



Political Science & International Relations

Crash Course & Test Series - 2020

Test 05

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name MANASA
Test Date 20.12.2020
Email Address _____
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UPSC Roll No 5000686

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)

Hobbes' Theory of Political obligation.

(10 Marks)

The theory of political obligation, or why we need to obey the state, is central to the discipline of political science.

Hobbes held that it is in man's own interest to obey the state.

Using the Resolutive - Compositive method, Hobbes stated that man is inherently selfish, possessive, individualistic and power-seeking.

Hence, he held that the "state of nature is a war, a war of all against all," where the life of man is "nasty, poor, brutish and short." Man, in order to gain security of



life, created the state through the social contract. Man entrusts all his rights to the state, creating a 'Leviathan' state.

Thus, for Hobbes, man has only two choices: absolute anarchy or absolute state. The state can only be resisted when it endangers the security of life.

Hence, Hobbes' theory of political obligation is based on the nature of man creates an all-powerful state.

This view is contested by liberals such as Locke who provide for a minimal state and Marxists who view state as an instrument of coercion.

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



Que.1(b)

Deliberative Democracy

(10 Marks.)

Democracy, as Lincoln held, is "rule of the people, for the people and by the people".

Deliberation is an integral part of democracy. Even ancient Greeks such as Aristotle and ancient Buddhist sanghas and ganas valued deliberation to arrive at solutions.

Deliberative democracy is based on the idea that the common man working together is better than experts working alone. Though consultations and talks slow down the decision-making process, as argued



by authoritarian leaders, deliberation checks hasty decisions and leads to better decisions in the long-term.

In recent times, we find institutions of deliberation being eroded. For example, Pratap Bhanu Mehta holds that Indian Parliament is in decline with poorer quality of debates and poor functioning of parliamentary committees.

In order to improve governance and make it inclusive and citizen-centric, it is imperative to revive deliberative democracy.

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



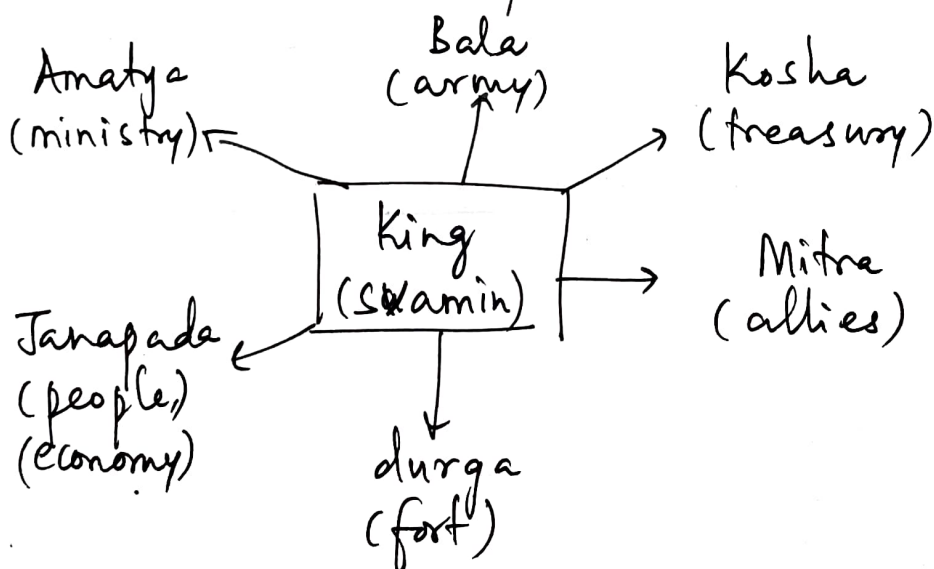
Que.1(c)

Saptanga Theory of Kautilya.

(10 Marks).

Kautilya is known as the father of realism in the East. In his work 'Arthashastra', he advises how domestic and international policies are to be conducted.

Kautilya gives an organic view of the state through his saptanga theory. He holds that the state consists of 7 components:





These 7 organs of the state are elements of power. A strong king can utilise these and convert even weak organs into determinants of power.

