



Political Science & International Relations

Crash Course & Test Series - 2020

Test 07

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

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Test Date 22.12.2020
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Instructions:

1. There are EIGHT questions divided in TWO SECTIONS and candidate has to attempt five questions in all.
2. Question Nos. 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, any three are to be attempted choosing at least ONE question from each section.
3. Content of the answer is more important than its length.
4. Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the admission Certificate, which must be stated clearly on the cover of the booklet in the space provided.
5. Content of the answer is more important than its length.
6. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the Question-Cum-Answer Booklet must be clearly struck off.
7. All parts of the question should be written at one place itself.
8. Write the test in exam atmosphere.
9. **Filling all the details in BLOCK LETTERS is mandatory.**

S. No.	a	b	c	d	e	Total
1						
2				X	X	
3				X	X	
4				X	X	
5						
6				X	X	
7				X	X	
8				X	X	
Grand Total						

Section-A

Que.1(a)

Negative and positive concepts of liberty.

(10 Marks)

Liberty is considered as the core value of liberalism. The first detailed view of liberty was given by J.S. Mill. The second exhaustive work is by Isaiah Berlin in his 'Four Essays on Liberty'.

Berlin defines negative liberty as absence of restraints and minimum state interference. For him, liberty denotes the power of a person to control his life.

He has defined positive liberty as the capacity to act upon one's free will. However, he is against it as positive liberty creates the scope for state becoming totalitarian.

He instead emphasised on the value of Tolerance. Instead

of state helping in capacity building, state should exercise toleration.

T.H. Green has also given a detailed view on positive liberty. He has argued that liberty is the capacity to do something worth doing.

His concept is based on idea of developmental individualism where state should aim towards welfare, in the absence of a level playing field.

India constitutionally adopts the concept of positive liberty eg. idea of affirmative action

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.1(b)

The multi-cultural perspectives on rights.

(10 Marks)

Multiculturalism focuses on human rights, in particular cultural settings, and mostly on the rights of minorities.

liberal scholars believe that it is the next logical step for them as only they are tolerant enough. Will Kymlicka in his securitisation of ethnic rights, has given 3 rights to minorities.

These are self-governance, special representation and cultural rights. However, they are given only to the national minorities.

Bhikhu Parekh has criticised the western world, claiming monopoly of multiculturalism.

He has suggested dialogue among civilisations, to reach consensus and applying the Harm Principle to include all minorities and their right to practice their culture.

The concept of multiculturalism has however been criticised. Amartya Sen believes it leads to ghettoisation. Brian Barry argues it leads to neglect of development.

Cosmopolitan scholars argue it prevents people from adapting to each other's culture. Chandran Kerkuthas calls for protecting minorities within minorities. Feminists also consider it bad for women. Thus, it is a debated concept.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.1(c)

The Marxian theory of social stratification.

(10 Marks).

Marx has presented his ideas to inspire the workers to revolt against capitalism and bring in a communist state.

Countering Hegel, Marx believes that matter not idea is the moving force of history. He has presented the theory of Base and superstructure where economy is the basic structure and state is part of superstructure.

Thus, capitalists controlling the economy, also control the state, which becomes the executive committee of the bourgeois class.

Marx believes that it is necessary to change the basic structure to change history.



Marx believes that the history of hitherto existing society has been the history of class struggle. Either people are haves or have nots. Seen in slave society, feudal, capitalist etc.

Through the laws of dialectics, the contradictions of capitalism will lead to its negation and class struggle will thus end.

The role of state to resolve class struggle will be over and thus communism will emerge, which is classless and stateless. Production will now be social in nature.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.1(d)

Views of Gandhi and Ambedkar on 'social justice'.

(10 Marks).

While Gandhi is called the father of the Nation, Ambedkar is called the father of the Constitution. Both differ on their views on social justice.

Gandhi believes in bringing Ram Rajya, i.e. a stateless society where villages will be self-sufficient little republics. The disadvantaged sections, through local self-government, will thus be empowered.

Gandhi also propagated the ideas of Sarvodaya, Trusteeship and unity of ends and means, to help the marginalised sections.



Ambedkar, on the other hand, believed in democratic socialism, inspired by John Dewey. He believed that for Dalits to lead a dignified life, rejection of Hinduism is needed.

He propagated state led affirmative action and political power, to empower the Dalits. He gave the slogan of 'Agitate, Educate and organise'.

