



# SHUBHRA RANJAN

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## Political Science & International Relations

### Crash Course & Test Series - 2023

#### Test 1

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name

Kunal Rastogi

Test Date

20.06.2023

UPSC Roll No

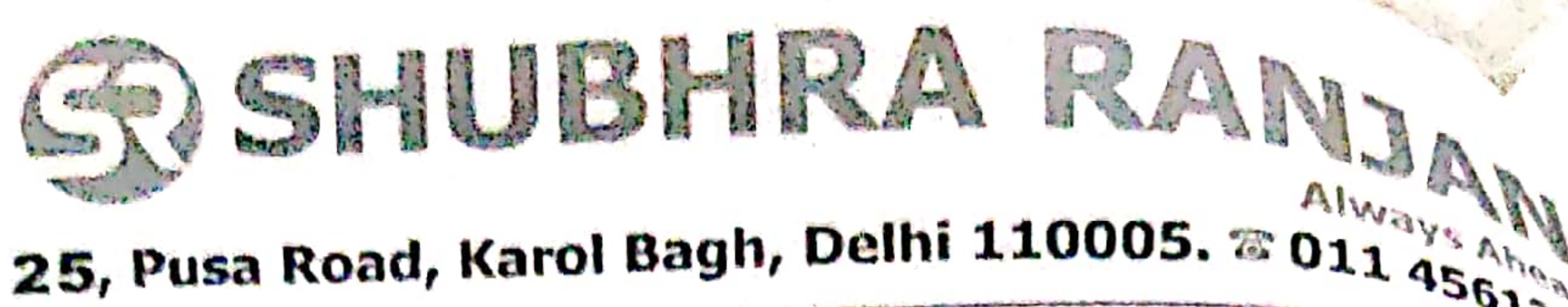
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#### Instructions:

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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25, Pusa Road, Kari

"There is no science of politics  
aesthetics for the line  
Comment. (10 M-  
politics)

Politik

(a)

Dear Student,

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

12719  
Excellent



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1 (a)

"There is no science of politics any more than there is a science of aesthetics-for the line of politics are not the lines of mathematics". (Burke)  
Comment. (10 Marks)

Political Science is one of the oldest disciplines of science concerned with state, government and Politics. Aristotle, father of political Science in Nichomenian Ethics calls it a master Science.

Contrary, Edmund Burke a conservatist takes restricted view of Science as pure science thus seperating it from political philosophy, idealism and ethics which enriched political Science from the times of Plato (ideal state), Hobbes (social contract), Marx (communism).

David Easton attributes this disjointed outlook between politics and Science as cause for excess great decline in Political theory. To reverse above, Easton introduces Behavioralism.

Inspired from Graham Wallace,  
Charles Merriam, behaviouralism seeks  
to make politics pure Science. Easton  
gives Eight Pillar foundation for above  
which include Regularisation, systematisation etc.

However excessive reliance  
leads to decline of political theory.  
Hence Easton comes up with Post-  
behaviouralism through credo of relevance.  
Thus, David Ricci defines Post-Behaviouralism  
as fusion of normative values with principle  
of science. — creative theory (Easton)

Thus, political science today is  
a vibrant discipline as shown by Rawlsian  
theory of justice where science and values  
come together to form Phronesis — Practical  
Science (Aristotle). Andrew Hacker thus  
calls politics as job of Scientist and  
Philosopher.

1(b)

Critically Evaluate the significance of Rawls concept of veil of ignorance. (10 Marks)

John Rawls is considered as greatest political philosopher of 20<sup>th</sup> century who contributed in revival of Normative Political philosophy through his Justice as Fairness

Inspired from Kantian values of Human dignity and Lockean mode of Social Contract, Rawls tries to come up with purely procedural theory for universal conception of Justice.

Consequently, Rawls employs a heuristic device called original position. To come up with Rational theory, Kantian individuals (Rational following maxim) are put under veil of ignorance, whereby they only know general traits of society and not the particular traits regarding their Class, caste etc.

Veil of ignorance help in coming up with Rational maximin principle and ultimately lead to difference principle - inequality benefits least advantaged.

Communitarians, like Michael Sandel in his book Liberalism & Limit of Justice argues that man is situated self and hence original position and veil of ignorance is fallacy. Similar opinion shared by Charles Taylor (Man embedded self)

Feminist like Carole Pateman alleges Rawls to be biased, as patriarchy has not been excluded. Similarly, Amartya Sen opines that man takes social choices and so veil is inaccurate.

Nevertheless, Rawls is gold standard in conception of justice and Nozick. Rightly said Rawls is starting point of all contemporary justice.