In waging war, Kautilya advises kings to evaluate the strengths of these 7 organs of the enemy, taking a realistic approach.

Thus, Kautilya was a shrewd statesman and led the Mauryas to form a great empire. The 7 organs of the state he provides, are used even in modern public administration to strengthen the state.

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



Que.1(d)

Aristotle's Theory of citizenship.

(10 Marks).

Aristotle is known as the father of political science. He was one of the first to give a theory of citizenship, showing the relationship between the individual and the state.

Aristotle advocated polity as the best form of government, where wise man came together to make collective decisions.

For him, citizenship was a duty towards the state. Men were obliged to deliberate on important matters, make laws and adjudicate them.

However, Aristotle is criticised for taking a narrow view of

citizenship. He excludes women, the young, the old, and the slaves from being citizens. He holds that they have nothing to contribute to the state and are best confined to the private sphere.

Thus, Aristotle gave one of the first theories of citizenship thought it was limited. His approach of citizenship as a duty is echoed by later thinkers such as Mussolini, Gandhi, and so on.

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

Que.1(e)

Marxist perspective of politics as class struggle.

(10 Marks)

Karl Marx is one of the most influential thinkers of modern times.

Marx provides the view of history as a class struggle in his book 'The Communist Manifesto'. He held that history has evolved through the "dialectics" between the dominant class and the subjugated classes, such as feudal lords and serfs, and in the modern day, capitalists and workers.

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



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Marxists view the economic structure as the basic structure, which is controlled by the capitalist class. The political sphere, which is part of the superstructure, is just a reflection of the base.

Hence, Marx held that the state is an "executive committee of the bourgeois class". The political sphere or politics, is also a reflection of the underlying class struggle between capitalists and workers.

Thus, Marxists call for "workers of the world to unite" and establish communism, a classless and stateless society.

Que.2(a)

What are the differences between participatory and representative democracy? Do you think participatory democracy is possible in contemporary world?

(20 Marks).

Democracy implies empowerment of the people. It means giving a voice to every citizen, providing them the ability to shape the rules that govern them.

While the desirability of democracy has been accepted largely, the nature of democracy is still contested.

Participatory democracy involves the common man coming together to make decisions himself. Thinkers such as Rousseau advocate participatory democracy in order to truly



empower the people and safeguard rights. Hannah Arendt also holds that people's participation in the political sphere through participative democracy is "the human condition".

However, due to the growth of populations and large states, representative democracy has become the prevalent form of government. In this, people elect their representatives, who then decide and deliberate on public issues and make laws. This allows for functional specialisation.

However, scholars argue that representative democracy restricts democracy to elections. The elites in power can exploit the people



for their own personal gains.

Hence, it is suggested to bring participatory democracy in the contemporary world to make governance citizen-centric.

This can be done through instruments such as referendum where the public vote on laws, initiative where the public initiate laws, and even recall, where there are representatives but they can be replaced anytime.

Countries such as Switzerland have participatory democracy in a limited manner but with considerable success in terms of human development indicators.



However, in large states like India, where only 74% of the population has basic literacy, participatory democracy may not be viable.

Moreover, the decision-making apparatus can become deadlocked due to ethnic rivalries and hinder national development.

Nevertheless, participatory democracy can be tried at the lower tiers of government, through the Gram Sabha. The powers of Gram Sabha must be enhanced. This can make democracy substantive.

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

Que.2(b)

"State is an individual writ large." In light of the above statement, critically examine Plato's theory of justice

(15 Marks).

Plato is known as the father of political philosophy. He desired to understand the causes of Athens' defeat in the Peloponnesian war with Sparta.

He came to the conclusion that the strength of the state lies in the qualities of its people. He held that the state does not arise from oak or rock but "inheres in the minds of the people". If the people are ignorant and corrupt, the state will also weaken. Thus, the "state is an individual writ large".



Plato held Sophists responsible for the moral decay of Athenians, as they encouraged pursuit of power. Plato argued that the ignorance and corruption led to injustice which disturbed peace and harmony.