He did not want village rule as the caste system was more entrenched in villages. He thus supported inter-caste marriages and inter-dining for social justice.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.1(e)

"The discovery of Sovereign in a federal state is an impossible adventure". (Laski)

(10 Marks)

Laski is known to be a supporter of Pluralistic theory of State, as opposed to Monistic theory. He argued for expelling the idea of sovereignty from the state.

He opposed centralisation of authority as it threatens rights of people, international peace and can lead to totalitarianism.

Laski believed that the state alone cannot satisfy all the needs of the people. Other actors are also needed. eg. pressure groups, private players etc.

Within a federal state, discovery of sovereign is impossible because there are other bodies which are



autonomous. Eg: Church, is older than the state and independent.

The state is both the child and guardian of law and thus limited.

There are other restraints as well eg. public pressure, international law, which makes the state less powerful. sociological sources of law, pointed out by Duguit & Krabbe, make the theory more realistic.

However, it has been criticised as state assumes supreme role, which resolving conflicts between other bodies. Laski contradicts himself when he calls state as cornerstone of social architecture.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.4(a)

Explain Gandhi's ideas regarding State and highlight their relationship with modern democracy and principles of anarchism.
(20 Marks).

Gandhi is known as the father of the Nation and a mass leader. His ideas continue to find place in the constitution as well as in society.

Gandhi is considered an anarchist, taking inspiration from the ideas of Thoreau. He believes in a stateless society. Gandhi considers the idea of "state" as antithetical to the idea of freedom.

He believes that even the smallest amount of state requires coercion or using some instrument of violence. Thus, the state rule is in opposition to freedom and rights of people.

Gandhi believes in the idea of swaraj i.e. self-rule or self-discipline. He considers the presence of state as a symbol of weakness of man.

Gandhi believes in the idea of local self-government where panchayats should be strengthened. Grassroot democracy should be ushered in. Gandhi wanted villages to emerge as self-sufficient little republics. This was his conception of Ram Rajya.

Compared to modern democracy, Gandhi's ideas find some place. Though India adopted the model of centralisation and



Parliamentary democracy, Gandhi's idea of local government finds place in the Directive Principles under Article 40.

After the adoption of the 73rd and 74th Amendment Acts, Gandhi's ideas have acquired a more visible form through Panchayati Raj and urban self-government.

Gandhi also believed in achieving swaraj where the state should adopt the idea of sarvodaya. It should look after the welfare of the disadvantaged. It is considered as Gandhi's socialism.



Gandhi also propagated the idea of redistributive justice through land reforms, reviving the cottage industries, bread labour and trusteeship.

He opposed the industrialisation of state and wanted India to focus on production by masses instead of mass production. He preferred use of charkhra and khadi.

Thus, Gandhi is considered as a scholar of Anarchism, where his ideas are rooted in social justice and public welfare.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.4(b)

Explain how Machiavelli's application of empirical method to human affairs marks an important stage in the evolution of political science. (15 Marks).

Machiavelli's Prince is considered the best book ever written in the field of statecraft.
He is credited with making the discipline of political science as autonomous, by disengaging it from ethics and religion.

Machiavelli wanted to revive the glory of Italy and thus gave several advices to the Prince.
He preferred to look at things as they are, rather than how they ought to be.

He examined human nature as selfish, fickle-minded, full of cowardice and greedy, thus



advised the Prince to be a strong prince, ruling with an iron hand. He wanted the Prince to be a cold-blooded man, full of rationality and taking calculated risks.

He wanted the Prince to not trust anyone since people can change their loyalties. Thus, Machiavelli advised the Prince to be clever, like fox and brave like lion.

He preferred the Prince to crush the enemy completely and use power as and when required. It is better for the Prince to be feared than be loved. He ~~was~~ should also use religion rather than be used by religion.



He advised the Prince that there is no role of ethics in politics, which is pure power game. Also, Machiavelli gave the concept of Dual Morality, where a Prince should not sacrifice the national interest for the sake of correctness of means.

Thus, Machiavelli believed that ends is more important than means in politics and such an empirical analysis, has made his work relevant even today. It made political science less philosophical and more pragmatic.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.4(c)

Examine the conception of the state in the ideologies of Fascism and Marxism.

(15 Marks).

The conception of the state differs in different ideologies although the state is the most universal form of authority. Political science is all about the study of Polis or state.

Fascism considers the state as supreme. Mussolini said that there is nothing outside, against or above the state. He believed that democracy is the luxury of rich nations and Parliament is nothing but a talking shop.

On fascism, people only have duties towards the state. There is presence of state censorship,



an elite junta, an imperialistic and militaristic foreign policy like lebensraum and corporate links.

liberal scholars like Laski have criticised it as desperate attempt to protect capitalism in its last stages and Hannah Arendt has called it as pathology.

