology from liberalism to socialism, feminism to enlightened democracy due to its diverse representation.

The constituent assembly was established on basis of Cabinet Mission Plan. The members from provinces were indirectly elected, whereas princely states were represented by nominated members. Critiques criticised constituent assembly representation on following issue :-

- ① Winston Churchill called it as "assembly of bishops".
- ② Its lack of representation can be understood through mechanism of indirectly representation from provincial assembly, which itself elected by only citizens.
- ③ There has also been question mark about nomination based representation to princely states.
- ④ more representation to lawyer as compared to other social groups like farmers, women, etc.

Remarks

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~~Excess
represented adu
it franchises now it
expresses different shades
of representation
of franchise & been
independent hardly makes
difference in representation
& participation.~~

B.L. Grammatical Austin in his "Indian Constitution -
constitution of Nation" described constituent assembly as
on the basis of legitimacy of Indian National Congress
enjoyed by in colonial India. And general election part
Independence hardly makes difference in representation
& participation.

~~Supreme Court in Kesrahal Black case 1973,
has observed that it will not go into technicalities
& constituent assembly. But if anyone understand
nature of polity in period of 50's, it would
conclude that constituent assembly was inclusive body.~~

Hence, though constituent assembly was
elected by methods of indirect election & nomination,
but wisdom propagated by constituent constitution itself
proves its inclusive nature.

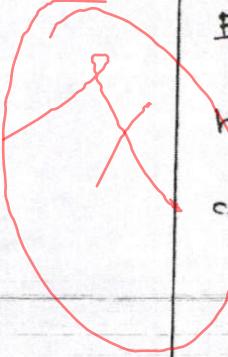
ii) There has been debate among scholars about
description of national activities between 1957-1967.
Socialists, which became prominent part 1917 Russian
Revolution also analysed national movement in ideals
& socialism.

Remarks

In Indian national movement, socialist influence can be observed at two level:-

- ① within congress party represented by Acharya Narendra Dev & J.P. Nayak
- ② socialist party established by M.N. Roy who established communist party.

One of earliest socialist perspective is given by Bhagat Singh. He suggested national movement should not only focus on elimination of foreign rule, but also oppression which one class does over other class.



Acharya Narendra Dev stressed that congress should take issue of workers, farmers & women in perspective of movement. J.P. Nayak also influenced congress policies especially after forming government in provinces toward socialist policies.

Whether socialist like A.R. Desai or A.R. Berai criticized national movement for bourgeois characteristics. According to him, national movement

movements hardly worked for all addressing issues which affects workers & peasants.

Thus, socialist influenced Congress perspective towards national movement, by broadening agenda from elimination of foreign rule to addressing oppression of one class by other. Its significance can be understood as dominance + socialist ideas push independence till disintegration of USSR.

Philosophy of Socialism and its relevance of relevant figures & scholars

2 Answer the following questions:

- (a) Discuss Colonialist Perspective on Indian national Movement. How does the Marxist criticise the nationalist views on Indian national movement? (300 Words) (25)
- (b) Gandhi's political programme was designed to erode British notions of legitimacy and undermine the consent Indians had given to the British government. Discuss. (300 Words) (25)

Indian national movement is one of spectacular national movement considering induction of techniques, involvement of multiple diverse social groups & its largely non-violent nature. But colonial scholars while rejecting legitimacy of national movement called it as just 'transfer of power'.

One of earliest colonial perspective can be traced to idea of J.S. Mill. He called Indians as barbarians which are destined to be rule by despotism. He also questions of rationality & capacity of Indians to exercise democracy.

Later curzon, Duttin while rejecting individualists & national movement called it as just "geographical expression". They called national leaders as just power brokers lobbying for different groups. They lack any coherent vision or any single motto. Duttin called INC as group representing "microscopic"

Remarks

minority?

In later times, Cambridge school scholars Amil Seel while extending colonial rule suggest that Indian leaders were driven by 'animal which' hating each other.

Even Ambedkar denied existence of India as nation even in 1947 while referring it as group of different warring camps. He also criticised national movement for prioritising fight against foreign rule over fight against inherent social illpractices.

But early na liberals, though accepting inadequacy of India calling nation, suggest that India is 'nation in making'. They hoped that with leadership of congress, different groups can be brought under nation of one nation.

While extremist Aurabind enthused both liberals as well as colonial scholar's perspective on the Indian national movement called India

Remarks

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at 'divine origin entity'. According to him, through India, world would get message of humanity.

