



# SHUBHRA RANJAN

Always Ahead

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## Political Science & International Relations

### Crash Course & Test Series - 2022

#### Test 1

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name ISHITA KISHORE  
Test Date 04 JULY 2022  
Email Address \_\_\_\_\_  
UPSC Roll No 5809986

#### 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						

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	Poor	Average	Good	Very Good	Excellent
Understanding of Questions					
Structure & Flow					
(a) Introduction					
(b) Conclusion					
(c) Overall					
Subject Knowledge					
Presentation					
(a) Underline					
(b) Paragraph					
(c) Overall					

Overall Remarks:

Dear Student,

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All the best for next test...!!!



"Political Science as a Master Science." (10 Marks)

Ques 1 (a)

Aristotle is regarded as the Father of Political Science, a rich intellectual tradition that started as a branch of philosophy :

He ~~regard~~ regarded political science as a master science because of its wide scope and multidimensional effect on life.

It encompasses the normative aspects like peace, justice, equality, harmony and also the substantive aspects like constitution (Aristotle analysed 158 constitutions), Republic, Laws and

allocation of resources.

It is a balance b/w these aspects that enabled the resurgence of the discipline with behavioralism (Lipset) after ~~they~~ it was discarded as an armchair theory. With post behavioural movements, its value pluralism is back in the centre.

Thus Political Science thrives as a discipline not just because it is the science of homogenization (for analysis) but its also the art of differentiation (for better applicability) [Michael Walzer]



Concept of Over-developed state. (10 Marks)

Q.1(b)

Over developed state is a concept given by Hamza Alavi, a marxist scholar of dependency school, in context of South Asian societies.

In the post colonial theory of state, he analysed these countries and called them 'Bonapartist' i.e. where the executive is very strong.

In context of Pakistan, he highlighted the stronghold of military in administration. For India, the bureaucratic oligarchy reflects an 'Overdeveloped state'.



With Sala Model of administration and Bazaar canteen model in economy, Gunnar Myrdal calls them as prismatic societies wherein political modernisation takes place w/o economic (feudal societies)

However such an analysis cannot be limited only to post colonial states. Even in west, Eisenhower called US as a 'military industrial complex'.

This overdeveloped states showcase Marxist concern of state being an instrument of dominant class for their gains.

## Theory of Natural Rights. (10 Marks)

Q.1(c)

John Locke, the father of liberalism gave the Theory of Natural Rights.

'Over himself and his property, man is sovereign.'

In the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution (1688), Locke believed that peace & goodwill prevailed in the state of nature (unlike Hobbes).

Thus, reason in man taught him not to harm the other in his life, liberty and property.

These three natural rights were inherent and inseparable. They



Were the cornerstone of existence and  
this state could not interfere.

A 'nightwatchman' state was  
just for convenience. It is a  
necessary evil to resolve the  
inconveniences.

In present times, the idea of  
human rights are similar to Lockean  
Natural Rights as they are inalienable  
from man by birth. All are born equal  
and minimum threshold of dignity  
is a categorical imperative (Kant)





End of Ideology thesis. (10 Marks)

According to Hegel, idea is the moving force of history. When contradictions end, the ultimate idea emerges signifying end of ideology?

Bell and Lipset gave the end of ideology thesis. They were inspired by the works of Alexander Koyere, a Christian theologian who believed the world will ultimately come under one religion. Thereby, indirectly predicting US hegemony.

It is said that liberalism won the ideological debate & that there

is no better life than the Western way of life.

However, such a deterministic thesis of an end is questioned by the internal contradictions within liberalism. [ Eg: Oxfam's Time to Care Report shows 1% owns more than 40% of the wealth ].

Some scholars even call 'end of ideology' as an ideology itself.

Marxists believe it is only to advocate Western values.

Thus the end of ideology thesis continues today as a debate as to whether socialism is what keeps capitalism humane.



## Marx Theory of Surplus Value. (10 Marks)

e.1(e)

Karl Marx is a revolutionary thinker who gave centrality to the workers in the economy.