In his book 'The Republic' Plato gives the theory of justice based on the theory of ideal state. He held that every man has logical, spirited and appetitive elements in his brain.

In an ideal state, men of reason, in whom the logical aspect dominates, should rule. Men of courage should form the soldiers or guardian class, and men of appetite should form the producer class.

Thus, justice consisted of proper placement of the right men in the right places with functional specialisation and non-interference. The philosopher king would be the fountain of justice, representing wisdom and sacrifice.

Plato also provided for an elaborate education system, and communism of property and family to reduce greed and nepotism. Thus, for Plato, this ideal state would ensure justice which will lead to peace, harmony and excellence. His ideas have inspired several thinkers and are fundamental in Western political thought.

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



Que.2(c)

Compare the distinctive features of Hindu tradition with the Buddhist tradition of Indian Political thought

(15 Marks).

India has a rich history of political thought, despite its neglect in academic discourse. The Hindu and Buddhist traditions are the two major themes of political thought.

The Hindu tradition is composed of dharma-shastras and danda-shastras. The Manusmriti describes the origin of the state in the need to prevent matsyanyaya or anarchy. Dharma or "that which holds together life on earth" is needed to prevent anarchy (arajakta) and pralaya (destruction). Thus, Brahma



has provided the first law giver through Mamw.

In Buddhist thought, the origin of the state is traced to the fall of man and his corruption. Man's inability to control his desires and the growth of greed led to the state to keep external checks.

Moreover, Hindu thought recommends monarchy whereas Buddhism emphasises on republicanism and deliberative democracy.

Hindu thought as seen in Kautilya is realist in nature. The use of war and violence are justified in order to defend justice, as seen in Mahabharata and Ramayana.



In Buddhism, ahimsa is the highest virtue. As Ashvagosha mentions in Buddha Charita, the king should pursue dhammagosha instead of thenighosha and win over the hearts of his enemies.

Whereas Hinduism provides for a chakravartisamrat or strong emperor, Buddhism provides for atmajit or a king who has conquered himself. The ideal king conquers the dhamma chakra and not the wheel of the chariot.

Thus, the two schools are interrelated. Buddhism can be considered the rebel child of Hinduism, as held by Bhikhu Parekh.

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

Section-B

Que.5(a)

Judicial Activism.

(10 Marks).

Judicial activism is when the judiciary reaches beyond its mandated role and steps into the spheres of the other organs of government such as legislature and executive.

Judicial activism is considered undesirable as it destabilises the system of checks and balances in parliamentary democracy and increases the power of the judiciary.

However, in the Indian context, the Constitution has envisaged an active judiciary through Article 13 (judicial review), Article 32 & 226 (writs to protect fundamental rights), Article 142



(power to do complete justice), etc:- As Nehru, held, the judiciary is to be an active participant in India's social revolution.

Judicial activism has strengthened the rule of law and rights of the citizens as seen in institutionalisation of PLL by Justice Bhagwati. It has also filled the vacuum in governance during unstable coalition governments. It has protected democracy through the basic structure doctrine.

However, activism can easily turn into overreach. The judiciary must respect the powers of other institutions as held by Vice President Venkaiah Naidu.

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



Que.5(b)

Basic Structure Doctrine.

(10 Marks).

The basic structure doctrine was provided by the Supreme Court in the Kesavananda Bharati case of 1973.

It is an example of judicial activism where the Supreme Court (SC) held that the power of Parliament to amend the Constitution does not extend to altering the fundamentals of the Constitution.

Hence, this provided for judicial review of constitutional amendments under Article 358. In various judgements, the SC has added provisions such as secularism, parliamentary democracy, fundamental rights, etc:- to the basic



structure

While this doctrine was important in ensuring the rule of law and preventing the tyranny of the executive it is also seen as judicial overreach.

It makes the SC the most powerful court in the world, stepping into the shoes of a Constituent Assembly.

In recent times, progressive reforms such as 99th amendment act have been hindered using this doctrine.

