

## Political Science & International Relations

### Crash Course & Test Series - 2022

#### Test 1

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

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Test Date

1-08-2022

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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						

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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...!!!					



(a)

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

Political Science as a discipline is the study of the "Polis" i.e. the state, the state is responsible for "authoritative allocation of values in the society", it ensures distributive justice

As, "a historical concept" as state have evolved from city state to Medieval empire to the present westphalian nation, it in the words of Aristotle continues to be "a self sufficient entity"

Thus, it has functions ranging from military, defense, economics, administration etc to bring "highest good to all" thus the father of the discipline has called it as





a "master science" i.e. a comprehensive discipline that includes within it the knowledge of all.

That is the major reason that after Behavioural revolution political science was studied at different levels as political sociology and political economy.

The state however is the central concept of it and thus a call was given to "bring the state back in"

Today, this discipline is a borderless and a bottomless <sup>sea</sup> and is everexpanding by including various studies within its horizon. It has actually emerged as a MASTER SCIENCE





## Concept of Over-developed state. (10 Marks)

The Post-colonial societies suffer from the guise of Neo-colonialism now in the words of Kwame Nkrumah, these societies have not been able to wash the "dirt and filth" left by colonialism.

One such phenomenon of over-developed state is put forth by Pakistani Marxist Structuralist <sup>Hansraj Alvi</sup> as a "Theory of <sup>deve</sup> Overdeveloped state".

Hansraj Alvi, notes that in the Post colonial societies the state is inflated because the society and the economic structure continues to be feudal on which the state appears "modern".

This "modern" state has as a result of Independence struggle and

faith instilled by people in its fillers  
has captured a lot of power, with a  
strong hold over the resources, giving  
rise to a Military-Bureaucratic apparatus.

~~Also~~ To, societies like India where  
there is control of civil government it  
has led to "Inspector Raj" and "license raj".  
Thus, in the words of Gunnar Myrdal a  
soft state.

However, the concept is not  
exclusive to the post-colonial society even  
sometime in the developed societies the  
state has acquired huge powers as  
noted by Karl Marx in his "18th Brumaire of  
Louis Bonaparte".



John Locke, the father of liberalism has given 'the theory of Natural Rights' for them these rights are "inalienable" to the human existence and cannot be passed or taken away.

this basis is the invariability of human dignity and the Reason in men which looks forward for right to life liberty and pursuit of happiness

(d)

## End of Ideology thesis. (10 Marks)

Ideology refers to a comprehensive view of social, political and economic structures with a particular goal as an outcome e.g. Feminism focusing on emancipation of women. The theory was given by Count de Tracy.

However, the first scientific analysis came from Karl Marx, who called ideology as "False Consciousness" and targetted Hegel for spreading the ideology of supremacy of state.

Ideology has seen conflict, major one being the conflict between Capitalism and Communism post WW2, here the west and East were trying to establish the superiority of their own ideology.



however, with the "disintegration of the Soviet Union" the end of ideology was proclaimed by "Francis Fukuyama" he laid a thesis of "the last man" with an end to his ideological evolution.

Before Fukuyama, Daniel Bell had called that politics has taken a rear seat with economic at the front, thus no relevance; even SM Lipset said the liberal democratic systems are the best around world.

however, even with Samuel P. Huntington's "Clash of Civilisations and Great Powers" the 9/11 attack the ideological debate was revived, with Fukuyama himself acknowledging in his book "Identities"

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

Karl Marx in his Communist Manifesto has given a call for "workers of the world to unite" to ensure the end of Communism, as it is the <sup>time for</sup> "Class in itself" to be converted to a "class for itself".

According to Marx's analysis of Capitalist system, the theory of historical materialism will ensure that Capitalism will be annihilated, for him today the Capitalists are digging their own grave.

As the basis of Capitalism is greed and "inherent acculation of Capital" i.e. SURPLUS Value, which is actually a product of blood and sweat of workers.





For Marx, the accumulation of surplus from workers is a "theft" which has degraded them beyond animalistic existence.

Also, when this surplus is used for further accumulation of capitalism by buying "Machines" creating abundance of labour it further degrades the worker, it also in its dialectic remove the petty capitalists from competition.

Thus, this Surplus Value extraction is an exploitation that will bring an end to the Capitalistic societies.