### His Theory of Surplus Value

shows how capitalists generate excess profits on the labour of the workers. Such a surplus has a tendency to concentrate making the capitalists richer and workers deprived.

Such a surplus then makes capitalists search for new lands, laying bases for imperialism, development of underdevelopment, prosperity in core & poverty at peripheries, as highlighted by Neo Marxist scholars like Gunnar Amin



Immanuel Wallerstein.

'Search for profits will take the  
capitalists everywhere'

Marx's strategy breaks path from  
evolutionary socialists who asked to  
(like Robert Owen)  
appeal to the conscience of the capitalists.  
Marx suggests violent means to overthrow  
them.

A similar concern on surplus value  
was showcased by Gandhi in India  
who suggested 'trusteeship' cooperatives  
for workers claim in profits.

Such an inequality is a concern  
even today (Oxfam Report) showing  
contemporary relevance of Marx's Theory of <sup>Surplus</sup> value.

e.2(a)

Deliberative democracy is a necessary condition for attaining legitimacy and rationality with regard to collective decision making processes in a polity." ( Seyla Ben-Habib). In the light of the above statement, explicate the concept of Deliberative Democracy. (20 Marks)

Since ancient times, deliberative  
democracy has been the heart & soul  
of good governance.

Greek Philosophers like  
Aristotle believed that common men  
working together can arrive at better  
decisions than elites working in isolation.

Even the ancient Indian  
Buddhist tradition of Sanghas for  
debates showcases the relevance  
of deliberation in collective decision  
making.



Deliberative democracy is thus rooted in JS Mill's Freedom of Expression as it ensures that

'If all but one has a difference of opinion..' they're heard as the truth can emerge from anywhere and democracy must not turn into tyranny of majority.

Deliberation, discussion, debate ensure that democracy is participatory and due representation of each voice is made.

In contemporary times, such a concern was expressed by Alex de Tocqueville



who feared US would turn into a mobocracy. Participatory deliberation can prevent this.

In Indian context, parliamentary tools like Question Hour, Committees ensure that matters of key concern are discussed. This enables rationality to prevail, & further gives legitimacy to subsequent decisions.

Hannah Arendt also emphasises on such a participation in civic sphere to ensure due deliberation. Without it, rationality may fade (Ban on abortion in US) and decisions may lose legitimacy (Indian Farm laws).



Que.2(b)

"Political Theory is a branch of moral philosophy concerning with the foundational questions affecting the political life."—Isaiah Berlin.  
Discuss. (15 Marks)

Political Theory is a rich intellectual tradition within political science since ancient Greece to present.

It revolves around the pertinent normative questions, starting with 'what constitutes a good life?' (Socrates)  
Justice, equality, social harmony have been the central theme of analysis across time and space.

Liberty has been a contested concept.  
Isiah Berlin was a negative liberal who advocated a nightwatchman state. He





belonged to the lockean tradition where state was a necessary evil to resolve concept inconveniences. TH Green on the other hand gave state the responsibility of both social and physical security.

Thus political theory has advanced towards developmental individualism. It reflects the moral philosophy of the categorical imperative of inviolability of human dignity (Immanuel Kant).

This led to reinterpretation of Justice by scholars like Rawls who gives the difference principle



in his Theory of Justice (1971)

Equality has also been reinterpreted in this light with Dworkin's initial equality to offset brute luck, and Amartya Sen's capability approach.

While behavioural movement had brought statistical surveys and analysis, post behaviouralism has reaffirmed the importance of theory.

These normative & value based ideas again take centre stage in a post-pandemic era raising the foundational questions of political life.

e.2(c)

List the special features of Gandhian Economics. Highlight the relevance of the Gandhian concept of Swadeshi. (15 Marks)

'Sarvodaya' is the key defining concept in Gandhian Economics revolving around the trusteeship model of cooperatives.

Since surplus has a tendency to concentrate, Gandhian Economics gives a share to all the workers to prevent rampant inequality.

