



SHUBHRA RANJAN

Always Ahead

25, Pusa Road, Karol Bagh, Delhi 110005. ☎ 011 45612719

Political Science & International Relations

Crash Course & Test Series - 2020

Test 07

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name MANASA
Test Date 21.12.2020
Email Address _____
Mobile _____
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						

Que.1(a)

Section-A

Negative and positive concepts of liberty.

(10 Marks)

Like most concepts in political science, the concept of liberty is also contested.

Scholars like Isaiah Berlin are proponents of negative liberty, defining it as the absence of restrictions.

Hobbes held that "liberty signifies the absence of opposition, opposition in the form of external impediments to motion". Berlin holds that if a bird which is not caged loses its ability to fly, it does not mean it was denied liberty.

On the other hand, scholars of positive liberty argue for positive intervention by the state. For e.g., T.H. Green held that "liberty involves rights and rights demand the state". Eg: Part IV of Indian Constitution.

Others like Amartya Sen too argue that liberty should involve capacity to do something worth doing and argue for affirmative action by the state. However, Berlin holds that state intervention can easily slip into totalitarianism.

Hence liberty is an essentially contested concept

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



Que.1(b)

The multi-cultural perspectives on rights.

(10 Marks)

Laski defines rights as those conditions of social life without which no man can seek in general to be at his best.

While the concept of human rights is based on the idea that all humans are of equal moral worth and should have ~~the~~ certain natural rights, multiculturalists contest this.

Scholars like Will Kymlicka argue that cultural perspectives must be applied to rights and it is not countries should decide which rights to provide their citizens.



Mahathir Mohammad has claimed that human rights are a form of Western cultural imperialism. He puts forward "Asian values" which stress on duties more than rights.

Hence, multiculturalists argue that the so called universally applicable rights such as freedom of speech, etc. are products of Western liberalism.

However, this argument is seen as defending atrocious cultural practices such as female ~~genoi~~ genital mutilation in Arab countries.

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



Que.1(c)

The Marxian theory of social stratification.

(10 Marks).

Marx provides a historical theory of social stratification. He holds that throughout history, society has been divided into a dominant class and an exploited class.

In prehistorical times this was hunters and gatherers, in ancient times lords and slaves, in medieval times feudal lords and serfs, and in modern industrial age capitalists and workers.

Marx holds that the class struggle between the two classes or their "dialectics" drives history forward.

He also states that the state is an instrument of the bourgeoisie that helps it exploit workers.

Later Marxists such as Gramsci add a third layer of stratification comprising of intellectuals. Gramsci holds that intellectuals serve as "cushions" that manufacture consent for the dominant class.

Further, Marxists believe that the social structure is a product of the economic structure which is the base.

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

Que.1(d)

Views of Gandhi and Ambedkar on 'social justice'.

(10 Marks).

Gandhi and Ambedkar both had a common end goal of social justice as providing freedom to every individual. However, they differed in their means.

For Gandhi, who was influenced by John Ruskin's 'Unto This Last', social justice involved "sarvodaya through antyodaya", i.e., upliftment of the downtrodden for the welfare of all.

Gandhi stressed on swaraj as an inclusive concept which meant freedom and self-sufficiency for the poor and starving millions of India.



He advocated cottage industries, khadi, anti-untouchability, prohibition, upliftment of women, etc:-

Ambedkar believed in positive state intervention as the only way to uplift people, in the traditional society. He argued for "annihilation of caste" and social reform such as Hindu Code Bill. Through the Constitution, Ambedkar sought eradicate social evils like untouchability and provide affirmative action to the historically disadvantaged through reservation, etc:-

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)

Sovereignty implies the all-encompassing power over a territory or a people without obedience to another power.

However, this Austinian sense of sovereignty is hard to find in federal states as Laski holds.

In federalism, the federal units have original powers through a written constitution. Power is decentralised and not invested in a single institution. Hence, states are not subservient to the centre but are autonomous units.



This naturally goes against the concept of sovereignty. As Hobbes held, over a particular land, "there can only be one sovereign."

Hence, this is described through the pluralistic view of sovereignty, where sovereignty is distributed in multiple institutions.

In India, though we have federalism, this dilemma is managed by providing a strong unitary bias in case of emergency.

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



Que.2(a)

To what extent does the Rawlsian goal of achieving social justice depend on an overarching consensus among cultural, religious and ideological groups? (20 Marks)

Rawls is regarded as one of the most important political philosophers of the 20th century. In his book 'Theory of Justice', he provides a method to achieve social justice.

