

Political Science & International Relations

Crash Course & Test Series - 2023

Test 7

Time Allowed: 3 Hours (8-11 pm)

Max Marks: 250

Name

SRISHTI DABAS

Test Date

5 September 2023

UPSC Roll No

0501579

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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Que.1 (a)

Write a short note on "The end of ideology debate". (10 Marks)

The 'end of ideology' thesis has been put forth by Bell and Lipset who emphasise upon the establishment of 'liberal' way of life, after proving its significance over & above the other ideologies.

Rostow has argued that all countries ultimately follow the same path to progress — i.e. the "political modernization" way.

Samuel Huntington has also talked about the rise of secularization, urbanization, industrialization, all paving way for the 'liberal' and 'modern' ideology.

However, this viewpoint has been criticised by marxists who say 'end of ideology' is a way to establish hegemony of the West.

Post colonialists also oppose it as a new form of neo-imperialism, to establish hegemony of the developed countries.

MacIntyre has gone to the extent of calling 'End of Ideology' as itself an ideology.

Francis Fukuyama had accepted that if not the 'end of history', liberalism is still the most-influential ideology.

Que.1(b)

"Political philosophy may properly be recognised for its critical function".
Comment. (10 Marks)

Political philosophy has its deep roots since ancient times - both in the East and West.

The early Greek thinkers - Socrates and Plato have talked about 'good life' and importance of virtues. Plato, the father of political philosophy put forth his idea of justice as 'just souls' living in a just state.

Aristotle, the father of political science, in his 'PRONESIS' has put ethics and politics together. He favoured 'rule of law' over rule of philosopher king.

Further, 'social contract' thinkers

Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau established the idea of 'sovereignty'.

In East, Kautilya through his 'Arthashastra' has given best advice on statecraft for the king to fulfil his 'Rajdharma'.

Hence, we see the critical function played by political philosophy - as today also,

"Political science begins and ends with the state."

Normative (prescriptive) theories on justice, equality as well as empirical (descriptive) theories on voting behaviour, both owe their emergence to political philosophy.



Que.1(c)

"Post behaviouralism does not represent a complete departure from behaviouralism". Critically examine. (10 Marks)

Political science saw the first decline due to traditionalists, and the second due to behaviouralists. The former made 'armchair theories' on 'what ought to be', while the later overloaded theories with 'facts, facts & facts'.

Hence, came the Madhyam Marg of Post Behaviouralism — the SYNTHESIS of the Thesis of Traditionalism and Anti Thesis of Behaviouralism.

David Easton was instrumental in saving political science through his 'Credo of Relevance' where he added empiricism in



the normative domain of thought.

Post behaviouralism saw a judicious mix of normativism (brought back by Rawls's theory of Justice) and empiricism (through integration, quantification, value neutrality, etc.)

Hence, post behaviouralism was not a complete departure from behaviouralism, as it still focussed on areas of comparative politics & voting behaviour. New approaches were developed like Political economy, political sociology, political culture to balance the scientific and prescriptive aspects of political science.

Que.1(d)

"Rights properly so called are the creatures of law properly so called"-
Bentham. Critically Examine. (10 Marks)

Political philosophy revolves around certain concepts that remain contested and controversial for times to come. One such theme is 'Rights'.

The discussion on rights began from times of 'social contract' theorists like Hobbes & Locke, who emphasised on Right to Life & Liberty.

Bentham was a classical liberal who belonged to the tradition of Legal Rights → i.e. the rights which are bestowed by the state.

Hobbes, also follows the same approach and argues that

"Liberty is where law is silent."

Hence, focus on 'state' as the absolute determinant of rights of citizens is evident. Bentham was a utilitarian scholar for whom greatest happiness of greatest number mattered, irrespective of the quality of such rights.
(pushpin as equated to poetry)

Natural rights thinkers like Mill & Locke will criticize Bentham and instead argue for certain inalienable rights → like right to property (Locke) & right to freedom of speech & expression (Mill)

This tussle between legal rights & natural rights gets evident from debate over 'procedure established by law' versus 'due process of law', signifying importance of both.