Further it is a model based on 'trust' rather than coercion showcasing importance of Ahimsa.

Gandhi was inspired by John Ruskin's 'Unto This Last' wherein he an experiment he undertook at the Tolstoy Farm in South Africa. Thus self sufficiency was



integral.

He also believed that if machines were introduced when we already have surplus labour, the results would be satanic. (opposed to Nehru's bid for modernization)

Gandhi believed that there was enough for everyone's need but not

for their greed. (Earth Overshoot Day) Report recently shows the same.

Thus Gandhian economic is preservationist, egalitarian, and gives importance to vocational skills in youth.

His concept of 'Swadeshi' was in line with the above. It countered the British policy of creating



a class of persons 'Indian in colour but British in taste'?

It also created awareness about the 'drain of wealth' (highlighted by Dadabhai Naoroji) by stimulating demand for khadi. The <sup>Charkha</sup> Charkha was inculcated in the Indian Independence flag.

Prof Humayun calls Gandhi a 'scientist' of the masses and his idea of Swadeshi diffused among millions with breaking the salt law.

Thus Gandhian economics of Swadeshi were mutually reinforcing ideas which paved the path to India's freedom.



Que.3(a)

Briefly examine the Feminist perspective on Sex, Gender and Inter-relations with special reference to the views of Judith Butler. (20 Marks)

Judith Butler's work has been pathbreaking in putting forth the feminist perspectives in political science.

She takes forward the view of Simone de Beauvoir : 'one is not born a woman, one becomes a woman' showcasing how society imposes preconceived notions and expectations before a child even begins to think.

While 'sex' is biological, 'gender' is a social construct. In Simone's book 'The Second Sex' she shows how



women are not just the second sex but also the 'secondary sex'. They cannot be defined independent of a man.

Such a notion was seen recently in the Hollywood industry where most blockbusters failed the 'Bechdel Test' - no woman characters independent of men.

Judith's work is also close to Jean Paul Sartre, who held that 'existence is prior to essence'. The subjective consciousness of women is trampled by the 'essence' that is imposed on them.

These feminists of the third wave

oppose the ideas of Sigmund Freud who attributed certain qualities as 'feminine' - eg: ~~looking~~ dressing up.

Betty Friedan highlights the same in 'The Feminine Mystique' where myths are manufactured against women.

However, eternal feminists of the fourth wave advocates taking advantage of womanhood and domesticating men.

Post modernists call science a discourse of a hegemony of heterosexuals. Intersex & transgender persons are labelled 'abnormal' based on majority view.

Thus, ~~sex~~ sex, gender & interrelationships are central concepts in feminism.





8.3(b)

What are the core ideational categories of Fascism? Discuss the operational dynamics of Fascism. (15 Marks)

Fascism originates from the Latin word fasci, meaning a bundle of rods. It reflects unity and solidarity & was the symbol of Mussolini's political party.

Fascism is linked to socialism by the West on one hand, and on the other, leftists link fascism with capitalism. When crisis emerges, capitalism loses its soft face and curtails all democratic values to prevent protests.

The inter war period was one of political turmoil & economic crisis, thus Hobbesian insecurity prevailed and



people looked up for a strong leader.  
Eric Fromm's 'Fear of Freedom' talks  
about the same.

Rise of Hitler in Germany,  
Salazar in Portugal, Mussolini in Italy  
showcases the opportunity within crises.

Hannah Arendt calls this  
as totalitarianism in her book  
'On origins of totalitarianism'. She  
holds the decline of public sphere  
as responsible. Power emerges when  
people act in concert with each other  
and this can help overcome totalitarianism.  
Fascism's operational dynamics

are never referred to as ideology, but only 'propaganda'. They circulate certain myths which helps in indoctrinating people. Althusser talks about interpellation of ideas & culture where we believe they're our own.

Hitler gave the 'Aryan supremacy' concept with unrealistic aims like German supremacy. Arendt calls this as pathology. People forget even themselves in achieving these goals, and soon evil becomes banal.