However, on the whole, the basic structure doctrine is seen as a pragmatic step by the judiciary to protect democracy.

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



Que.5(c)

74th Amendment Act

(10 Marks).

The 74th Amendment Act of 1992 provides for democratic decentralisation by providing constitutional status to municipal governments.

The 12th Schedule added to the Constitution provides for a list of subjects that can be devolved by states to municipalities, such as public health & sanitation, water supply, etc:-

This Act is important to empower municipalities and transform urban India. Cities are known for various issues such as slums, traffic congestion, air and water pollution, poor



service delivery, etc:- This can only be addressed through democratic participation, making the local government responsible to the people through periodic elections.

However, the implementation of the act has been weak. States are reluctant to devolve powers, use parallel agencies, and the municipalities have a poor tax base and undertrained personnel.

In order to empower urban residents, municipal governments must be strengthened with funds, functions & functionaries. Direct elections of Mayor can be a good step.

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



Que.5(d)

Article 32.

(10 Marks).

Article 32 of the Constitution provides a fundamental right to constitutional remedies. A citizen can directly approach the Supreme Court in case his fundamental rights are violated, and the SC can dispense justice through the use of writs such as mandamus and habeas corpus.

Ambedkar has held the Article 32 is the soul of the Constitution and has the potential to guarantee rule of law. It makes the Supreme Court the guardian of fundamental rights.



However, this role of the Supreme Court has often come into question. During the ADM Jabalpur vs. Shivkant Shukla case (1976), the Court held that the right under Article 32 could be suspended during emergency. Recent petitions for the use of habeas corpus being delayed in being heard also point to a weakening role.

However, the Supreme Court has used this power to strengthen rights, as seen in Maneka Gandhi case and measures for undertrials. Article 32 is the cornerstone of justice for citizens and must be safeguarded.

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



Que.5(e)

Unorganized labour in India.

(10 Marks).

Labour is one of the most marginalised sections of the economy, as Marxists hold.

While workers in advanced countries are more organised into unions, in India, more than 99% of workers are unorganised, especially due to prevalence of informal sector.

While organised labour has better collective bargaining rights to ensure decent pay and standards of work, unorganised workers are more prone to exploitation.

Women and tribals are most found in unorganised labour, making them vulnerable to MNCs' exploitation in the age of neoliberalism, as held by Thomas Piketty.

Indian public policy must promote organisation of labour by making formation of labour unions conducive under Trade Unions Act & Industrial Disputes Act. However, this must ensure better relations between labour and employers to avoid frequent strikes and promote ease of doing business.

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

Que.6(a)

Agricultural reforms in India have been influenced by the philosophy of capitalism. What will be the impact of the recent agricultural reforms on small and marginal farmers in India?

(20 Marks).

Agriculture provides employment to over 50% of India's labour force. However, it only contributes to 16% of GDP and its growth has stagnated in recent decades.

In the initial years of independence, agricultural reforms were influenced by the philosophy of socialism, based on tenancy reforms, land ceiling, abolition of zamindari, land redistribution and attempts at cooperativisation. The Green revolution and Minimum Support Price also sought to increase production through govern-



ment support.

However, with the shift to neoliberal model of economy in 1990s, agriculture was neglected. The recent reforms passed in 2020 are based on the philosophy of capitalism. They aim to free the farmer from the clutches of traditional APMC mandis, allow growth of a national market, promote private sector investment, and make agricultural exports competitive.

The three acts passed are:

- a) Farmers' Produce Trade & Commerce Act, 2020 - allowing wholesale trade outside of APMC mandis
- b) Farm Services Agreement on Price Assurance Act, 2020 - allows contract farming with dispute resolution mechanism.

c) Essential Commodities (Amendment)

Act, 2020: restricts stock controls and promotes development of cold storage infrastructure to reduce post-harvest losses.

These changes will have an immense impact on farmers. Small and marginal farmers who own less than 2 hectares form 86% of India's farmers.

They will benefit through selling produce outside APMC mandis for remunerative prices, bypassing the politicised and cartelised APMC traders.