Que.1(e)

"Marx vision of future society is based on the benevolent vision of human nature". Comment. (10 Marks)

Marx was the prominent philosopher who put forth the idea of "communism" which will be the 'End of History', i.e. a society where there will be perfect equality, perfect liberty and benevolent vision of human nature.

For Marx, human nature comprises of 'SOCIAL' nature & 'CREATIVE' nature. These attributes of a man are lost in capitalist society which leads to "Alienation" of man from his labour, his fellow workers as well as from society.

The oppression caused by the bourgeoisie through creation of



surplus value and depriving the workers of their freedom, leads to call for 'Revolution', which happens when 'Class in Itself' becomes 'class for Itself'.

Once the "Revolutionary Consciousness" is built, workers of the world will unite and establish a classless castless and stateless society.

This future society will emerge after the Red Revolution as violence is the midwife of change, but will bring true peace & harmony.

Gandhi would contradict the means used by Marx to achieve the end of stateless society, and instead call for Ahimsa & Satyagraha.

Que.2(a)

Fascism is a counter revolutionary force preventing transformation of the capitalist state into a welfare state. Discuss. (20 Marks)

Fascism emerges from the root word 'Fasces' meaning 'Bundle of sticks', signifying the control of a person over minds of common man.

Fascism is a counter revolutionary force as it kills human liberty and any scope of revolution. The hegemony of a 'superman' established 'Autarcy' and 'Command' economy as well as polity.

Hannah Arendt has explained in her 'Origins of Totalitarianism' that fascism and nazism both are unprecedented ideologies.

She says "Totalitarianism is Totalitarianism", as no other world can describe it.

Fascism leads to mass violence and oppression. It converts "class politics into mass politics", where people become blind followers and hence lose the revolutionary zeal.

As, Gramsci has explained that 'hegemony' is the power over minds of people that vanishes even their common sense. Fascism, similarly 'controls' the minds of common men, leading to what Schumpeter says - Creative Destruction.

Also, it is said that fascism is the last attempt by capitalism to save itself from demise. It represents the 'hard' face of capitalism, where force & authority is enhanced to the level of suppression.

The sight of mass genocide of Jews in concentration camps shows how 'evil becomes banal' as held by Hannah Arendt.

This capitalist state is prevented from becoming socialist state as 'rule of few' and 'oppression over many' is the reality of fascism. As Mussolini says:

"There is nothing above the state, nothing beyond the state."

Hence, the ultimate concentration of power does not leave any scope for 'welfarist' measures.

In contemporary times, we see the death of Mahsa Amini and death of George Floyd as reminders of 'renewed fascism'. Be it Russia's revanchist tendencies or China's predatory hegemony, suppressing freedom of speech & expression of their citizens, all have traces of fascism.

To overcome these tendencies, we need people to 'Act in concert' (Hannah Arent) and revive the 'Communicative Action' in Ideal Speech situation (Habermas).



Que.2(b)

Differentiate between the procedural and the substantive view of Justice. Do you think that the Rawl's theory of justice is framed in the background of liberal capitalist societies? (15 Marks)

"Justice is the first value of a political system of thought, just like truth is the first virtue of any school of thought."

Justice has remained the Architectonic concept in political science, since Greek philosophers Plato & Aristotle talked about Justice.

The procedural view of justice refers to the 'liberal conception' of justice as right to liberty and rule of law. Locke's emphasis on freedom and right to life, liberty and property, as well as Mill's focus on liberty of speech and expression, constitute justice as liberty to "welfare" of the right.

majority (utilitarian perspective).

However, ^{this} limited conception of justice led to inequalities which gave rise to social liberals emphasis on right to equal opportunities.

Be it Rawls Theory of justice and difference principle (maximizing benefits to least advantaged) or Dworkin's compensation to Bente luck through Ambition sensitive Action, these are attempts towards 'substantive justice'.

Amartya Sen's Capability approach also focusses on freedom as both means & end to development and empowerment, enhancing substantive justice.