Thus reclaiming the public sphere and making deliberation can help counter myths, as seen in Arab Spring which challenged the idea of incompatibility of democracy in M. East

Que.3(c)

State briefly Habermas' view on Legitimation crisis. Distinguish between Legitimation and Legitimacy. (15 Marks)

Legitimacy is the cornerstone of governance. While Max Weber gives ways in which it exists, Habermas shows how it can fall into crisis.

In the aftermath of the Great Depression, modern liberalism emerged with the Welfare State of John Maynard Keynes.

When state started sponsoring social security, funds were reallocated away from industries. This led to a slowdown in the economy to the extent that capitalists could no

longer sponsor.

Thus came the demand for 'Rolling Back of the State'. Habermas calls this a legitimation crisis as capitalism in economy was contradictory to the socialism in politics.

A case in point is the Greek crisis after the Global Financial Crisis of 2008. Discontinuation in welfare policies led to protests and instability. Thus the idea of State enters a 'state of flux'.

legitimation crisis is thus the overstretching of State and its resources. legitimacy on the other hand is <sup>what</sup> that differentiates power from authority.



Brute power has no ~~to~~ authority  
in the absence of legitimacy. As held  
by TH Green 'will not force is the  
basis of the state'.

legitimacy is important as  
'even the strongest man is not strong  
enough' (Rousseau). Max Weber has  
given three grounds for gaining it  
→ Charismatic leaders (eg: Gandhi never  
held any public office)  
→ Customs (eg- Church fathers)  
→ Rational legal (eg: Supreme Court of US)

Thus legitimacy is 'rule by  
consent' and legitimisation continuous  
regard towards the policy of the state.  
Both concepts are closely linked.



Que.5(a)

Manu as the founder of Dharmashastra tradition. (10 Marks)

After a period of 'Arajakia' transformed into 'Pralay', Brahma sent Manu as the 1<sup>st</sup> law giver.

To overcome the state of chaos, Manu founded the 'Dharmashastra'

This would prevent the occurrence of 'Matsyayuga' where big fish ate small fish.

He introduced law for governance to prevent a state of war of all against all. (as seen in the Hobbesian world also)

He introduced the Varna system by assigning tasks to different sections



with the objective of social harmony,  
such a functional specialisation was  
also advocated by Plato in Ancient Greece.

On the basis of Shukra and Hitis,  
he specifies 'Rajdharma' in his book  
Manusmriti' wherein King has aspects  
of Gods like Indra, Varuna etc and  
carries out activities similar to a  
modern day 'Welfare State'.

While <sup>Dr.</sup> S. Radhakrishna was a <sup>follower</sup> ~~supporter~~  
of Manu, Ambedkar was a prominent  
critic as social segregation led to  
caste discrimination.

Yet, even today, his work forms  
the basis of personal laws in India.





Que.5(b)

Difference between Dharmashastras and Dandashastras. (10 Marks)

Dharmashastra and Dandashastra are the pillars of Indian Political Thought.

While Manu is the founder of Dharmashastra with his book 'Manusmriti', Dandashastra tradition is attributed to Kantilya's Arthashastra.

Dharmashastra gives equal importance to all Purusarthas i.e. Dharma, Arth, Kaam, Moksha,

Dandashastra holds Arth i.e. material well being as the central factor determining all other

While Dharmashastras focus on creating



social harmony, Dandashastra focusses  
on statecraft with its Saptang Siddhant

In Dharmashastra, King is seen  
as the preserver of the social order,  
Kautilya's Vijigishu is like the  
Machiavellian Prince & even more  
dangerous (Upinder Kaur)

Thus, 'Dharma' establishes order &  
'Danda' assures its continuance.

These show that contrary to  
the apprehensions of Western scholars,  
Indians don't lack political or strategic  
culture.

Que.5(c)

Limitations of Post Behaviouralism. (10 Marks)

Post Behaviouralism marks a shift away from the sociological quantification of political phenomenon.

