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Political Science & International Relations

Crash Course & Test Series - 2022

Test 1

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name R. Jaya Simha Reddy
Test Date 30th June, 2022
Email Address _____
UPSC Roll No _____

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,

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



Que.1 (a) "Political Science as a Master Science." (10 Marks)

Aristotle, who is regarded as father of political science, described political science as a 'master science'.

It is said that political science begins and ends with state (J.W Garner). Since every aspect of human life is linked to state, political science is seen as master science. Aristotle held "one who can live without state is either beast or god, but not man".

Although political is part

of our daily life, studying political science is complex. Oakshott observed "in politics we move in bottomless and borderless sea".

Political science aims to provide plausible generalizations and laws governing political behaviour. Being a normative discipline, there are diverse perspectives ranging from liberalism to post-modernism.

Political science is a democratic discipline with expanding frontiers. (Green political theory, CHRISTIAN). As Isaiah Berlin observed, so long

rational curiosity exists, political science exists



Que.1(b)

Concept of Over-developed state. (10 Marks)

Over-developed state is a theoretical framework developed by neo-marxist scholar Hamza Alavi to study post colonial state in South Asia, especially Pakistan.

Since capitalism is not mature, Alavi considered instrumentalist approach not very relevant and employed structural / relative autonomy approach to describe these states.

According to Alavi, there is structural mismatch between political & social structure in these

Countries. While social structure remain
-s feudal, colonial master introdu-
-ced modern centralised state with
strong bureaucracy. As a result,
state modernised (over-developed)
while society was left behind.

He calls Pakistan military-
bureaucracy oligarchy. Since the state
in these societies it relatively
autonomous & negotiates on behalf
of indigenous bourgeois, metropolitan
bourgeois & feudal lords. Even
India before LPG reforms was
'license-raj' (overdeveloped).

Concept of overdeveloped state
is helpful in understanding governance
issues & inefficiency of post-colonial
states



Q.1(c)

Theory of Natural Rights. (10 Marks)

Theory of natural rights is oldest theoretical justification of rights. It has origin in John Locke's "second treatise on civil government".

Theory of natural rights postulates that man is born with certain inalienable rights. They are enjoyed by man even in state of nature. "Intuition, not institution" is the source of these rights. To quote Locke, "reason in man allows him not to harm others".

Locke considered right to life, liberty & property as natural.

rights of man, hence cannot be taken away by state. If state does, people have right to revolt.

Theory of natural rights is criticised by legal positivists like Bentham as 'anarchical fallacies'. Bentham considered rights as 'creatures of law'. According to them, idea of natural rights is vague, and leads to revolt against state. Edmund Burke saw them as 'metaphysical abstractions'.

Theory of natural rights was overshadowed by legal rights in 19th century. But, in mid-20th century, it was revived as Human rights.



Que.1(d)

End of Ideology thesis. (10 Marks)

End of Ideology is a controversial thesis advanced by Western scholars during cold war (1960)

According to this thesis, the major issue of our times is "economics, not politics". They argue ideological battles have become irrelevant.

Daniel Bell in "The End of Ideology" describes himself "liberal in economics, socialist in politics and conservative in culture". He argues, in West & East similar bureaucratic-technocratic states have emerged with institutionalised bargaining between groups. Hence, Marxist ideologies which inspired

Workers in 19th century no longer
threaten liberal democracy

S.M. Lipsett, even more assert
ively claims that there is no
other ^{better} way than liberal democracy
to organise political life. Rostow
held that every society passes
through similar stages of economic
development, irrespective of ideology

End of Ideology thesis got
major push with end of cold war,
which Francis Fukuyama termed
'end of history'. However, Marxists criticise
it as justification of status-quo. Further,
Alasdair MacIntyre held even end of
ideology itself is an ideology!



Que.1(c)

Marx Theory of Surplus Value. (10 Marks)

Theory of surplus value is a major contribution of Marx to analyse nature of capitalism.

According to Marx, surplus value implies profit that bourgeois generate. Marx argues, profit is the engine that drives capitalism. Since, capitalism involves cut-throat competition, capitalist must constantly improve his means of production to earn more profits.

However, Marx has pointed that although surplus value is due to the labour of worker, yet



Worker (proletariat) receives no share in it. Further, proletariat's labour is used against him as bourgeois purchases new machines with surplus value, which leads to loss of wages & unemployment. Thus, ultimately, according to Marx, surplus value deepens rift between bourgeois & proletariat leading to collapse of capitalism.

However, M.N. Roy, who revised Marxism, considers surplus value as not unique to capitalism. Further, Gandhi held that surplus value should be redistributed to worker (Theory of Trusteeship).

Que. 4(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)

Rawls 'A theory of Justice' is regarded as one of the most influential political works of twentieth century. He projected his 'justice as fairness' as pure-procedural justice, which is universally applicable. The claims of universality invited critical analysis of Rawls theory by communitarians.

Rawls derived his principles of justice using rational procedure. He proposed a thought experiment,

Where rational negotiators, in
original position behind veil of
ignorance debate on ideal principles
of justice.