Socialists give call for equality of Outcomes, i.e. equity over liberty to constitute substantive justice, which liberals will counter for compromising merit.

Feminists & communitarians will call for differentiated equality. Hence, we see that procedural justice is formal & legal equality before law while substantive justice is broader & dynamic.

Rawls's Theory of justice is framed in background of liberal capitalist societies as in his lexical order he keeps liberty above equality of opportunity.

Also, to counter to communitarian's critique (Michael Walzer) of man being a situated self, Rawls in his "Political Justice" has agreed that it applies to liberal, modern nations, involving overlapping consensus through 'Democratic Culture'.

Que.2(c)

Feminist theory falls under the umbrella of critical theory which in general has the purpose of destabilizing systems of power and operation. Discuss.
(15 Marks)

Feminism refers to the school of thought which calls for equality of and rights of women, against oppression of patriarchy, in all spheres of life - social, economic, political.

Feminist theory is a critical theory as it criticises the dominant liberal & marxist theories as -
"MASCULINIST".

Rawls's theory of justice has been criticised for favouring 'liberty' over equality and dignity as the veil of ignorance was not truly procedural. Even social contract theorists have formed as Masculinist contract, neglecting 'women' views.

When it comes to state, Catherine McKinnon says:

"when I look at the state, it appears male to me."

The legislations and institutions are not gender neutral. Be it rape laws or the insensitive police, all favour men.

e.g. recent Isa vs Isa judgement of disallowing abortion in USA.

Feminists like Simone de Beauvoir say the women are not just second sex but also 'secondary sex'.

Betty Friedan talks of "myths" that perpetuate suppression of women.
e.g. penis envy in women.

To overcome these challenges, Susan Moller Okin gives call for

'Personal is political! It is argued that :-

“Subordination of women in public sphere cannot be tackled unless superiority of men in private sphere is challenged.”

Hence, the post modern feminists like Judith Butler emphasise on 'Intersectionality' of various identities of women. The call for 'Dialectics of sex and a 'sexual Revolution' (Firestone) aim at destabilizing established systems of power, to replace them with egalitarian systems.

Ann J. Tickner emphasises on 'Personal is International', and focusses on changing the global systems of power & operation.

Que.3(a)

Gramsci's theory of hegemony implies the need for new strategy of revolution in capitalist society. Elaborate. (20 Marks)

Gramsci is known as the 'Father of Cultural Marxism' as he aimed to understand the reasons for failure of Marx's idea of revolution in capitalist societies.

In his 'Prison Notebooks', Gramsci has tried to metamorphose the Marx's idea of base & superstructure.

For Marx, economy was the base and other aspects of society as 'superstructure' which depend on the base, and do not have their independent existence.

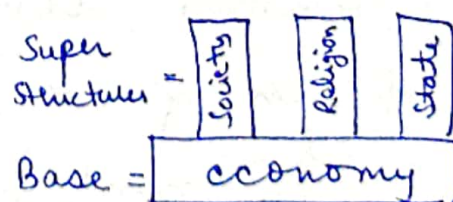
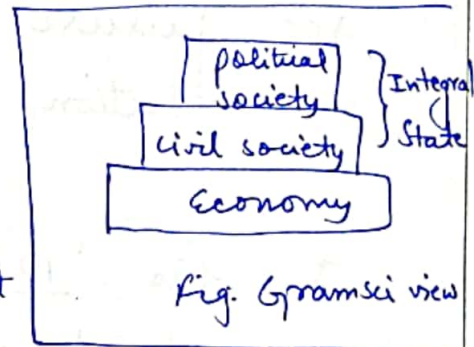


Fig: Marx idea

But, Gramsci said that society is an 'independent superstructure' which plays the role of 'manufacturing consent'.

It is due to the presence of society as a buffer and shock absorber that



state's oppression becomes opaque and Marx's revolution fails, because class in itself does not turn into class for itself.

This happens because of 'Hegemony' of the system which takes over common sense of people. This hegemony is not of coercion but of consent.