(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)

Democracy, is that rule by the people as opposed to the idea of autocracy, the most expansive notion of democracy is deliberative democracy.

It holds that the "democracy has to be deliberative to be substantial", only deliberative democracy will ensure effective debate and discussion lead to laws that are fair and effective governance

Rawls in his theory of justice, call for "Rational people" to debate and decide on the question of just through "Reflexive equilibrium"





It ensures that outcomes are accepted by all, and no *Modus Vivendi* exists.

Joshua Cohen, take the tradition forward by holding that only deliberation will ensure that <sup>ce</sup> consociational societies are established, also all feel that fairness and equity as principle are upheld.

For JS Mill democracy is not mere about numbers but debates and discussions which allow society to progress, Hannah Arendt also called for public action and speech as a situation of power.



However, along with ensuring Rational and progressive outcomes as in the words of Aristotle "wisemen debating lead to better laws, than philosophers contemplating in closed room"

It is <sup>the</sup> legitimacy of a political system that matters, the current crisis in Sri Lanka and beyond exemplify that. Deliberation ensures that all participate in the words of Habermans perceiving an "ideal speech situation"

In this situation people debate the outcome, grassroot democracy ensures ground level formulation of laws and an implementation by all.

The state is not a separate and



isolated structure, thus creating the legitimisation crisis, where legitimisation is required for the programme because of inconsistency of the economic and political structures.

Further, Sayla bin-habib thus stand true in holding up collectivity whereby Multicultural rights are held up for all in the society.

Thus, deliberation is a necessary pre-condition for a effective political structure and it is a necessary duty of all to establish it.

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)

b)

Political theory is the explanation of political phenomena, the phenomena are necessarily the moral phenomena of liberty, equality, justice, rights and their distribution within society.

It is a normative discipline as per Isaiah Berlin concerned with value debates, its concern is oriented to the questions of best political society.

however, excessive emphasis on the value Normativism by the Political scholars has been questioned



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 the explanation of political phenomena. The theory has ranged from —

- Theory of Political obligation
- Theory of Democracy
- Theory of Rights
- Theory of Justice
- Communist Notion etc.

It with Behavioural revolution also included the study of the psychology, political sociology and economy, as the Behavioural studies were meant to be "value free" it came under criticism.

Isiah Berlin argues that values are an inherent notion of political science and cannot be separated.



For him the political science is embedded in the philosophy of political life, as Berlin calls for "safeguarding the political life from totalitarianism" requires liberty to be at the centre with a values of "Tolerance" substantive here.

When, the Behaviouralist ignored the foundational questions of Justice and went for Value free, reliable testable, Pure Science it led to decline of political theory with 2nd crisis plaguing it.

Thus, the values were revived to make it Action relevant and Action Oriented and a new paradigm of Post Behaviouralism emerged.



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

Gandhian economics is a part of his "theory of Swaraj" which is a comprehensive doctrine for him. The dimensions are economic, political, individual, cultural etc.

The concept in Economics is seeded in the four concepts of :- Sarvodaya i.e. the upliftment of all ; bread-labour acknowledging the centrality of physical labour ; Theory of Trusteeship ; and the concept of Swadeshi.

Swadeshi gives a call for "Revival of cottage industry" it has even been included in the directive principles under article 43A of the constitution.



for Gandhi, Swadeshi will ensure the swaraj for all, the people at the lowest level, the first circle of ocean i.e. Individual will be self sufficient. The villages will establish a "Ran rajya" local economy.

Though at that time MN Roy had called Gandhian theory of Swadeshi as a farce, as the Mill made cloth was much cheaper when compared to charkha spun cloth.

But in the present times, with Atam Nishkar Bharat India realises the relevance with a subsidy for goods for increasing domestic production

Even for African societies which have become the peripheries of the western of world and suffer from underdevelopment, Swadeshi is a new light gaining relevance.

Thus, Gandhian economics teaches the effectivity of self reliance to all



(a)

Rawls notion of unencumbered self puts emphasis on the rights of individual at the expense of the good of the community."—Michael Sandel. Comment. (20 Marks)

Michael Sandel in his book 'liberalism and its limits to Justice' has given a critique of Rawlsian theory of Justice

Rawls 'theory of justice' (1971) laid the notions of just society for contemporary political philosophy in the wake of rising social movements and discontentment to inequality in the American society.