For Rawls any principle of justice has to be based on the inviolability of human dignity. In his concept of "justice as fairness", he gives a purely procedural theory to obtain the principles of justice.

This involves a social contract entered into by heads of families in the "original position" behind a



"veil of ignorance": People do not know the circumstances they are born into, and hence will choose to apply the principle of maximin to maximise their gains and minimise losses.

Rawls holds that people will arrive at three principles:

1. Maximum equal liberty
2. Fair equality of opportunity
3. Compensation to the least advantaged

He holds that this is a "lexical order" that people will agree to in the original position.

However, communitarian critics like Michael Sandel hold that there cannot be any lexical order as man is not atomistic but an "embedded self".



Their cultural perspectives will affect the principles people choose. Michael Walzer in his 'Spheres of Justice' holds that Rawls assumes there will be an "overarching consensus" among cultural, religious and ideological groups. However, in reality, we need different principles of justice in different spheres of life.

In response to this, Rawls², in his book 'Political Liberalism' held that an overarching consensus was not needed. He stated that in Western liberal societies where there ~~is~~ are democratic values of toleration, people will have an "overlapping consensus" over the principles.



Rawls holds that his theory of justice is not a general theory of ethics but only applies to the political sphere. He believes that whatever the cultures of people in their private spheres, they will agree on his order of principles for the public sphere, in liberal democracies.

Hence, the Rawlesian goal of social justice depends on overlapping consensus instead of overarching consensus. However, communitarians still hold that the overlapping consensus is hard to find.

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



Que.2(b)

Discuss the evolution of the theories of human rights from natural rights to collective and environmental rights. (15 Marks)

The principle of human rights is based on the idea that all men are born equal and are of equal moral worth.

The initial concept of rights was of natural rights provided by Enlightenment thinkers such as John Locke. They held that men are born with certain rights that are inalienable such as right to life, liberty and property. This idea is found in the American Declaration of Independence of 1776.

Over time, the theory of natural rights got diluted with the assertion



of sovereignty of states. Rights came to be regarded as those guaranteed by states and external states had to respect the powers of states over their people, in line with Westphalian sovereignty.

However, with the growth of fascism in the interwar period and the atrocities committed on Jews during the Holocaust, the theory of natural rights reemerged as human rights to prevent such horrors in the future.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted in 1948 and the International Bill of Rights recognise that all humans everywhere have certain basic rights regardless of race, religion,



gender, etc:-

Karal Vasak traces the evolution of human rights into three phases. The first are civil and political rights such as freedom of speech, as seen in International Covenant on Civil & Political Rights. The second are social and economic rights. The third are collective or communitarian rights such as right to peace, development & clean environment.

At present, while the concept of human rights faces challenges from multi-culturalists, collective rights are being emphasised due to common global threats such as climate change and potential nuclear apocalypse.

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

Que.2(c)

Discuss the basic assumptions of behaviouralism. In what way post-behaviouralism differs from behavioural theory? (15 Marks)

Behaviouralism is a revolution in the fields of art, architecture, and even political science that began after the second world war.

Behaviouralists blamed the traditional approaches for the decline of political science and the neglect of these scholars in reconstruction conferences post war.

They viewed traditional approaches as normative, biased and lacking verifiability. They also held that the methods were too legalistic, formalistic and could not be applied to developing countries which lacked constitutionalism.



Hence, behaviouralists sought to bring scientific rigour to political studies and make it a "pure science". David Easton presented 8 principles of behaviouralism such as systematic analysis, integration of knowledge, value-free, scientific methodology, etc:- Behaviouralism aimed to study processes and not institutions and produce verifiable theories that would make the discipline more dynamic and relevant.

However, this led to a compromise in the scope of the discipline as scientific methods could only be applied in few areas like electoral analysis.

This led to the emergence of post-behaviouralism to revive political

theory. Easton in his 'Credo of Relevance' speech held that values could not be ignored and scholars in ivory towers have forgotten the purpose of study.

Post behaviouralism brings back philosophy into political science and reincorporates normative theories. However, it still holds on to scientific analysis and systematic integration of knowledge of behaviouralism.

If traditional approach is the thesis, behaviouralism is the antithesis, and post behaviouralism is the synthesis. Post behaviouralism is the most widely used approach to day.

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



Que.3(a)

Examine the conditions that are required for the maintenance of legitimacy in modern societies.

(20 Marks)

Legitimacy of the state is a core concern of political science.