Hence, Gramsci gives a call for a new strategy of revolution in capitalist society. He calls for formation of a COUNTER HEGEMONY of the subaltern class.

This counter hegemony must involve their own class of intellectuals (both organic & traditional) who will fight against capitalism at two levels:

a) War of Position: the first step towards engaging masses in a non-violent movement by raising their consciousness

b) War of Manoeuvre: the second step which will be violent to overthrow the capitalist state

We can see application of Gramsci in Indian freedom struggle movement. Gandhi first fought 'war of position' through NCM & CDM and later the 'war of manoeuvre' through QIM.

Hence, Gramscian movements are actually Intellectual Revolutions which have tried to keep Marx relevant.

Gramsci has ~~with~~ rightly been called as Theoretician of Superstructures and Father of Neo Marxism.

Althusser further took Gramsci's ideas ahead, using concepts of coercive state apparatuses and ideological state apparatuses.

Que.3(b)

Critically examine Aristotle's views on women, property and on slavery. (15 Marks)

Aristotle is known as the Father of Political Science. He has put forth his ideas in his work 'Politics' where he has delved deeper into concepts of justice, citizenship, rule of law & revolution.

His views on women are not that progressive as he deprives them even of citizenship. Aristotle wants women to focus on household chores and not participate in decision making or political deliberations.

In a way, he is regressive than his political master Plato who was ready for 'Philosopher Queens' as well.

Aristotle's views on property are progressive in the sense that he considers property to be product of hard work and merit which should not be deprived of else will lead to dissatisfaction and revolution.

He criticises Plato's idea of communism of property. Instead, he emphasises on 'Individual Ownership and Common Use' so that both individual and social purposes of property are fulfilled.

Further, his views on slavery are conservative. Aristotle defends slavery as a 'time tested' concept going on since ages. He deprives

slaves of right of citizenship and says that the institution of slavery is beneficial to all-

- a) Beneficial to the slave whose mental capacities are not yet developed.
- b) Beneficial to the master who gets labour & guides him.
- c) Beneficial to the economic system as slaves can contribute immensely with their efficiency.
- d) Beneficial to the political system as the master can focus on political arena.

In today's time, Aristotle's views on women & slaves are not acceptable as they are unjustified and against human rights. But, his views on property were appreciated by marxists for the 'common use' and criticised by liberitarians like Nozick.

Que.3(c)

Compare Buddhist political thought with Hindu political thought. Examine the influence of these schools of thought on the formulation of public policy in India after independence. (15 Marks)

Indian political thought is a rich repository of knowledge & virtues. As Bhikhu Parekh classified Indian political thought into 'Dharma'sashtra' and 'Danda'sashtra', the role of Dharma & Danda becomes paramount.

Hindu political thought focusses on 'Dharma' as duty of king (Rajdharma) to save people from Arajakta (anarchy) and bralay (destruction), hence supports 'Monarchy'. On the other hand, Buddhist political thought talks about 'Dhamma' — the duty of all towards fellow beings, thereby supporting Republics.
(eg: Vajji)

Hindu political thought favours varna ashram - division of labour but Buddhist political thought opposes it and supports 'equality' of all.

Hence, in Hindu thought, women and Shudras were not allowed to gain knowledge or participate in political decision making, but it was not so in Buddhist thought (they could become nuns & monks)

Hindu political thought focusses on territorial expansion (by vijigishu) as nations are seen as 'organic' and neighbours as 'natural enemies' but Buddhist thought calls for peaceful coexistence, love & kindness. Hence, the former is expansionist & militaristic, while the latter is democratic.

Influence on public policy post independence

These schools of thought provided 'STRATEGIC CULTURE' to India's policy making. Kautilya's Arthashastra, the golden guidebook on statecraft, is referred to for Realist foreign policies.

The Buddhist thought has formed foundation of India's ideals of Panchsheel, Neighbourhood First & SAGAR. India's belief in One world One Family - 'Vasudhaiva kutumbhaka' also emanates from there.