Rawls criticised the Utilitarian theory "Greater happiness of Greater Number" and in line with Kantian Moral Individualism held "No one should be treated as a means each one is an end in itself" thus

establishing dignity as an inviolable principle.

He also as critique to "Capitalistic notion of liberty" that the the inherent intuition of the human being demands equality.

Thus, reviving the tradition of the social contract, he went onto formulate a "purely procedural" "comprehensive notion of justice" that will be acceptable to all.

Following the Maximin principle, the individuals in Original position decided as

- 1a) Maximum liberty for all (Desert principle)
- 2a) Equality of Opportunity for all (merit principle)
- 2b) Maximum advantaged to the least advantaged (difference principle)



however, Communitarians emerged as most virulent critique of this notion of liberty by Rawls. Michael Sandels held that:-

i) Individual is not an unembodied or an atomistic self but a situated self in a society

ii) As a result, the conception of "Rational choices" doesn't stand true as the choice are always influenced by society

iii) Also, as the societies follow different principles and procedures the distribution can't be a "One-size-fit for all approach"



Thus, for Sandel any theory of Justice is always going to be a particularistic theory.

Similarly Michael Walzer in his "Sphere of Justice" has also called that Rawls simple theory of equality is unjustified as equality is always complex.

A just society for communitarians will be one which is based on "principle of reciprocity" and is not looking for "Over arching consensus" as that is not possible.

Rawls himself modified the theory later in his political liberalism.



Que.4(b)

To what extent the pluralist's criticism of Monistic theory of sovereignty is justified. Give arguments in support of your point of view. (15 Marks)

b) Monistic theory of sovereignty laid down in the "Leviathan" by Thomas Hobbes created the "Absolutist state with all power" "The state as sole sovereign" with other institutions subjugated to it.

John Austin in his theory held the state as sole determinate institution and infallible, imperbeable notion of sovereignty with the law being the command of the sovereign.

however, this led to world wars, chaos in International scenario and at the domestic level majoritarianism and Unprecedented violence on the minorities by the German state



Laski, thus called for that concept <sup>sovereignty</sup> to be expunged out of the theory of the state for its lacking benefit paving way for Pluralistic theory of state.

The philosophical basis of which was the multidimensional universe and thus the multidimensional nature of man, with state being unable to fulfill it all.

Also, as the society there exists different <sup>in</sup> institutions and thus federal the state also has to be federal.

Alongwith Laski, Duguit and Keasbe laid the "basis of custom and tradition as being the source of law".





MacIver, presenting evolutionary theory held that the state is a association like many other, is a child of law, and is bound by general will.

however, the Pluralist theory came under criticism for it still holding the state as key institution.

The functions that state has ultimately make it a overarching institution, overshadowing all other, thus upholding Monistic theory.

however, the criticism is justified as the limited governments through democracy and Federal division of powers are much more consociational and pacifist when compared to the Authoritarian regimes (China's COVID restrictions) (wolf-warrior diplom

What basic arguments Aurobindo put forward to justify his idea of Indian Nationalism? (15 Marks)

Sri Aurobindo, has given a comprehensive theory of "Indian Nation" the "suigeneris" to the Indian civilisation, to justify his idea.

He starts with criticising the moderate scholars who call "India as a Nation in making" (Sunder Nath Banerjee) and thus feel British rule as a blessing in disguise and have a limited vision of Swaraj.



Que.5(a)

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

Ancient Indian political thought can be divided as Dharma shastra (moral codes of conduct) and Danda shastra (laws of punishment)

Dharma, or "dhar" that holds life on the earth is based on the natural (cosmic) law "Rita" as per the Hindu tradition. The law was passed to the Rishis through the gods.

however, as the society suffered from lawlessness and Anarchy with Matsyanya "Big fish eating the small fish" people asked Bharata to send a "lawgiver"

Manu, the first king and the founder was thus sent as a law giver laid the foundation of Dharmashastra tradition in his Manusmriti

Manusmriti, laid down the codes of ethical conduct, the hierarchical division of society, principle of graded punishment for enforceability.