Marxist perspective on National movement

Marxist scholars considered Nationalism as inverted tradition (Benedict Anderson). One of earliest commentary on Indian National movement is given by Karl Marx who called Britishers as "moderating force" while calling 1857 revolt as "bourgeoisie revolt."

Even R.P. Dutt (India Today) & A.R. Desai (Background of Indian Nationalism) called INC as bourgeois party & Gandhi as bourgeois leader. According to them, there was hardly any initiative INC undertake that benefitted common masses.

But Sunil Sarker (Book - Modern India) countered Marxist scholars against casual perspective towards Indian Nationalism. According to him, though it is true that INC movement didn't benefit masses, but it doesn't mean that they had

Remarks

any conspiracy against nation.

Hence, broadly Marxist scholars critique bourgeoisie leadership of national movement. But later Marxist scholar Bipin Chandra has not only called Indian movement as national movement, but as a spectacular movement, where warmth still can be felt.

Q) - Bipin Chandra while referring Gandhian movement called it as "Gandhian movement", due to its two front struggle - ideological struggle & frontal war.

Gramsci while analysing limitations of Marxist movement referred to role of hegemony.

Hegemony is dominant idea which reduces revolutionary potential of revolutionary group.

Hegemony creates goodwill in minds of oppressed towards oppressor.

Remarks

Colonial rulers justified colonial rule on basis
of "civilization mission" & "white man's burden". scholars
like J.S. Mill referred India as rich ancient
civilization, but soon gripped with barbarism.
so, it is responsibility of so called "civilized" west
to civilise "barbarous" east.

The influence of hegemony can be understood
through ideas of early nationalist. They had hope in
wisdom & truth of colonial masters. They referred
British rule as "blessing in disguise".

But Gandhian movement which was guided by
ideas of non-violence, satyagraha, must not only
challenged British rule, but also the its ideological
underpinnings.

As, Gandhi was influenced by ideas of vedas &
Upanishads, he advocated greatness of Indian
living. He criticised western ideas like modernity
as it prioritised individual over collective
interest. He referred 'unending self interest'

Remarks

based individualism or "animal spirit". He then criticised modernity & machines for its negative effects on environment & economic harmony between communities. According to him, if we employ modest living, even wise earth would help fulfill our demands.

~~He challenged notion that British rule is for~~ In welfare of Indians. He advocated non-cooperation & rejection of British rules as it dehumanised ~~the~~ human being.

Most important ideological challenge Gandhiji provided about invincibility of colonial rule. Through his Champaran, Kheda & Ahmedabad protest, he showed that even stronger enemy can be defeated with non-violence & non-violence. His idea of non-violence brought untouched sections of society like women, tribals, farmers & workers within fold of national movement.

Remarks

thus, it is rightly said that Gandhian movement was "total revolution" as it addressed ideological slavery as well as physical slavery. Gandhiji's idea of non-violence & satyagraha can be even practised in addressing modern evils like consumerism & neocolonialism which are based on ideological dominance of west.

Central theme
of Gandhian struggle
Deepening of political consciousness
Bitterness / Recognition of political
Movement of love / Acceptance based
on Gandhian principles
Type / form
of political

19
3. Answer the following questions:

- (a) The Basic structure doctrine holds certain implied limitations on Parliament's amending power and at the same time put the judiciary in the exact position of unlimited power. Discuss. (300 Words) (25)
- (b) What do you understand by Militant Nationalism? Discuss the distinctive Characteristics of Militant Nationalism. (300 Words) (25)

a) 'Basic structure' is novel feature of judicial review in Indian constitution. It was 'invented' in 'Bharat Singh Case' 1973 with narrow majority judgement, which revolutionised India's judicial working.

The doctrine of Basic structure restricts amending power of Parliament. It suggests that there exist differences between amending constitution & existing constitution. Hence, Parliament can't amend "basic principle" & constitution as it serves foundation of Indian political society.

The doctrine of Basic structure assumes significance due to various ills of parliament like decline of parliament, capacity of one party rule to change basic tenets of constitution like advocacy + Residential system during 70's. Thus basic

Remarks

structure aim to keep foundation & constitution intact from possible "parliamentary onslaught"

Zoya Modi in her "10 judgements that changed India", suggested that though basic structure may be wrong from academic view point. But it has been "blessing in disguise" for Indian constitution.