The 'Mother of Democracy' - India owes its 'deliberative democratic culture' to the Sabhas, Samities, Sanghas of both Hindu & Buddhist political thought.

Que.5(a)

Write short note on interstate boundary disputes in India. (10 Marks)

As Louis Tillin says -

“The political boundaries of India are not yet finalised.”

India has seen various boundary disputes & reorganisations, beginning from the partition to the State Reorganization Act, 1956.

Interstate boundary disputes occurred due to difference in levels of developments and resources.
Formation of Telangana owes to the same.

Today, the demands for autonomy & even secessionism; eg:
demand for Nagaland, is due to many reasons like -

- i) Ethnic clashes between, say, Assamese & Bengalis, leading to communalism (C. Bhabhai)
- ii) Development deficit, due to different finance commission allocations, or distribution of resources $\Rightarrow$ causing water dispute
- iii) the excessive modernization and homogenization, leading to sidelining of minorities (Rajni Kothari)
- iv) Political motives and selfish interests of leaders (Prof. Dipankar Gupta)
- v) Economic & political factors over & above ethnic (Sarkaria Commission)

Hence, there is need to adopt Tribal Panchsheel and idea of Accommodation over assimilation to resolve disputes through Inter State Council and Samvad (Dialogue)



Que.5(b)

Write a short note on constitutional vision of Ambedkar. (10 Marks)

Ambedkar, the father of Indian constitution, is the tallest leader who shaped India's ideals and constitutional vision.

For him, democracy is the top soil (Grammar of Anarchy) where only 'One Nation, One Vote' will not suffice. We need 'One Value' also. Hence, political rights need to be complemented by social and economic rights.

Ambedkar's focus on securing "Minority rights" is reflected in constitutional provisions art 15, 16, 46 (Dpsp), 330 & 332 (reservation in Lok Sabha & Legislative Councils) as

well as art 243 D & T (reservation for SC, ST in local governments)

Ambedkar also supported rights for women, rule of law, education, scientific knowledge & temperament, which got reflected in the fundamental ~~rights~~ duties (part IVA)

Further, for Ambedkar, Constitutional Morality and constitutionalism were of utmost importance, as he says that working of a constitution depends on those who use it - bad men can make even a good constitution bad.

Hence, he truly established our Constitution as a Social Revolution (PB Mehta) and Transformative Constitutionalism.

Que.5(c)

Explain the text, politics and the substance of the Preamble. (10 Marks)

The Preamble is the 'horoscope' of Indian constitution (N Palkiwala)

Preamble, beginning from 'We The People of India' sets the tone for participatory & deliberative democracy of India.

The ideals of 'socialism' as India is a welfare state, 'secularism' as there is principled distance (Rajeev Bhargava), 'democratic' as power is with people and 'republic' as head of state is indirectly elected, all constitute the 'Text' of the Preamble. Emphasis on unity & integrity is paramount.

When it comes to 'politics',
preamble being a part of constitution
was debated. Bombay case said
that preamble is not part of
constitution, which was overridden
by Keshavananda Bharati case, 1973,
which mentioned that preamble
does not limit powers of government.
The instead provides a forward vision.

This vision explains the 'substance'
of the preamble. It is called
as "Identity Card" to constitution,
the key to the minds of the
constitution makers (Sarkaria Commission)

The emphasis on liberty, justice
and equality provides roots to
our democracy and ensure dignity
of all.

Que.5(d)

Classify the Directive principles into major ideological groupings. (10 Marks)

The directive principles are the 'Novel elements' of Indian Constitution (Ambedkar) which have been placed under part IV of Constitution (article 36-51), that act as "guidance to governance".

Though not segregated in the constitution itself, we may classify Directive principles of State Policy (DSPs) into 3 major ideological groupings

- ① Liberal DSPs → which emphasise on aspects related to rights of freedom, e.g. Right to education for children. It includes separation between judiciary & executive (art 50) and international cooperation (art 51) & implement uniform civil code (art 44)

② Gandhian Directives → based on ideals of Gandhi like Swaraaj, ahimsa, Satyagraha. It includes provisions related to SC, ST welfare, Cottage industry, PRIs, banning liquor (art 40)

③ Socialist DPSPs → that aim towards welfare of poor to redistribute wealth & prevent concentration of wealth (art 38, 39). It also includes welfare provisions for women, old age, disabled (art 41).