1(c)

Analyse Kymlicka's theory of multicultural citizenship. (10 Marks)

JH Marshall defines citizenship as full participation of people in the political community. However with globalisation and rise of migration, refugees the liberal conception of universal citizenship created social discord.

Will Kymlicka in his book Multicultural Citizenship: liberal theory of minority rights tries to address above. Inspired from Frantz Fanon (Cultural Relativism) and Iris Marion Young differentiated citizenship, Will Kymlicka based on values of Tolerance gave minority special rights.

Will Kymlicka, believing in fact that National minority should be given

① Self governing Rights



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M.N Roy conceived  
new worldview.

- ② Special Representative Rights
- ③ Special Cultural Rights.

This was criticised by Bhiku Parekh who argues that Kymlika instead of celebrating diversity has proposed a monocultural theory of Rights which shows Western Superiority Complex. Furthermore rights are only for National minorities.

Even Communitarian like Alasdair McIntyre, feminist like Susan Moller Okin charge Kymlika with denial of cultural rights. On the other hand Amartya Sen argues that such rights would lead to ghettoisation.

Nevertheless, theory of Multicultural Citizenship is vital in Nation Building as shown by Indian Constitution through Art-29, 30 for special minority right.

1(d)

M.N Roy conceived of humanism as scientific, integral and a radically new worldview. Comment. (10 Marks)

MN Roy, marxist, Humanist, philosopher in his celebrated work Radical Humanism: A New manifesto conceives Radical Humanism with aim of Human freedom from all spheres of fear.

Inspired by Protagoras —  
Man is Measure of Everything and Sean  
Paul Satre - Protein is Freedom, Roy  
puts Humans at the center of universe  
free from all sorts of identity. This  
new Humanism is integral unity of  
three pillars — Science, Reason, Ethics  
with aim of creating Cosmopolitan union  
of free persons.

Through Scientific Humanism  
based on Reason & Ethics, MN Roy

seeks to instill Rationality in Humans, so that free decisions are possible without subversion from any collective ego - Class in Marxism, Race in Nazism etc.

This new Humanism keeps the centrality of Human and provides necessary freedom for achievement of self-actualisation like in case of enlightened Anarchy in Gandhism or creative freedom of CB Macpherson.

However Sudipto Kaviraj calls Roy remarkable failure as his concept is utopian.

Despite above, MN Roy's Reinterpretation of Humanism from classical French Revolution concept provides an ideal destination that all human Society must strive towards



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1(e)

Critically Analyze Hannah Arendt's view on ideology. (10 Marks)

Hannah Arendt, a phenomenological thinker of 20th century gets the due recognition of female philosophers. However she refuses the title as she believes in Zoon Politikon and Civic Republicanism.

In her book On Human Condition she attributes rise of Animal labouran, shrinking public sphere, rise of ideology as the reason for Totalitarian Regimes like Nazism & Stalinism.

Ideology is set of ideas which are considered to be true without examination. Believing in Marxian concept of ideology as false consciousness, Hannah Arendt in her book origin of Totalitarianism hold ideology to be source of Radical evil.

Hannah Arendt believes that ideology are counterproductive and reduce civic Republicanism. Instead of man using principles of debate, dialogue and discussion in public sphere (Civic Republicanism of Aristotle), man readily believes in false ideology thus shrinking Public-spaces and converting class politics into man politics.

Thus Hannah Arendt, like Neo-Marxist (Frankfurt school) Habermas Nancy Fraser is critical of ideology and like post-modernist (Lyotard) has incredulity towards meta-narrative.

In this way Hannah Arendt was passionate believer in Deliberative democracy where communicative Action and not ideology source of public action



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2(a)

How does the debate around the Rawlsian notion of justice have made justice a pluralistic concept? (20 Marks)

"Justice is the first virtue of any system of politics, like truth is in system of thought"  
— John Rawls.

Plato in his book, Republic: Concerning Justice, define as architectonic concept that holds society together. Tom Campbell further adds justice to be commanding concept in any society. However since it is a normative concept, it remain contested.

For plato justice was non-interference and functional specialisation, Aristotle proportionate equality while in contemporary times marxism considers absolute Equality. However the liberal concept of justice based on Bentham's idea → utilitarianism famed hegemonic

Concept.

John Rawls in his book Justice as Fairness, 1971 rejected utilitarian concept as it could not prevent Civil Rights movement in USA (1960's). He gave an alternative theory based on Kantian value of Dignity and Lockean social Contract

Employing a purely procedural theory he uses Heuristic device called original position where Kantian individual are under veil of ignorance. The three

principle of

- a) Equality of Liberty
- b) fair Equality of opportunity
- c) inequality must benefit least advantaged

lexicographical order  
↓

form the foundation of all basic institution for distribution of basic goods. Thus

Norman Barry opines that charity principle

society as good as weakest linkage is  
used to order just society

However the criticism of above  
due to continued disturbances, lead to emerge  
of counter-theories making justice plural.