While thinkers like Marx held that the state is an instrument of exploitation, others hold that there is legitimacy of the state.

Max Weber holds that the state does not represent naked power but represents authority which has legitimacy. There is a will of the people for the state. Scholars of the school of social contract such as Locke also hold that the will of the people makes the state legitimate.

In modern societies, the legitimacy of the state has common in question, especially as seen in the rise of fascism, and in economic crises.

Habermas has pointed to a "legitimacy crisis" that is a product of capitalism in the economic sphere and socialism in the political sphere. This results in contradictions leading to legitimacy crises such as the sovereign debt crisis in Greece.

Moreover, Atul Kohli has also pointed to a "crisis of governability" in the Indian context during the breakdown of the Congress system and rise of coalition politics.



This points to certain criteria by which we can gauge the legitimacy. These can be people's participation in elections, payment of taxes, respecting national symbols and celebrating national holidays.

The conditions to maintain legitimacy are varied. State's actions must be compliant with the Constitution and law and must be the product of democratic processes. Eg: Indira Gandhi's proclamation of Emergency was seen as illegitimate as the democratic procedures were ignored.



Moreover, the use of violence by the state must be minimal and only to protect the people themselves. Resorting to violence by police or army to crush peaceful protests is a symbol of the loss of legitimacy eg: Hongkong protests.

Finally, Habermas holds that the state can only become legitimate with socialism as that will end the contradictions and ensure true democracy.

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



Que.3(b)

Discuss Hannah Arendt's analysis of the ideology in modern totalitarian regimes. (15 Marks).

Hannah Arendt is considered one of the most profound and original thinkers of the 20th century. In her book 'The Origine of Totalitarianism', she provides an analysis of the Nazi totalitarian regime under Hitler.

She holds that totalitarianism has no concrete ideology but is a "hodgepodge of ideologies". Demagogic leaders borrow ideas from different philosophers and twist them according to their needs. For eg., Nazism or fascism is inspired by Plato's 'philosopher-king', Nietzsche's 'superman' and even Rousseau's 'general will'.



Arendt states that the ideology of fascism rests on propaganda. The leaders present fiction as the truth through rhetoric. The core leaders may know that it is fiction, but the "onion-like structure" of the party obscures it.

Moreover, fascist ideologies are "immune to falsification" as they cannot be proven wrong through empirical analysis. For e.g., the theory of Aryan superiority could not be proven wrong with the scientific advancements of those times, leading to social darwinism.

Moreover, the masses themselves had lost the capacity to think critically and existed as "superfluous entities".



The totalitarian regimes formed a "counter Enlightenment" movement and sought to bring back the old in opposition to forces of modernisation. They provided for a "leviathan" state as seen in Mussolini's words "there is nothing above the state, against the state or outside the state".

Hence, Hannah Arendt suggested that to counter this propaganda people should participate in the public sphere and exercise "power". Only then can the rhetoric be exposed as fiction.

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

Que.3(c)

Comment: "Material well-being alone is supreme. For, spiritual good and sensual pleasures depend upon material well-being." (Kautilya).

(15 Marks).

The origin of realism in the field of politics is traced to Kautilya by Kissinger in his book 'World Order'.

Kautilya, in his treatise on statecraft, the 'Arthashastra', provided ~~an~~ detailed advice on how a state should be ruled.

According to him, of the four purusharthas: dharma, artha, kama and moksha that are the goals of human life, artha or material well-being is supreme.

This is because the achievement of the others such as spiritual well-



being (moksha) and sensual pleasures (kama) depend upon material well-being. A poor and destitute man would be consumed by hunger and ill-health that he would have no ability or motivation to achieve moksha or kama.

Hence, Kautilya suggests that the king must ensure "yogakshema" or well-being of the people by providing them artha.

Since in ancient times land was the source of artha, a king would have to acquire more land for the people by waging war or conquering adjoining lands.



Thus, neighbours automatically become enemies and a state has to expand in order to survive.

Hence, Kautilya provides an organic view of the state through the tradition of geopolitics. He also prescribes the elements of a state in his saptanga theory and how to conquer land through four upayas and the mandala theory.

This emphasis on artha by Kautilya as opposed to dharma by Buddhist philosophers is the hallmark of realism. It led Chandragupta Maurya to form the first Indian empire in 325 BC.

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



Que.5(a)

Section-B

Decline of Indian Parliament.

(10 Marks).

The Parliament is the locus of government in India. It is the highest deliberative body and holds the executive accountable while making laws.