Marxists consider state as part of superstructure and as the instrument of the capitalist class. Marx had preferred communism where the state withers away.

Instrumentalist theory of Marxism considers the state as capitalist, leading to emergence of core and periphery. (Dependency school, by A. G. Frank, Samir Amin,



Emmanuel Wallerstein).

The structuralist theory represented in Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, considers the state as relatively autonomous, if many classes are present and equilibrium is achieved.

(Nicos Poulantzas)

Hamza Alavi has called the post-colonial states as over-developed, with Bonapartist tendency i.e. executive is very strong.

Thus, the conception of state is different in both ideologies.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Section-B

Que.5(a)

Decline of Indian Parliament.

(10 Marks).

The Indian Parliament is the cornerstone of our representative democracy. It has gone through various stages.

The decline of Parliament started during the coalition era where factionalism emerged. There was policy paralysis, increasing horse trading, decline of role of speaker and role of PM was degraded to that of a manager.

Today, Parliament has further declined to criminalisation of politics. Parliament is a mirror of society and this trend



is disturbing. 43% of MPs in Lok Sabha 2019, have criminal charges against them.

Today, the Parliament is again seeing trends towards one-party majority i.e. rise of BJP. There are concerns regarding defections and ^{loss of} autonomy of states.

The COVID-19 pandemic has also affected functioning of Parliament since sessions are not being held and even the Question Hour was removed. Thus, the Parliament should be reformed and revived.

Understanding of Questions	✓
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	✓
Overall Remarks :	

Que.5(b)

Marxist understanding of India's freedom movement.

(10 Marks).

The Indian freedom struggle is considered as the biggest mass movement in history. However, there are different interpretations of it.

The Marxist scholars like M. N. Roy, A. R. Desai, E. M. S. Namboodiripad, considered the Indian mass movement as elitist in nature. They consider Gandhi as a bourgeois leader, who made concessions with the British in the name of harmony between classes.

M. N. Roy has criticised Gandhi's movements as well.



He considered the Quit India movement as leading to strengthening of fascist forces in the country.

Sumit Sarkar has also questioned Gandhi's leadership of the freedom struggle, though he argues that it was not intentional and not necessarily against the masses.

Bipin Chandra has analysed the movement as efforts of Gandhi to unite the people and establish a nationalist consciousness.

Thus, the Indian freedom movement remains debated.

Understanding of Questions	✓
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	✓
Overall Remarks :	



Que.5(c)

Differentiate Moderate Nationalism from Extremist/Militant Nationalism in terms of their objectives and means.

(10 Marks).

The Moderate leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, SN Banerjee, Ranade, considered the British rule as a blessing in disguise.

They preferred to protest, demonstrate and petition against British, and not adopt violence.

Their objective was to get concessions from the British but goal of swaraj was not established.

They used constitutional means and did not regard the masses as ready to be a part of the movement.

Bipin Chandra has thus called the Moderates as boter



leaders as well as learners.

Extremists were the next generation leaders like Lal-Bal-Pal. They called 'moderates' methods as political mendicancy and preferred more direct actions like boycott, passive resistance, picketing, public burning etc.

Their goal was to attain swaraj and wanted the masses to get involved eg. swadeshi Movement.

They regarded the British as alien rule and unconstitutional.

Both factions paved the way for emergence of Gandhi, to lead the freedom struggle.

Understanding of Questions	-
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	-
Overall Remarks :	



Que.5(d)

Examine the significance of the verdicts of the supreme court in the Golaknath and Keshavananda Bharti cases for an understanding of the scope of Article 368 in regard to Fundamental Rights.

(10 Marks).

The supreme court is known as the guardian of the constitution. In the two cases, Article 368 or power of Parliament to amend the constitution was examined.

In the Golaknath case, the supreme court held that Parliament could not curtail any of the fundamental Rights.

The power of amendment was held as an ordinary law under Article 13. This helped to protect the fundamental Rights from arbitrary amendments.

following petitions against



the 24th and 25th Amendment Acts, the supreme Court in the Keshavnand Bharti case held that although no part of the constitution, including fundamental rights, was beyond the Parliament's amending power, the Basic structure of the constitution could not be violated even by a constitutional amendment.

The Basic Structure Doctrine is an innovative mechanism which continues to protect people's rights. It has made fundamental rights as inalienable and unalterable.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.5(e)

"The principle of collective responsibility, has eroded in the context of the emergence of coalition government in India." Comment. (10 Marks).