Hence, we see that coverage of DPSPs is quite broad. But they have been criticised for being 'cheque in hands of government' that uses it when it wishes. Yet, DPSPs certainly act as guiding light to ensure social justice.



Que.5(e)

Enumerate the achievements of NHRC. (10 Marks)

"NHRC is the largest post office.
It receives & forwards huge
number of complaints."

— Krishna Iyer

NHRC has been established as a
statutory body under protection of
civil rights Act, to become a
watchdog of Human Rights.

Among its achievements are the
steps taken to protect rights of
sex workers, manual scavengers,
LGBTQIA community and SC/STs.

The Dalia Jalao campaign for the
manual scavengers and awareness
about their situation is indeed
an achievement. Also, steps have
been taken for Hajongs in

Meghalaya, and implementation of SC/ST prevention of atrocities act. NHRC was vocal & proactive to suo moto take action during death of workers under trains/road accidents.

Yet, it faces certain challenges like:-

- 1) non-constitutional body
- 2) lack of enforcement powers
- 3) merely an advisory body
- 4) overlapping jurisdiction with NCSC, NCST, NCM.
- 5) lack of oversight over armed forces (AFSPA)
- 6) can't take cases beyond 1 year.
- 7) vacancies

Thus, there is need to strengthen NHRC by enhancing & streamlining its powers & responsibilities to truly uphold HUMAN RIGHTS & JUSTICE.

Que.8(a)

Human Rights Movements in India need to go long way before the members of LGBTQ community are able to enjoy equality of status in India. Discuss. (20 Marks)

“ Human Rights are the rights we possess by virtue of our humanity. ”
— Mother Teresa.

Human rights, thus, do not discriminate among people on the grounds of caste, class, religion, or even gender / sex.

LGBTQIA+ community has been victim of oppression, social stigma and segregation since ages. They are called & respected to bless newly wed or newly born, but outside this frontier, they are treated inhumanely.

When it comes to Human rights movements in India for LGBTQIA+,

the foremost efforts are of NAZ Foundation. It is due to their persistent efforts that Nalsa judgement was passed in 2014 where Supreme Court accepted 'The Third Gender'.

Further, Naveen Singh Johar judgement led to decriminalization of section 377 of IPC, hence accepting homosexuality.

However, these measures are a top down approach. These were procedural and legal steps which lacked legitimacy (Habermas). The societal mindset is yet the same — Insensitive & parochial.

Hence, for true equality of status and dignity (E. Kant's categorical imperative), we need bottom up human right movement for LGBTQIA+ community.

In this regard, efforts of NGOs, civil society organizations & pressure groups are worth mentioning. They become reservoirs of leadership (Rajni Kothari) to bring social justice of Basava Samajik Sansthan, Hamsagar Trust.

There is need for a mass movement at 'Mental / Intellectual' Revolution level, as both Hannah Arendt and A. Gramsci emphasised upon. When people will come together to act in concert and the LGBTQIA+ community themselves establish their counter hegemony, will we be able to nudge behavioural change in people.

The construction of 'sexuality' needs to be deconstructed, as postmodernists like Deleuze argue.

As per Foucault, it is the knowledge-power connection that has established hegemony of majoritarians as they control the theory of sexuality.

We need to change this discourse and paradigm by establishing a metamorphosed 'knowledge' as 'Power'.

The 'Rainbow movements' happening all across the world demands human rights that are universal, inalienable and available. Rights to equality, marriage, property, adoption, etc. all need to be delved into to move towards a progressive society.

Hence, moving from a Transphobic to a Transfriendly society!!