Pratap Bhanu Mehta and Devesh Kapur in their book 'Rethinking Public Institutions in India' point to a decline in Indian Parliament.

Its role as a law-making body has suffered due to delegated legislation, poor quality of debates and the rise of the Ordinance system.

Its function of holding the executive accountable has been eroded



since the 1970s as seen in the emergency period. While this was rectified during the coalition era, we see another phase of erosion again.

In recent times, the bypassing of parliamentary committees, cancellation of question hour and cancellation of winter session during COVID, the rise of defections and politicisation of the role of Speaker, all point to a decline. ❗

This must be reversed to strengthen checks and balances. Parliamentarians need capacity building and parliamentary procedures need strengthening.

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 movement is seen as a metanarrative dominated by nationalist historians. The Marxist perspective offers an alternative understanding.

Marxists hold that the freedom movement was not truly a "national movement" and that INC was not a "national party". They view the movement as a "bourgeois movement" which ignored the interests of the masses.

Subaltern school led by Ranjit Guha holds nationalists present the freedom movement as a "spiritual

biography "of Gandhi, ignoring the efforts of earlier peasant and workers movements.

Marxists like M. N. Roy held that Gandhi's programs promoted compromise between capitalists and workers and landlords and peasants. The failure of Congress legislatures in 1937 to pass proworkers laws is highlighted.

However, not all Marxists are of the same view. Sumit Sarkar warns Marxists against being casual in their analysis of the movement. Bipan Chandra held that it was a national movement and the most spectacular mass struggle seen in history.

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).

Moderate nationalism dominated during the late 1800s till 1904. Moderate leaders like Surendranath BANNERJEE held that India was a "nation in the making".

Moderates viewed British rule as a blessing in disguise. They believed in the good nature of Britons and advocated for mild reforms such as increasing Indian representation in legislatures and the civil services, through moderate methods such as prayers, petitions and raising awareness of the plight of Indians in Britain.



Militant nationalists were more radical in their outlook. Aurobindo Ghosh provided a bold theory of nationalism holding that foreign rule could never be good. They argued for self rule or swaraj through methods like passive resistance, picketing and boycott.

While the approaches are different, Moderate nationalism created the groundwork of awakening the people for militant nationalism to arise. Hence, militant nationalism was a natural next step.

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 issue of whether Fundamental Rights in part III of the Constitution could be amended or not arose immediately after independence.

In the Champakam Dorairajan case (1950), the Supreme Court held that they could be limited through a Constitutional amendment under Article 368. Hence, the 1st amendment limited right to property under Article 31.

However, the Supreme Court changed its stance in the 1960s & 70s. In the Golaknath case of 1967, it held that power of Parliament to amend the Constitution is subject to judicial review under Article



13 and should not extend to destroying fundamental rights. This was reversed by Parliament through the 24th amendment.

The ~~Go~~ Kesavananda Bharti case (1973) provided the doctrine of basic structure, stating power under Article 368 does not involve amending basic structure of the Constitution. The Court held fundamental rights were part of the basic structure in Minerva Mills case.

Hence, these court verdicts limited the scope of Article 368 with regard to Fundamental rights.

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).

In a parliamentary form of government, the executive is collectively responsible to the legislature. Article 75 of the Constitution holds that the Council of Ministers is collectively responsible to the Lok Sabha.

The principle of collective responsibility implies that the ministry swims and sinks together, providing for a unified executive.

However, in the emergence of the coalition government in India from 1989, this principle has been eroded.

Due to a poor coalition culture in India, coalition partners while being part of ministries did not respect the requirement of collectivity. By pursuing pure power politics, they often resorted to defections, information leaking and brought no confidence motions. The ruling party of the coalition also tended to exclude the coalition partners in decision making. The partners also failed to support executive actions in front of the public. eg: CPI threatening to pull out of UPA due to Indo - US civil nuclear deal. Hence, the principle was undermined.

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).

The politics of regionalism and communalism took root in India during colonial rule due to the British policy of divide & rule.

Being ethnically and religiously diverse, it is natural for people to have a strong sense of identity. However, identity politics, as Rajni Kothari suggests, is a product of elites mobilising the masses for political gains.

India is considered a "prismatic society" where traditional elements exist with an "overdeveloped state".
(Atari)



Hence, regionalism and communalism act as "vote-bank politics". Regional parties appeal to regional feelings and son of soil theory (e.g: TRS in Telangana) whereas most parties participate in communal politics to polarise the electorate.