She credited basic structure doctrine for survivability of Indian federation despite fall of various third world countries.

In recent cases like NJAC (Fourth Judges Case) Supreme court struck down 99th amendment Act which prescribed National Judicial Appointments Commission on basis of violation of "autonomy of judiciary" which is basic structure of constitution. Thus, basic structure doctrine acts as limitation on amending power of parliament.

Remarks

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But critique like P.B. Mehta in his article "Indian judiciary - promise & uncertainty" criticized judiciary for giving priority to metaphysics over what is written in "black & white". It gave unlimited power to judiciary, which it denied to Parliament through "Basic structure doctrine"

According to Lavanya Rajamani, Indian judiciary has acquired functions which is ill defined, whereas ignored required & mandated functions. Through judicial structure doctrine (Supreme court has acquired character of highest assembly, which was never envisaged by founding fathers.)

Hence, j. doctrine & basic structure through assumed power with notable vision of "protection of constitution" it has brought entire body of judiciary.

Remarks

Very basic protection of the judiciary

b) →

Militant nationalism / extremism was phase of national struggle (1905-1907) which transformed not only ideological basis of national movement, but also techniques of national movement.

Militant nationalism was advocated by leaders like Tilak, Aurobindo, Lala Lajpat Rai, etc as "antique to dominant methods of early liberals."

Early liberals like Dadabhai Naoroji, suspending Neth Banerjee called British rule as "blessing in disguise" & advocated method of prayer, petition & processions to get concession from British.

But revolutionaries like Aurobindo called Moderate methods and ideology as "political mendicacy" & "political suicide". According to him British rule or any foreign rule can't be blessing in disguise. Emergence of India as nation is divine process.

Remarks

Distinctive characteristics of militant nationalism:

- ① They criticised liberal methods & played a part in
at "self suicide" & advocated violent methods
like protest, picketing & British goods & properties
& British machinery including schools & legal system
 - ② strong advocacy of swaraj & self rule, & complete
disassociation from British rule.
 - ③ They advocated inclusion of masses in protest-
marches unlike early liberals which considered
masses as ignorant entity.
 - ④ strongly advocated self help practices for
attainment of swaraj
 - ⑤ inclusion of varied groups like farmers, women &
students.
 - ⑥ They ~~sought~~ ~~relied~~ ~~relied~~ from ~~but~~ ~~both~~ both theories

⑥ they taught behaviourism from best beatish theories to teach practical by suggestion makes how to achieve goal of naturalism.

how difficult not be achieved

sacrifice people's interests in the best interest of the country

Remarks

Despite above features which make them more assertive, there have been certain limitations of militant nationalism like:-

- a) continuous struggle without any expected output can demoralise masses. i.e. masses can't use violent methods for long.
- b) possibility of attraction & suppression from colonial rule.
- c) lack of clear ideology about methods to be used & inability to provide effective leadership.
- d) without effective leadership, national movement can turn violent, direction from desired goals.

Here, militant nationalism had remarkable phase in national movement which brought large diverse groups within national movement. Its limitation like unclear ideology & effective leadership were addressed by later phases Gandhian struggle,

Remarks

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SECTION-B

Attempt all questions:

5. Answer the following questions in about 150 words each: (12.5 × 4 = 50)

- Discuss impact of COVID-19 on women and Working of National Commission of Women (NCW)
- Discuss the Significance of the Preamble
- Comment on Marxist Perspective on Indian National Movement
- Criticism of Directive Principles

According to Rory Metcalf, COVID-19 is perfect storm which altered our understanding & behaviour from our home to our world. Women, considering their inherent vulnerability were one of prime suffers due to COVID-19 & response of state to it.

One of prime impact of COVID-19 was increased instances of domestic violence, which was termed as "shadow pandemic". The lockdown forced women to lock themselves in abusive relationship is however & increase workload further affected physical & mental lives of women.

Also as women served about 70% of health workforce (WHO), pandemic had put lot of mental health burden on women. Also

Remarks

their interest inability to access better healthcare & their working conditions with high chances of susceptibility & disease further impacted their health.

The National Commission for Women also cautioned the National Commission for Women against women & state against increased evidences against women & limitation on judicial recourse due to lockdowns. Hence, women were one of worst suffer ~~of~~ of pandemic due to underlying deeprooted patriarchy in society.