After Manu, further Smriti's were written like *yajurvedika* smriti, laying down the principles of inheritance codes of *mitakshara* and *dayabhaga* were proposed.

Thus, Manu was the true founder of Dharmashastra tradition





## Difference between Dharmashastras and Dandashastras. (10 Marks)

Que.5(b)

Ancient Indian Political Thought is divided into Dharmashastras and Dandashastras, both laying down the science of conduct and punishment, the policy of the state.

Dharmashastras, are the treatises of Dharma or "the Code of Conduct" it codifies the Natural law. On the other hand Dandashastras lay down "the policy of the state" - enforceability of the law.

Manuscripts lay the Percepts of Dharma as "functional differentiation", the system of graded hierarchisation of society.

It calls for attainment of "Purusharthas" by the people, however Danda Shashtra ensure the state policy maintains the caste divisions and ensure "Yogashtems" to ensure "Purusharthas" are attained by its people.

however, as the Indian Political thought represented hybridity, and doesn't enforce dictionity or duality both Dharmashstra and Danda Shashtra seep into each other.

The dharma thus is the centre even codified and enforced for each of them.



Que.5(c)

Limitations of Post Behaviouralism. (10 Marks)

Community  
Action Values

Post-Behaviouralism, emerged in 1970's with David Easton giving a call for reformed Behaviouralism, and accepting values as a guide for problem solving.

This expanded the discipline with Rawlsian Theory of Justice, Critical theory, CB Macpherson theory of democracy, Habermas theory and Amartya Sen's Development as freedom.

however, it came under criticism from Post-Modernist who called it as another Meta-Narrative establishing norms of particular behaviour, it was criticised as essentially "Ideological discourse"

Behaviouralist, said that absence of Quantification, verification limits the chances of their theories to be applied to the developing world.

New-Institutionalist said, again the submerge of state by a social analysis is being proposial devoid of Rational, cultural and historical aspects of a society.

Today, political science is a postmodern and borderless and post-behaviourism is one of the discourse with its own set of limitations.



Que.5(d)

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

Buddha himself, was not written on politics, however precepts of Buddhist political thought can be traced to his "conversations with the Kings" and stories of Jatakas and the Digganikayas.

Digganikayas held that the elected Republic of the Mahasantas is equal for all people with an inherent good conduct prevailing.

Called as the "Rebel child of hinduism" it questioned the said inequality thus establishing moral law of equality.

It also opened the society equally for women, thus establishing gender justice.

The further analysis through Ashokan theory shows the rule by equality, tolerance, respect for all religions and traditions and abjuring violence of any kind.

The International theory is not of "coercive expansion" but one by "soft power" and a power of love. Thus, Buddhism ~~create~~ clearly upholds Moral law of removing sufferings over anything else.

Today, it has been taken forward by Amartya Sen in his functional approach to justice with a premises of Social Good.



Que.5(e)

Dworkin's idea of Equality. (10 Marks)

Ronald Dworkin in his book <sup>(Political fiction)</sup>  
"Sovereign Virtue" has given a theory of  
Resource egalitarianism.

It is a response to Dworkin  
critique of Rawls's theory of justice as  
being past facts, overlooking the  
Internal distribution of goods, and wearing  
a thick 'Veil of Ignorance'

Dworkin thus gives a theory  
of equal concern which is not 'fifty  
but dignity centered' according to him,  
also it is Endowment Insensitive and  
Ambition Sensitive.

In totality, Dworkin is proposing  
a theory whereby, the historical  
division and brute luck is settled, and



each one is equal when in Original position.

However, his idea is criticised as after the initial distribution of resources there is no further re-distribution principle.

Amartya Sen, argues that Dawkins theory fail to establish "equal sense of well being" by working on Capabilities inherent to individual.

for him, along with providing resources it is also necessary to teach them to use to ensure effective removal of "deprivations" and "establishing" development as freedom.



Que.6(a)

Differentiate between the different conceptions of Liberty with special reference to the views of Isaiah Berlin. (20 Marks)

Liberty is a core yet contested value of Political theory, with it being a Meta theory liberals call it "liberty" a value of toleration and freedom from unnecessary repression by state.