The principle of collective responsibility is present in Article 75 of the constitution wherein the Council of Ministers is considered as a group, they must support all decisions and if they do not privately support a decision, then they must resign.

The Council, if defeated in the floor test, must resign collectively. The PM leads them and without him, COM will be dispersed.

With emergence of coalitions, the principle has eroded because



coalitions are formed to gain power ^{even} if the partners do not share ideological coherence.

Therefore, decisions will be supported by some and opposed by others. This leads to conflict and factionalism. The com no longer operates as a collective.

Eg: the VPA coalition where the congress supported the US civil nuclear deal but the left parties strongly opposed it.

Thus, coalition government has challenged the functioning of the com.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.7(a)

Discuss how far the politics of regionalism and communalism have affected nation-building in India.

(20 Marks).

India is considered as a diverse country, with many emerging faultlines of caste, class, religion, language, race etc.

Nation-building has thus proved to be a difficult process.

Regional politics has emerged as a challenge to nation-building. The feeling of belongingness to one's own region, has hampered the national agenda.

Many states have faced conflicts due to backwardness, feeling of separation and parochial nature of their agenda. There have been various demands :

- i) secession or state autonomy like in Khalistan, Bodoland, Greater Nagaland etc.
 - ii) supra state nationalism eg. North eastern states want greater powers and recognition
 - iii) intra-state disputes eg. found in Vidarbha, Harit Pradesh, Saurashtra
 - iv) inter-state disputes eg. water disputes of Cauvery, Sutlej-Yamuna
- further, regional demands are aggravated by political leaders, for their own vested interests eg. son of soil theory in Maharashtra and Gujarat.
- such narrow-mindedness and opportunism affects nation building and cooperation.



Communalism has also divided the nation, on the basis of religion.

Eg: Babri Masjid demolition, Godhra riots, cow protection movements, mob lynching incidents

With rising tide of Islamic fundamentalism and Hindutva due to rise of BJP, India has turned into a de facto Hindu rashtra, according to Christophe Jaffrelot.

Use of religion in politics gives rise to communal riots, trust deficit and stereotypes.

The Sachar committee report shows how Muslims lag behind the fruits of development.



Thus, Romila Thapar has called for a bolder model of secularism while Partha Chatterjee propagates the idea of toleration. Bringing the uniform civil code is also being considered as an equilibrium maker.

The Sarkaria Commission has called regionalism as overlapping with political and economic aspirations. Thus, devolution of powers, decentralisation and economic development, are needed.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.7(b)

Make an assessment of the composition, functioning and the role of the Election Commission of India in the conduct of free and fair elections.

(15 Marks).

The election process is considered as vital for the functioning of our democracy. The Election Commission, is the main body, which aims to conduct free and fair elections.

under Article 324, the EC's composition and powers have been mentioned. There are 3 members, a CEC and two Election Commissioners. They are appointed by the President.

The EC conducts elections to the Parliament and State Legislative Assemblies. It recognises different parties, allots symbols

to them, prepares the voter list, declares the date of elections, enforces the Model Code of Conduct and so on.

The role of EC is to ensure that no money and muscle power is used in elections, that there is a level playing field for all candidates and easy process of voting for the citizens.

The EC has given several recommendations, to make elections free and fair, such as limiting the role of speaker in defection cases, using VVPAT and EVMs, asking political parties to reveal reasons for selecting criminal candidates over others etc.



However, the EC has been criticised due to its politicised appointment process, absence of qualifications and tenure for election commissioners and having no power to de register parties.

in order to ensure free & fair elections, the EC's powers need to be strengthened, with a multi-member committee for appointment, clear guidelines, making Model Code of Conduct statutory and deciding defection cases with President or Governor.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.7(c)

Explain how pressure groups have been influencing public policy -
making with suitable illustration.

(15 Marks).

Pressure groups have been called as invisible empire by Finer. They do not aim for formal posts in the government like political parties, but still influence decision making.

They help in interest articulation - protecting rights of people and checking state's arbitrary powers. Pressure groups thus operate at the interface of politics and society.

Gabriel Almond has classified pressure groups, demonstrating

their role in public policy making.

The institutional pressure groups, like bureaucracy, military influence decisions, through their inherent powers. eg: the inspector Raj in India, the military as deep state in Pakistan.

The non-associational groups like caste organisations in India also influence decision making through their exclusive membership and cultural practices.

The associational pressure groups like Amnesty International, Greenpeace, FICCI, etc. influence decisions with their shared interests.