National Commission for Women

It is statutory organization established under National Commission of Women Act 1990 which

has been mandated to perform functions like:-

(1) ensure working of safeguards provided in constitution & laws

(2) addressing further safeguards in order to protect women

(3) suo-motu inquiring about issues related to

Remarks

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women rights

(1) advocated states to necessarily policy action to safeguard women.

Despite power like civil court, NCW has failed to stand as strong body & protect women due to
 ① being relaxed & its complex structure like secretary &
 chairman

② politicization of appointments

③ lack of outside exposure.

As stressed in lockdown due to pandemic, it is
 utmost need to reconfigure NCW to enable them to
 safeguard rights of women.

According to K.M. Munshi, preamble serves

as conscience of horoscope of constitution. It guides
 us to make policies so as to achieve ideals
mentioned in "horoscope".

Preamble which contains goals like justice,
 liberty & equality has huge significance which can
 be understood through various supreme court judgements

Remarks

Bombay Union case 1960 which reiterated it as 'guiding star' & rephrased Black's case which called it as "key to wisdom of constitutionmakers".

Significance of preamble can be analyzed as :-

- ① suggests source of authority & power i.e., people of India
- ② represents fundamental goals of Indian Republic i.e., justice, liberty, equality.

③ Constitution itself ~~considers~~ it as "foundations to governance" & under article 132 of constitution,

④ It acts as connecting link between benefactor & various political parties.

⑤ It also assists courts in interpreting provisions of constitution (K.B. Case 1973)

Hence, preamble is rightly referred as "Identifying card" of our nation, which has provided

Remarks

Remarks

permanent rift between present generation & our
founding fathers about their aspirations from us.

Indian National movement (1857-1947) has been
investigated by different schools of thought, with
prominent being Marxist school. Marxist school utilizes
basic ideals of marxism like class struggle & revolution
in understanding national movement.

Though marxists are critical of idea of nationalism
itself, later marxist accepted nationalism theory
within their framework of class struggle. According to
A.R. Desai, Indian National movement was class struggle
between bourgeoisie & masses. Leaders & elite were
just interested in snatching tools & exploitation of
masses from colonial rule to utilize for themselves.
They didn't have any internal & alienating stability
& purpose.

M.N. Roy in his book "India in transition"

has criticized INC for subjugating common masses
under banner of nationalism, while executing

Remarks

cleric power over subjugated class. He also calls Gandhi as "bullock cart leader" & INC as bullock party.

But Jyoti Basu's "India Today" has while accepting failure of INC for addressing suffering of masses, suggest that INC was neutral party

& was representing national wisdom. Rabindranath Tagore also applauded national movement as spectacular for its diversified aims.

Thus, there has been lack of consensus in Marxist scholars about nature of national movement.

But in particular, they are critical about bourgeoisie leadership of INC & their priority to elimination of foreign rule over addressing suffering of masses.

d) →

Granville Austin in his book "Indian Constitution" the corner stone of nation has called Preamble

with Preamble & FRs as "conscience of constitution".

Despite its centrality & is foundation of constitution,

Remarks

It is also chairman for its nature & utility.

DPSUs were based on "the guidelines + factors generally listed in Government of India Act 1935. It is considered as basic principles which would guide the states in drafting & implementing policies.

However, despite its recognition as 'conscience' of constitution, it was chairman for -

- ① vagueness & ideas like addressing concentration of economic power (art 39)
- ② lack of relevance, as anyhow they would be followed by any welfare state (for eg. taking care of vulnerable section)
- ③ lack of clear sequencing
- ④ acted as roadblock in proper functioning of constitution due to several its collision with FRs.
- ⑤ brings difficulty in implementation like art 46 suggests state to implement uniform civil code, whereas art 29, 30 provides special rights + minority.
- ⑥ makes interpretation & constitution more complex & it gives wide varying power to judiciary to

Remarks

interpret provisions. (for eg. declaration of rights + rights under art 41 draws origin from PAPER)

despite above limitations, it has been serving useful functions of guiding states to implement welfare policies towards citizens. It reminds state about expectations of citizens from their exercise of power.

with this
commentary & criticism
now there's no legal base
conservative & court
cannot

6. Answer the following questions:

(a) An obvious measure of effective working of Parliament is the number of days it sits and the amount of business it transacts. Examine the given statement in the light of Decline of Indian Parliament. (300 Words) (25)

(b) Issues pertaining to Accountability of Judges and need for reforms. Discuss. (300 Words) (25)

In the words of Pt. Nehru, 'we have accepted parliamentary form of government considering our historical linkings adjusted to new realities & new goals. Thus, Indian Parliament was expected to guide state in its social & economic revolution (fulfilment of new goals)

Despite significance of Parliament in functioning of democracy, Indian Parliament failed to bring visible changes of citizens. According to Maurice

Stevens, Indian proud about their parliamentary stories, Indian prone about their Parliament to full democracy, but they hate to lose Parliament to Public. P.B. Maitra & Dinesh Kapoor in their book "Public

"Decline in India" has called Indian Parliament as

self serving institution.