It ~~condemned~~ behaviouralism for reducing political science to statistical surveys and voter behaviour. (by upset)

It demands bringing back the normative aspects underlying the behavioural patterns.

However it suffers from limitations like risking another decline of political science as 'Armchair theory'

With the emergence of an 'Information Age' where data is the new oil, behavioural approach of quantification and analysis can go a long way with Big Data and AI Analytics.

However post behaviourism remains a crucial in the post COVID world where political priorities are redefined (eg- welfare reemerges).

With the emergence of social media, Robert Putnam's show 'Decline in Social Capital' gains relevance.

Thus a fine balance can enhance the scope of political science in current age.

Que. 5(d)

Buddhism with its code of ethics stood for supremacy of the moral law over governmental affairs. (10 Marks)

While Buddha can't be regarded as a political philosopher, Gail Omvedt believes that many notions of governance can be learnt from his ideas.

The code of ethics in Buddhism envisages an egalitarian (absence of social hierarchy) and, republicanism (traces of election in Mahajanpads like Vajji) and deliberative set up (Sanghas).

Such moral laws gain primacy over governmental affairs. In ancient times, this code of ethics disregarded the prevailing

system of Varnas. It even allowed women to participate as equals, as opposed to the low status of women since <sup>later</sup> Vedic period.

It condemned the endless rituals (money making) by priests and created elections as the building block of Sanghas or guilds.

Buddhism gave an alternative to the governance ideas of Manu. As against Kautilya's Mandala Siddhant, Buddhism reflects a pacifist foreign policy (Ashoka).

However with time Buddhism disappeared from its birthland. Yet its contribution with its Code of ethics remains relevant today.

Que.5(e)

Dworkin's idea of Equality. (10 Marks)

Equality has been a central concept in political science & is as old as the subject itself.

Dworkin explained it with his idea of initial equality of resources.

He believes in a one time equalisation with his example of 'clamshells' on an island.

To <sup>pass</sup> ~~overcome~~ the 'envy test', he gives extra clamshells to those deprived. This reduces jealousy and also compensates for the differences arising due to 'brute luck'.



Thus when the auction commences, all are equitably placed. He makes no provision for 'option luck' here.

However his idea is often put to question with ideas like capacity development of Amartya Sen, who believes equalizing resources has no value if others don't have capacity to use it.

It is also contested by neoliberal scholars like Hayek who believes market should be the Central Nervous system of resource distribution.

However, Dworkin's idea of Equality remain relevant in present inequality (Oxfam 1% owns 40% wealth)





Que. 8(a)

"Totalitarianism attempts at global conquest and total domination...its victory coincides with destruction of humanity." — Hannah Arendt. Comment. (20 Marks)

Hannah Arendt in 'On Origins of Totalitarianism' discusses the destructive causes and consequences of totalitarianism.

Using a phenomenological approach, she describes totalitarianism as a pathology. She compares it with previous conquerors (like Chegiz Khan) and notes how presently it destroys not only its enemies but also its followers.

It attempts a global conquest by manufacturing myths. (Eg - Hitler's Aryan supremacy). People blindly

believe the leaders as

a) Emanating from a period of political and economic crisis, they're insecure

b) Decline in civic sphere leads to masses becoming superfluous entities

c) They are alienated from society, family and ultimately themselves.

d) Totalitarianism does not only project myths but destroys the capacity to think.

The victory of it coincides with destruction of humanity as evil becomes banal. She shows this in her book 'Eichmann in Jerusalem' where people give their powers to bureaucracy.



Centralisation leads to loss of control  
Bureaucrats on the other hand lose  
imaginative capacity and merely follow  
orders. Thus evil becomes systemic.

To overcome this, she suggests  
participation in public sphere. Power  
can be exercised when people act in  
concert with each other.

Thus she reaffirms the tradition of  
civic republicanism. Deliberation and  
Participation can make prevent the rise  
of totalitarianism.

In recent times Subhas Palshikar  
shows how totalitarianism now uses  
democracy as a stepping stone. Thus  
her ideas help us understand such phenomena.