Communitarians came up with  
Complex theory of justice. Michael Sandel  
in his book liberalism and limit of justice  
criticised original position as man is situated  
self. Thus, Michael Walzer in his book  
Spheres of justice defined justice as  
sort of differentiation rather than science  
of Homogenization where different primary  
goods are distributed different.

Even Social liberals like  
Amartya Sen in his book Development  
as freedom criticised Rawls for  
following Procedural, consequential theory

theory of justice. Amartya Sen gave story of Carl, Bob, Ana to give Equality of Capability as a deontological, substantive (Nyaya) theory of justice.

Neo-liberals like Robert Nozick gave Entitlement theory of Justice. Claiming to uphold Kantian dictum which Rawls violated due to distribution (using People as mean) he gives theory of justice based on historical principle. Nozick claims that all property based on just acquisition, just transfer and rectification is legal

Thus Rawls theory of Justice expanded the contemporary theories by reigniting passion of Normativism after the decline of political theory (behavioralism). Nozick rightly points out that all must either agree with Rawls. or tell why not.



(b)

Human rights are those political parameters which act as a guide for governments and institutions as to how to treat people. Critically examine the given statement. (15 Marks)

"Rights are those Conditions of life without which no man can seek to be at best" - Laski (Grammar of Politics)

Human Rights are sub-discipline which was defined by Thomas Paine as rights inherent to human by virtue of being Human. They draw inspiration from Lockean theory of natural Rights and Kantian value of inviolability of Human dignity.

Human Rights is Post ww-II phenomena to prevent instances like Jews Holocaust. It consist of UDHR, 1948, International Covenant of Civil & Political Rights and International Covenant of Social rights.

James Nickel call Human Rights as Equal, universal, inalienable,



indivisible, permanent. Thus they act as political prescriptions for governments and institutions

For 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries

they act as models of fundamental Rights that state must incorporate in their Constitutions. for eg, Indian Constitution.

They also place responsibility on the International community to prevent crime against humanity under R2P Right to protect. for eg UN intervention in Bosnia (1993)

These Human Rights are also used to design the Sustainable development goals like Art 25 of UDHR - standard of living correspond to SDG-1 (Zero Poverty)

However, Human Rights have been criticised under Asian value debate by Lee Kuan Yew and Mahathir Mohammad who claim Human Rights are just a

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Political  
fiction

play for cultural imperialism

The same thesis is proved under Clash of Civilization by S P Huntington who claim fundamental dichotomy between culture of East and West (the basis for Human Rights). This leads to enhanced tension.

Some state leaders like Putin (Russia) and Xi Jinping (China) claim Human rights to be deceptive ploy for infringing on internal matters and violating Westphalian Sovereignty.

However looking at instances like Uyghur Muslims in China, Bucha massacre in Russia - Ukraine war, perhaps Dworkin's concept of [Rights as Trumps] must be seriously explored based on age old Indian concept of Varudaiiva Kutumbakam



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SHU  
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of German philosophy  
March of God  
Nature's

Que.2(c)

"Nationalism is immortal; Nationalism cannot die, because it is no human thing." (Aurobindo). Discuss Aurobindo's theory of nationalism in the light of above statement. (15 Marks)

"Nation is not piece of land,  
Nation is not people  
Nation is not boundaries  
Nation is faith believe and worship"

Aurobindo often called as Prophet of Indian Nationalism was political philosopher and ~~moderate~~ extremist who spiritualised the concept of nation to motivate Indian masses for Indian freedom struggle.

Fredrick Watkins defined the traditional western notion of state as segmented geographical territory of human society with obedience to common sovereign. This was reiterated in Montevideo Convention

Contrary to above, Aurobindo envisaged Nation as an immortal representation of universal spirit. Inspired from ideas

of German philosophers - Hegel (state is March of God on Earth), Herder (Nation is Natural like culture); neo-vedantism of Swami Vivekananda - Service to state is akin to Service to God and Ban Kim Chandra Chatterjee who represented India as Mother Goddess.

Synthesising above ideas Aurobindo conceptualised as an organic entity a state. Each state is natural and ever advancing thus being immortal. Moreover, it is not created by humans but by God itself.

God used Nation States as conduit for representation of one aspect of universal spirit. for eg Romans for beauty, fascist for evil and Indian State for Spiritualism.



Thus Nation is not human and hence it cannot die, but its growth has been restricted by octopus like British Raj. Thus in his book Indian Rebirth, Aurobindo urges the world to come together for natural growth and freedom to India as it is only spiritualism (India) could evil materialistic forces like fascism, Nazism be avoided.