These affect the process of nation building in several ways. Politics of regionalism and communalism are based on categorising a group of people as "the other" and building distances from them. This naturally hinders the development of a nationally identity.

Moreover, as Sunil Kulkarni holds, such politics have the capacity to



attack the very "idea of India" itself.
They promote subnational movements such as in Kashmir and Nagaland, they endanger inter-state relations as seen in the Kaveri water dispute, and they promote mistrust and hatred in the society, reflected in the 2020 Bengaluru riots between Hindus & Muslims.

Hence, regional and communal politics can threaten national integrity. However, they also affect the economy and human development indicators of the nation. For e.g., communal riots in Delhi in 2020 destroyed crores of property, dampened the business climate & affected the livelihoods.



ds of hundreds, pushing them into poverty and deprivation.

Moreover, such politics cast a shadow on the ability of the Indian state to control law & order and bring reforms. Gunnar Myrdal has called India as "soft state" in lieu of this.

However, such politics can have a positive effect of improving the conditions of a region or a community. Nevertheless in the long run, they are an impediment to national development.

In recent years following the growth of coalition era, such politics have increased. We must move on to a more inclusive politics to safeguard the experiment of India.

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).

India is known as the world's largest democracy. However, as Mamihankar Iyer Committee held, the success of free and fair elections in India is in question.

Article 324 of the Constitution vests the superintendence, conduct and control of elections to Parliament and State Assemblies with the Election Commission of India (ECI).

The ECI is presently a three member body consisting of Chief Election Commissioner and two Election



Commissioners. The functions of ECI are to manage the electoral process from making the electoral rolls, announcing the schedule & recording the votes to announcing the results.

ECI ~~is~~ is to ensure free and fair elections by monitoring expenditures of parties, ensuring observance of Model Code of Conduct and enforcing the RPA, 1951.

However, the functioning of ECI has not been optimal. There is an increasing role of money and muscle power in elections, entry of criminals into legislatures is rampant, and defections are common despite the anti-



defection law.

This is partly due to the systemic weaknesses in ECI. Though a constitutional body, the independence of ECI is not adequately ensured. It is appointed by the President and its expenditure is not charged on the Consolidated Fund. ECI also lacks punitive powers to punish those engaging in malpractices. It also depends on government for personnel.

Thus, the role of ECI needs to be empowered with autonomy, funds and functionalities, along with broader electoral reforms to safeguard democracy.

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



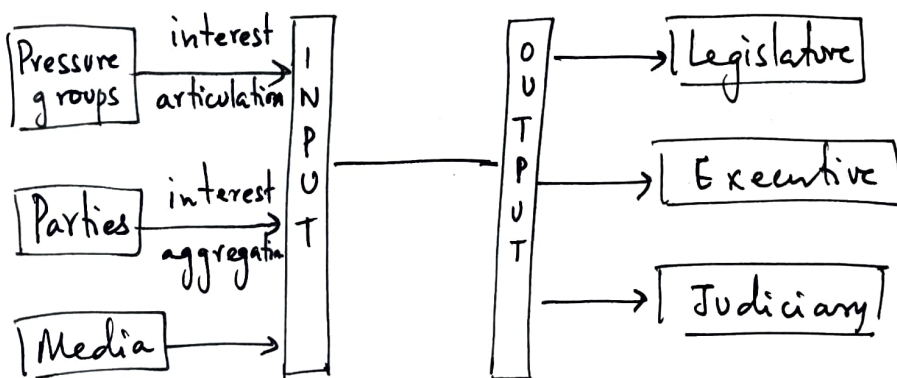
Que.7(c)

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

(15 Marks).

The study of pressure groups is vital in the sociological and behavioural approaches of political science.

According to the structural functional approach of Almond, pressure groups perform the function of interest articulation as an input in the political system.



[Political system in
[structural functional approach.]

Pressure groups aim to influence public policy without entering into formal institutions of power. They use techniques such as lobbying, protests and funding parties.

Around the world, the role of pressure groups has been increasing with the rise of neoliberalism and rolling back of the state.

The most dominant pressure groups are business groups or corporate houses. Eg: FICCI, CII in India. Eisenhower has famously called USA a "military - industrial complex".

In India, institutional pressure groups such as civil service associations, Bar Associations, etc:- are more influential as they have a direct access to policy-making bodies.

We also see a rise of student unions, religious groups, farmers' groups, civil liberties unions in India. The recent protests by farmers against the agriforeforms shows the power of pressure groups.

Hence, pressure groups are rightly called "invisible empires".

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