The farmers can also contract with large-scale traders and food processing companies to ensure assured market at pre-determined prices. Restrictions on



price controls will provide remunerative prices, especially for horticultural goods.

As former Chief Economic Advisor, Arvind Panagariya suggests, the farmers will benefit immensely, and it will boost agricultural GDP.

However, adequate safeguards must be in place acknowledging farmers concerns. The dispute resolution mechanism must be farmer friendly, and scope for exploitation by corporations must be nullified.

Through this, farmer incomes can be doubled, and India can seize opportunities to join regional trading blocs like RCEP.

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



Que.6(b)

Discuss the different stages of federal re-organisation of states in India. How far has it satisfied the regional aspirations in India?

(15 Marks).

India has adopted a federal polity due to the immense diversity. However, we have a fluid model that is asymmetric and can accommodate reorganisation in the federal setup according to the needs of the times.

In the original constitution, India's federal units were divided into 4 parts, with Part A containing former British provinces.

This was prone to multiple stages of reorganisation, starting with the creation of Andhra state in 1953 on linguistic lines. This prompted wider



reorganisation in 1956 as per Fazl Ali committee's recommendations on linguistic lines. Soon, Bombay province gave rise to Maharashtra and Gujarat, Punjab was ~~was~~ bifurcated to produce Haryana (1966); Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Uttarakhand came into being in 2000 and Telangana was created out of Andhra in 2014.

In between, several Union Territories were created in the North East, and numerous UTs were given statehood such as Manipur, Tripura, Goa. Sikkim, an external state was also incorporated in 1975.

Thus, the federal setup has been reorganised several times to satisfy regional aspirations.



In several cases, this has been successful as seen in Telangana, providing UT status to Ladakh, Uttarakhand, etc:- Violent separatist movements such as Mizo National Front have also been appeased with statehood.

However, other regional issues like inter-state river water disputes, border disputes (Karnataka vs. Maharashtra), and resentment over loss of statehood (Kashmir) have also cropped up.

On the whole, as Sarkaria Commission held, regional disputes can be resolved through democratic decentralisation and providing autonomy.

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



Que.6(c)

Examine the role and participation of Indian women in the Indian National Movement.

(15 Marks).

The role of women in the Indian National Movement has been underrecognised. However, with the growth of the subaltern school of historiography, it is being highlighted again.

Women have contributed to all the phases of the freedom struggle. Beginning with resistance to the East India Company by native rulers like Rani Chenamma of Kittur, women rulers like Rani Laxmibai of Thansi and Begum Hazrat Mahal have led armies in violent revolt against the British in 1857.

While women's participation receded during the Moderate phase of the struggle using constitutional methods, it again revived in the Swadeshi movement of 1904 against the partition of Bengal.

Women also played a critical role in revolutionary nationalism. Pritilata Waddadar and Kalpana Dutt are known for not shying away from violence. ~~Rani~~ Captain Laxmi Sehgal even led the all women regiment of the Indian National Army in the 1940s.

The Gandhian movements saw mass participation by women in hartals, picketing and satyagrahas to fill jails. Women stepped out of their tradi-



tionally confined personal sphere and participated in the political sphere.

Sarojini Naidu has led the Dharasana salt raid during the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930. Rani Gaidinliu of Nagas led the Zehiangrong movement.

Thus, the national movement witnessed immense contribution by women. It also led to greater awareness among women and formation of organisations such as All India Women's Conference in 1924. Thus, India later became a pioneer in granting suffrage to women after independence, recognising their role.

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



Que.7(a)

What features set Indian elections apart? What have been the main shifts and patterns in Indian elections in last two decades?

(20 Marks).

The experiment of universal adult franchise in India is known as the "biggest gamble in history" due to a large illiterate population and a traditional society that is ethnically diverse.

However, 70 years after the first elections, Indian democracy has not only thrived, but elections in India have become unique in character.

Indian elections are most unique due to the high voter turnouts.