Que.8(b)

"The creation of citizens conscious of their duties is a prerequisite of progress in the country." In the light of above statement critically evaluate the relevance of chapter on fundamental duties in Indian constitutions. (15 Marks)

"Rights co-exist and complement duties."
— Laski

Laski was a firm believer in duties. He said that a society based on rights without duties is built on sand.

While rights are the conditions without which no man can in general be at his best, hence (Laski) constituting entitlements to liberty and equality, expanded to food, health, education (as part of Right to life).

Duties, on the other hand, are what are expected from us — the corresponding obligations towards fellow citizens.

Both mutually co-exist.

ex. The right against untouchability includes within itself the duty to respect others.

M.K. Gandhi was also a believer in complementarity of rights and duties. He would call for rights of Harjans as well as duties of people towards cleanliness.

Indian Constitution aims to reconcile both rights & duties, as envisaged by the Father of the Indian constitution, Ambedkar.

For instance, Right to education as provided in Fundamental Rights (art 21A) co-exists with fundamental Duty of parents to provide quality education to their children (art 51A).

There at times appears to be a tussle between the two as 'rights' are primarily the demands of liberals while duties pertain to socialists.

Also, no mechanism has been put in place to achieve the duties. ~~of~~ how to enhance scientific temper in citizens is vague and open ended.

Besides, fundamental duties have been called as 'New Years Resolution' that is broken on the 2nd of January and hence, no accountability.

As suggested by NCRWC, we must expand duties to include Duty to vote & pay taxes. We must appreciate that both rights & duties are ^{prefixed by} 'FUNDAMENTAL', hence equally important (AIIMS case)

Que.8(c)

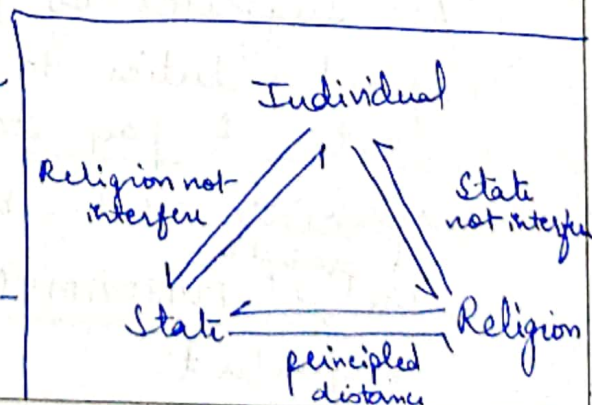
Explain the complexities of Indian secularism and delineate the dynamics religion in Indian Politics. (15 Marks)

Secularism refers to the separation between state and religion. The concept of secularism goes back to Machiavelli, when he separated means & ends, politics & ethics.

In India, we followed the 'Principled Distance' model (Rajeev Bhargava) of secularism based on ideas of ASHOKA (Sarva Dharma Sambhav).

Ideological underpinnings of Nehru's Dharma Nirpekshita and Ambedkar's Minorities rights are also evident.

There occurs a three tiered trinity of exchanges as:-



Hence, arise the complexities. On one hand, SR Bommai judgement called Secularism as part of Basic structure, while on the other hand Ashis Nandy calls it a dead concept.

PB Mehta also argues that secularism is used as a means for minority appeasement, causing communalism & differences.

On one hand, 'secularism' is used by judiciary to make strong judicial pronouncements like Sabarimala judgement (equality to women), abolish triple talaq, while on other hand, state gets involved in controversies over Burkha/Hijab.

The use of religion in Indian politics has been based on the

premise of Mandal & Kamandal politics (Christophe Jefferlot).

Scholars like Thomas Hansen point towards the rise of 'Saffron Wave' and Christophe Jefferlot says that 'India has become a de-facto Hindu rashtra.'

Yet, scholars like Rahul Verma would argue that these are words of change and not change of system. It is too early to comment on establishment of one party dominant system.

Religion, thus, provides identity to people, while also leading to their plebianization for political propaganda & mobilization.

Hence, we need Secularization of Indian politics (T.N. Madan) and Dialogue among communities (Bhikhu Parekh)