Marxists utilise the word "Freedom" which is a feature of Communist society with an absolute choice and innovation, along with Equality. Thus, the utopia of Marxism sees in the inherent value of liberty

Feminists call it "Emancipation" and the annihilation of patriarchy, thus ensuring the subjugation on women ending,



Post-colonial scholars call it as a liberal to establish their own values as discourse and a freedom to speak as Gyatri Spivak asks "Can the subaltern speak?"

with a unconventional conception, Hannah Arent calls liberty or Freedom as 'Natality' which is attained by 'Vita activa' happens in collectivity. It is empowerment of the public sphere.

however, liberty is still the hegemonic value of liberal societies and it is studied as Negative and Positive liberty.

Negative liberty, upheld by Classical liberals like John Locke and present liberalisation (Norick) as the limit or the



powers of the state, with the state being barred from any interference to the rights of man.

They call it just and inspiring and uphold rights are <sup>un</sup>crossable.

Positive liberty established by T.H. Green on the other hand is the responsibility for positive role by the state; for him "liberty is ability to do things worth doing"

however, as liberty postulates in the collective consciousness of society it has to be established by the state.

Isiah Berlin is a supporter of 'Negative liberty' for him it is the only one which can be exercised in totality.

he fears that the concept of positive liberty may set a "slippery slope" for a totalitarian authoritative state.

Alongwith this conception Berlin give a concept of 'value pluralism' whereby liberty is equivalent to all other values.

For Berlin, 'toleration is the substantive heart of liberalism' and a liberal society has to be tolerant to be progressive.

In the words of Karl Popper liberty allows for a 'Open society', however as a foundation to justice liberty assumes different veils and continues to be debated.



Critically examine the relevance of Hannah Arendt's views on Power.  
(15 Marks)

Hannah Arendt, is an unconventional scholar and thus her analysis of power is divergent from others.

Power which is a central concept dealing with 'who gets, what when and how' is dealt Unconventionally by Hannah Arendt.

Based on her 'Theory of Freedom': power is exercised in public sphere with people debating.

force  
strength She differentiates power from strength saying that strength is physical but power is Natural and *Sui Generis* that is always present in collectivity.

from violence, she says that while violence is coercive in nature, power is empowering in itself.

Against the notion of power as Authority, he tells that while authority demands "legitimacy" from the people, power is always legitimate.

Thus, the Power for her is collectivist, sui generis, natural and always legitimate.

Also, against the Robert Dahl's concept of "Power of A to get B done what he/she would otherwise not have done"

Hannah Arendt calls for a "POWER TO" that is enabling people to progress.





for here the people in public sphere exercising power will ensure that totalitarian tendencies are eradicated and a 'tale of freedom' is built.

Also, it breeds new innovations, similar view is held by Habermas in his notion of 'Deliberative democracy in Ideal speech situations' whereby originality is expressed by people.

Thus, Arendtian conception of power when societies are moving to totalitarian Right (Francis Fukuyama), Facing legitimisation crisis (Crisis of living France, Sri Lanka) is highly relevant.

Que.6(c)

The problem of Political obligation is one of the most prominent issues in Political philosophy. Discuss (15 Marks)

Political obligation is the amount of power wielded in the state, its authority as sovereign institutions with people owing sole responsibility to it, it also opens the debate of rights that citizens possess.

~~Hobbes has given~~

In the ancient societies, in the Political philosophy of Plato, the state had to have "absolute obligation", even Aristotle held that the whole is prior to the part.

In the Medieval times, the obligation was based on the theory of 'Divine Rights of the King' and





it was held that even the bad/cruel king is good (James IV)

However, the issue gained prominence with Thomas Hobbes establishing an absolutist state wielding all power within itself.

Solely the law was the command of the state and all other institutions (even church) was submerged to it.

however, it led to absolute Authoritarianism with Mussolini's proclaiming "Nothing above, beyond the state"

The liberal state of John <sup>Locke</sup> ~~Hawth~~ with Political liberalism "Negative Injunction on the state" was established.

~~The rights were submerged~~

MacLver questioned the absolute obligation by calling state as a "child as well as a source of law"

he, held it to be "association like many other associations" and thus, the obligation is not solely to the state.

Also, the state itself is bound by the general will and has obligation towards people"

However, as it is held that "rights are empty of duties", the obligation to state is there, but the amount of obligation continues to be debated!