Gramsci's concept of Hegemony theorises not only the necessary condition for the successful overthrow bourgeois by proletariat and its allies but also the structures of bourgeois power. Elucidate. (15 Marks)

Gramsci is known as the theoretician of superstructure and is the Father of Cultural Marxism.

He reverses Marx's ideas which were criticised as crude economic reductionism, and shows that civil and political society are also structural.

Political Society

Civil Society

Economy

With this, he establishes organic that it is the intellectuals who manufacture consent

for the dominant class. Eg - in Capitalism, bureaucrats play this role by establishing the hegemony.

On this Gramsci suggests the workers to establish a counter hegemony via its own intellectuals. (eg - supervisor)

This will ~~establish~~ create their 'War of Position' against the dominant class.

Once this is widely understood, workers can move to their 'war of Manoeuvre' where they take action.

[used by Gandhi in India's freedom struggle. He established British rule as satanic before his Satyagraha]

Thus he theorises how the proletariat can overthrow the bourgeoisie



By showing that politics and society are not just a reflection of the base, but structures themselves, he theorises the overthrow of these structures.

He analysed why Marxism didn't succeed and used 'national popular' as a condition i.e. a language masses can understand.

The fact that Lenin believed that middle class will have to help the workers realise their rights showcases importance of language.

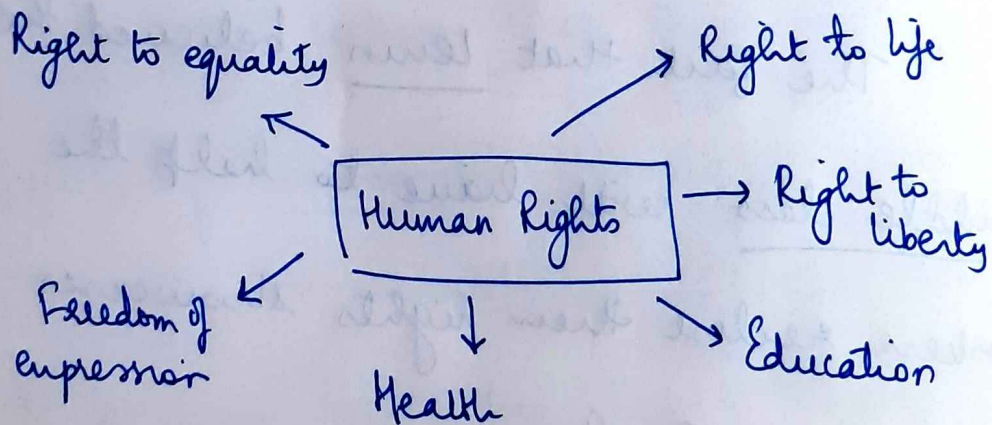
Thus Gramsci's role emerges as significant in better understanding of Marx's ideas.

Que. 8(c)

The universal declaration of Human Rights captures the essence of Kant's categorical imperatives. Comment. (15 Marks)

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) signal a return to the Lockean era of 'natural rights' as 'legal rights' come under scrutiny.

Immanuel Kant gave the categorical imperative of the inviolability of human dignity. This forms the essence of UDHR.



In today's world, these rights form the fulcrum of a decent existence

Thus they are crucial for <sup>a</sup>dignified life.

Judiciary in countries like India recognize life above mere animal existence and encompass privacy, right against pollution in life.

The Kantian tradition also focuses on the universality of some basic provisions. However this argument is criticised by communitarians like Michael Sandel who believe customs should play a role in deciding basics.

Feminists on the other hand believe UDHR can help in uplifting them. However females aren't a





homogenous group (bell hooks) and thus a one size fits all approach is flawed

Marxists believe that UDHR perpetuates the Western values of liberalism. Post colonial leaders like Lee Kuan Yew also believe in soft authoritarianism, containing Kant's ideas to a limit.

Yet, Kant's ideas form the basis of many contemporary scholars like Rawls (Difference Principle), Amartya Sen (capacity development), and occupy a central place in UDHR.