Indian voters are recognised as more sophisticated and aware than their counterparts in developed nations,



as held by Mukulika Bannerjee. Moreover, rural Indians participate in greater numbers compared to urban residents. Bannerjee holds that rural residents being the beneficiaries of public welfare programs have a greater understanding of their political needs.

Furthermore, the efforts to include all voters by the Election Commission have been globally lauded. The ECI carries ballots to remote jungles in North East and mountains in Ladakh.

However, Indian elections in recent times are also known for the rampant use of money and muscle power, and the fielding of criminals

as candidates.

In the last two decades, Indian elections have seen major shifts.

As pointed out by Thomas Blom Hansen in his book 'The Saffron Wave', there has been a phenomenal rise of the Right, led by the BJP. We have seen the maturing of coalition politics in 2000s and are now witnessing majority governments.

Simultaneously, scholars like Milan Vaishnav have pointed to the declining role of caste considerations in electoral behaviour. Though caste is still the dominant ~~determinant~~ factor, religion and developmental aspirations ("vikas") also



play a role with the emergence of a "neo-middle class".

Further, Indian electoral process is also deepening with the highest voter turnout of 67% recorded in the 17th Lok Sabha elections in 2019. As Yogendra Yadav held, there is a "democratic upsurge", with Dalit parties becoming more powerful.

We also see other phenomena such as rise of new Left in the form of AAP, grand coalitions such as Mahagathbandans, and increasing polarisation during elections. Thus, while elections are becoming messy, they are still a grand festival in India.

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

Que.7(b)

Critically examine the role of governors in India's federal politics

(15 Marks).

Sarkaria Commission has held that the Governor is the linchpin of the state apparatus.

Governor is the constitutional head of the state under Article 153. He acts as a bridge between the Centre and the state.

However, the role of Governors has been highly criticised as playing the part of "long arm of the Centre".

The Governor has wide discretionary powers under the Constitution, in reserving state bills for President's

assent, recommending imposition of President's rule under Article 356 and inviting a party to form government in case of hung assembly. Even the matter of whether a power is under his discretion can be decided by the Governor.

Hence, the governor is a powerful institution. However, scholars such as Upendra Baxi hold that the safeguards against politicisation are weak. The system of appointment is under the control of Union executive, there is no security of tenure as he serves under the pleasure of President. Hence, the Governor is often used by ruling party at Centre to interfere in the

politics of the state. This is seen in the Andhra Governor dismissing N.T. Rama Rao's government in 1989, etc:-

In recent years, the role of Governor has again come into question due to Assam Governor preponing assembly session in 2015, Maharashtra Governor inviting different parties to form government, etc. This lack of credibility gives rise to regionalism in states and hinders national integration.

As Soli Sorabjee suggested, Governor can be a sage or saboteur, what is needed is constitutional morality.

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

Que.7(c)

"The status of India as a nation is fatally flawed owing to the divisions of religion, Caste and ethnicity". Comment.

(15 Marks).

The status of India as a nation has often been questioned due to its enormous diversity.

General Auchinleck has held that a Madrasi is as different from a Punjab as a Scot is from an Italian.
Scholars of Cambridge School such as John Stratchey have held that "there is no India".

However, this view is seen as a Western imposition by colonial administrators. Indian nationalists such as Aurobindo Ghosh have held that India has always been a nation and

this cannot be denied.

The balkanisation of India has been predicted after every major crisis, as held by Ramachandran Guha in his book 'India After Gandhi'. However, India has shown to be resilient.

Despite regional aspirations in Kashmir and Nagaland, despite faultlines in caste and religion enhanced through British policy of divide and rule, India is still a strong nation due to a common civilisational culture and a shared perception of a future.



On the other hand, leaders like Ambedkar held that India is not a nation, and the sooner we recognise it, the better. A transformative Constitution was drafted to weld India into a nation with a modern outlook. As Granville Austin held, the Indian Constitution is the cornerstone of the nation.

Thus, there are several views on the status of India as a nation. However, 73 years after independence, this status cannot be denied. India is not only a strong nation but is also on its way to being a great power.

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