The anomic pressure groups are of short-duration but lead



to collective behaviours. eg protests
against car accidents

A relevant example is that of Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan (MKSS), which led the right to information movement, starting from Rajasthan. It led to the establishment of RTI Act.

Another example is that of ADR, PUCL, Public Interest Foundation which have influenced decisions of Supreme Court towards decriminalisation of politics.

Thus, pressure groups protect democracy and rights.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	✓
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.8(a)

"Cooperative federalism produces a strong central, or general movement, yet it does not necessarily result in weak provincial governments that are largely administrative agencies for central policies. Indian federation has demonstrated this." (Granville Austin)
Examine the uniqueness of Indian federalism in the light of the above statement.

(20 Marks).

Indian federalism has taken inspiration from American federation. It involves division of powers, written constitution and an independent judiciary.

Article 1 of our constitution calls India i.e. Bharat as a union of states. The term federation has not been mentioned since it is not a result of agreement among states.

Indian federalism has been considered as a basic.



feature of the constitution in the S.R. Bommai case. Alfred Stepan has called India as a democratically enabling model.

K.C. Wheare has called India as quasi-federal due to centralisation and states having the status of glorified municipalities. The constitution is considered as unitary due to provisions like residuary powers, Articles 356 or President's Rule, discretionary powers of Governors, All India services, dependence of states on centre for finance etc.

However, NITI Aayog has propagated the idea of Cooperative,



Competitive federalism for changing such unitary features. Cooperative federalism is an alternative to dual federalism, found in USA.

in place of being watertight compartments, the centre and states are considered, as inter-dependent, mainly for policy implementation. Platforms like inter-state council, zonal councils, help in this regard.

Competitive federalism, on the other hand, aims to minimise government and maximise governance, to establish Team India. It motivates states to



compete amongst themselves, to attract private investment.

Eg: GST Council, Finance Commission, NITI Aayog platforms.

Such model of federalism aims to establish inter-linkages.

However, Balveer Arora has criticised it as going against interests of poors and leading to regional imbalance.

The main objective should be to devolve more powers to the states and establish harmony. This will lead to sabka saath, sabka vikas and sabka vishwas.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.8(b)

What do you understand by Green Revolution? Do you think that a Second Green Revolution is needed to adequately address the agrarian challenges in contemporary India? (15 Marks).

The Green Revolution is considered as the brainchild of Ms. Swaminathan. It is based on the philosophy of capitalism for self-sufficiency in food grain production.

The Green Revolution has made India the largest exporter of rice and wheat, led to use of modern inputs in agriculture and more availability of credit for farmers.

However, the Green Revolution has also been criticised



for leading to regional imbalances and poor productivity. V K R V Rao has argued that the economic gains of Green Revolution have come at significant social and political costs.

Vandana Shiva has criticised it for leading to ground water depletion, increasing use of chemicals and destruction of nature.

Therefore, a second Green Revolution has been called for to deal with contemporary agrarian challenges such as:

- 1) stagnation of agriculture sector growth
- 2) Poor remuneration to farmers



- 3) Lack of an organised farmers' movement leading to their neglect in public policy.
- 4) Destruction of nature, monoculture,
rise of small & marginal farmers

The second Green Revolution should become a Rainbow Revolution. It should promote organic farming, private investment in agri infrastructure, promote allied activities & food processing and establish cooperatives and FPOs to increase their bargaining power. This will help to strengthen agriculture in India.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.8(c)

The Panchayati Raj institutions and district administration should develop a new relationship for achieving the goal of good governance.

(15 Marks).

Grassroot democracy is considered the real democracy, which gives voice to the voiceless and power to the powerless. It is in line with Gandhi's vision of local self-government.

The 73rd and 74th Amendment Acts have led to panchayati raj in India. However, they are criticised for their inefficiencies and called as half-baked cake.

PRI's suffer from lack of funds, infrequent elections, lack of separate administrative service, ombudsman and poor

representation eg. Dalit chairmen
not allowed to attend meetings
or made to sit on the floor.

in this context, PRIs should
cooperate with the district
administration for achieving
good governance. Both stakeholders
should cooperate in policy making,
checking ground realities and
ensuring regular elections
are held.

The district administration
can provide insights to PRIs for
governance eg. implementing
welfare schemes. It can ensure
reports of PRIs are placed in
assemblies and that devolution

of funds does not face red tapism.

PRIs can help the district administration to know the demands of people better and address them effectively. Use of tools like code of conduct, social Audit, RTI, right to recall, can help to usher in good governance.

for better accountability and transparency, the use of technology is essential. This will help to bring inclusive growth and strengthen local self-government.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	