However, PS Mukherjee criticises Aurobindo's concept of nationalism as loaded with idealism and divorced from reality.

Nevertheless, spiritual notion of Aurobindo regarding Indian nationalism to an extent holds to be true as India is Vishwaguru in Yoga (International yoga day), Voice of Global South. Thus Tagore's wise words of Aurobindo's thought being representative of India ~~is~~ does have Merit.



3(a)

The general aim of deliberative democracy is to provide the most justifiable conception for dealing with moral disagreement in politics. Explain with reference to the views of Habermas. (20 Marks)

"Democracy is way of government which provides equal power to strongest and weakest section of society" — Grandhi

Democracy as form of Govt means rule of people, which originated in ancient greece under Pericles. Harry S Fosdick states that democracy has basic belief that ordinary people have extra-ordinary capability. Based upon above conviction, many Normative Concepts have been given.

Deliberative Democracy is a term coined by Joseph M Besset to emphasize on rational argumentation as means of arriving at public decision. Unlike the procedural models of democracy highlighted by Schumpeter—

Dahl axis (elitist-pluralist model), deliberative democracy is a substantive Model.

Joshua Cohen highlights 5 integral features of deliberative democracy

- ① Continuous Engagement of People
- ② deliberation as Source of Legitimation
- ③ Non-coercive environment for debate
- ④ value pluralism
- ⑤ Rational argumentation.

Thus Deliberative democracy represent civic republicanism of Aristotle, Zoon Politikon of Hannah Arendt, JS Mills emphasis on freedom of speech.

This model of democracy was further popularised by Jurgen Habermas in his book Legitimation Crisis. According to Habermas the conception of welfare state had



resulted in moral disagreement in Politics.

Since welfare state proposed by positive liberals like TH green, LT Hobbhause was based on contradictory principles - Capitalist in Economics, Socialist in politics. This would result in government overload (Anthony King) and finally violation of social Contract resulting in Legitimation crisis like in Greece (Eurozone Crisis).

Habermas taking a broadere outlook urged people to undertake communicative action in ideal speech situation to settle disagreement in politics. For this deliberative democracy can come in handy as it allows for rational argumentation, people participation and accountability of basic institutions.  
Following the maxim of

Public choice espounded by John Rawls, Habermass claims that deliberation would aid is finding solutions to disagreement which find Legitimacy and Consent while upholding Social Contract.

Even CB Macpherson in his book Democracy: Essay in Retrieval claim that deliberative democracy help in achieving Creative freedom where development power outtakes Extractive Power thus aiding man reach Self-actualisation.

Although above conception of Haberman is criticised by Gabriel Almond for politicising public, in today's information society marred by yellow journalism, deliberative democracy can act as template for Sustainable development and nation building in both developed & developing Country.

3(b)

How does feminists conceive state and its role when it comes to overcoming the subordination of women? Discuss (15 Marks)

"Political Science begins and Ends with State" — JW Garner.

Although state is defined in terms of Sovereignty, people, territory, government (Montvideo Convention) it is a normative Concept and hence contested.

Feminist is a Meta-ideology with an aim to create egalitarian society by removing Gender Power Asymmetry. Since it is a Sociological concept, Catherine McKinnon claims there is no feminist theory of State; just conceptions.

Liberal school of Feminism (First wave) represented by ideas of JS Mill (Subjection of woman), Mary Wollstonecraft (Vindication of Rights of woman) consider state to be a virtuous

institution which could help in removal of subordination of woman. Thus they demand for Suffragate rights so that feminist can capture state power for woman liberty.

Contrary to above, Social feminist represented by Freidrick Engels (Origin of family, Property, State) and sheila Rowbatham argue that patriarchy and capitalism are same thus Marxist revolution against state (responsible for patriarchy) is necessary for overcoming Subordination of woman.

Similar views are shared by Radical feminist. Catherine McKinnon in her book Towards feminist theory of state argues "when I look at state it appears Male to me". This was further elaborated by Caroline Hanisch - "Personal



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is political".

Thus the artificial distinction between public & private started by Aristotle and reinforced by Hegel (family as ~~an~~ altruistic institution) is caused for perpetual domination.

Thus Susan Muller Okin (gender justice and family), Kate Millet (Sexual politics) argue that feminist should abolish all conception of patriarchy laden institution like - family, laws and state. Thus they go for dialectics of sex (Shulimath Finestone) for overcoming subordination of women.

Thus, feminist do not have a coherent conception of state. However they share similar belief of eradicating gendered relationship. The Beijing Consensus can be a good starting point for reforming state.