One of major manifestation of decline of Parliament is reduction in number of sitting & decline in quality of functioning of parliament. The ^{the} shantai

Remarks

- 4 Rodriguez has analysed various behind decide
of Parliament as:-
- (1) criminalisation of politics
 - (2) politicisation of speaker
 - (3) increased influence of money power → instead
decision in Indian polity
 - (4) decline in institution of parliamentary standing
committee (for e.g. recent controversy related to
Facebook in parliamentary committee deliberations)
 - (5) poor work by opposition
 - (6) frequent disruptions
 - (7) increased use of ordinances.

~~the causes of weakening of parliament~~
 Maurice Foley suggested that functioning
of parliament depends upon "balance of power"
 within political parties. If a single party controls
parliament, it results in different functioning
than multi-party controlled parliament.

~~Neeraj Kapil Jayal has suggested that~~

Remarks

Though there has been considerable changes in representation of parliament with more inclusivity, but it hardly brought any changes in lives of citizens. Despite increased role of farmers through farmer parties, recent controversy related to passing of farm bills points towards visible decline of institution of parliament.

But, it would be wrong to ignore certain revolutionary legislations passed by Indian parliament. Right to Education & Right to Information represent golden period of functioning of Parliament when lawmakers unanimously supported idea of bringing DPSP into fundamental right.

Hence, considering the significance attached to Parliament in bringing unfulfilled socio-economic revolution, review of parliament is need of ~~time~~.

According to Lord Bryce, there is no better test of excellence than functioning + judiciary. Hence, there has been important link between

Remarks

efficient functioning of judiciary & good governance
 According to Pandit Nehru, judiciary has been
 envisaged as active participant in India's transition
 from traditional society. Hence if
 to modern society & be efficient &
 is necessary that judiciary need to be accountable.

But, due to certain structural issues related
 to judiciary & lack of will among stakeholders of
 judiciary, it has been recognized by one of
 most self-perpetuating, pseudosocial & highly politicized
 institution by P.B. Mehta.

There have been certain issues which question
 accountability of judiciary like :-

a). procedure of appointment which gives degrading
 power to judiciary, while completely sidelining
 everybody.

(Ambedkar has rejected this process as
 imperio within imperium.)

b). difficulty with respect to removal of judges.

Remarks

As recently seen controversy related to High court judge who attacked institution of supreme court, but failed to impeach due to nearly impossible procedure.

c) reluctance of judiciary to come under RTI.

though recent judgement in Subhash Against CSE, CTI was brought under RTI, but still it has not been completely implemented RTI charter.

d) lack of mechanism to address issues like malice & heter, corruption of judiciary.

The recent controversy related to sexual harassment allegations against CTI & manter through which case was handled put serious question mark on issue of judicial accountability. thus it is right time to bring much needed judicial reforms suggested by recent committee.

Firstly it is needed to address issues related to appointment of judicial members. Until rules related to judicial commission released, it is necessary to bring mutually agreed memorandum of understanding

Remarks

between judiciary & government which would give importance to both & efficiency over sensitivity & judicial litigations.

It is also needed to take reforms at

suggested by Verbalchallabh committee like :-

① dedicated implementation of judicial charter adopted by supreme court in 1997

② bring judicial standard & Accountability Bill which would provide mechanism to address issues from small & offences to large offences like corruption in judicial members.

Judiciary should also come forward & implement RTI Act in letter & spirit. In addition Law Bar Members & association should also internalise judicial values drafted in code of ethics for judicial members.

Hence, considering significant role played by judiciary in working & constitution, it is necessary that it must enjoy credibility & faith of citizen. Hence it should immediately bring reforms to:

Remarks

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make themselves accountable & transparent
with explore
with examples
political correctness
Structural & functional
itself / judicial accountability
by independence of judiciary /
accountability of judiciary /
coding separation of powers

Remarks