However, communitarians like
Michael Sandel criticise the concept
of original position and Rawls
depiction of rational man as
'unencumbered self', who is completely
rational and abstract from any
social relationships.

Michael Sandel criticises Rawls
view of human nature as 'atomistic'.
He ~~arg~~ criticises excessive emphasis



of Rawls on individualism and individual rights. Communitarians argue that self is not prior to society, rather self is constituted by society.

For communitarians, 'man finds peace not in isolation, but in performing social roles in a community.

Hence, communitarians prefer common good over individual good.

Rawls gave liberty first preference in his theory of justice. However, Will Kymlicka points out his theory of justice doesn't recognise the value of community sufficiently.



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)

Sovereignty is integral feature of modern state. Jean Bodin defined sovereignty as 'supreme authority unrestrained by external factors'.

While proponents of monistic theory of sovereignty like Hobbes and John Austin consider state as the only sovereign in a given territory, pluralists consider state as one of many associations.

Harold Laski held that Hobbesian view of sovereignty is a license to wreck civilization as it



gives absolute authority to state, which leads to totalitarianism.

Laski argued that concept of sovereignty is a 'legal fiction' as in federal countries, authority is distributed and "it is impossible to find sovereignty in Austinian sense". Duguit & Krabbe

held that state is not the only source of law, as social customs are also laws.

Pluralist's criticism of monistic theory is seen as inconsistent. On one hand Laski suggests to expunge idea of sovereignty from state, on other he considers state as keystone of social architecture.



Pluralists neither abolish state
nor give complete sovereignty to state.

But, if the state is in existence,
it will automatically become sovereign
authority due to unique functions
(law making, execution & adjudication)
it performs and institution of
Police & military.

Despite criticism, pluralist
theory is most relevant in contempo-
-rary times as state's authority is
always challenged by international
organisation & civil society. Further,
pluralist view of sovereignty is
most conducive to peace.



Que.4(c)

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

Aurobindo is credited with bold theory of Indian nationalism that inspired masses in freedom struggle.

Aurobindo spiritualised the concept of nation. He held "nation is not piece of land, but is divine and has spirit". He criticised moderate view as India is "nation making" and held that India is "always a nation".

The arguments of Aurobindo go on as follows:—



- Every nation represents a part of universal spirit. India is chosen by universal spirit to represent element of 'spirituality'.
- Foreign rule can never be blessing in disguise as it obstructs natural evolution of spirit. He held, under influence of colonial rule, spirit of India was polluted with tamas.
- India cannot preach the message of spirituality to world from position of slavery. Hence, he was the first one to call for 'purna swargi'.



Further, Aurobindo held that rise of India as a nation is in the interest of human community as whole and hence, international community must support Indian nationalism. He held "no one can stop rise of India as nation" as it is divine mission.

Then, Aurobindo gave moral & spiritual arguments to justify his idea of nationalism and energize masses. It is in this context, Rabindranath Tagore held world will come to know India's genius through Voice of Aurobindo Gosh. and Dr. Kanan Singh termed his 'prophet of Indian nationalism'



Que.5(a)

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

Ancient Hindu political thought can be divided into Dharmashastra and Dandashastra. In Dharmashastra, central discussion is about Dharma-right conduct.

Manusmriti is regarded as oldest book on Dharmashastra. It postulates quasi-contract theory of state, wherein people approach Manu (son of lord Brahma) to ensure order and protect them from arajakta (anarchy).

According to Manusmriti, "Prithivi Dharma Dhritham" - It is dharma, which holds life on earth. Manu, as son of Brahma, is seen as



first Law-giver to govern human society. Manusmriti is then compilation of laws given by Manu.

The idea of dharma, as given by Manu, revolves around three concepts - ① Purushartha (dharma, artha, kama, moksha), which are goals of human life ② Varnashrama, which specifies duties of various varnas and ③ Ashramas (Brahmacharya, Grihastha, Sanyasa and Vanaprastha) which describe various stages of life.

Hence, it can be rightly regarded that Manu is the founder of Dharmastra tradition. Manusmriti continues to remain the basis for Hindu personal laws.

Difference between Dharmashastras and Dandashastras. (10 Marks)

Que.5(b)

Bhikhu Parekh categorised ancient Indian political thought into Dharmashastra and Dandashastra.

The central discussion of Dharmashastra is Dharma (right conduct), whereas Dandashastra is concerned with Danda (punitive use of co-ercive power). Manusmriti is considered as major text of Dharmashastras while Arthashastra is a prominent text of Dandashastras.

In Manusmriti, ideas of Dharma revolve around purusharthas, varnashrama & ashrama. In Arthashastra, idea of Danda is linked with different types of war (Parakram Yuddha,



Koot Yuddh, Tushnim Yuddh, and various types of punishments Kautilya prescribes. Kautilya held that king has rod of dhand to ensure peace in society.

However, as Bhikhu Parekh observed, Indian tradition reflects more continuity than change. For instance, Manusmriti also deals with idea of Danda as it suggests punishm - ents according to varna and

Arthashastra also deals with Raja dharma - "in the happiness of his subjects lies happiness of king".



Que.5(c)

Limitations of Post Behaviouralism. (10 Marks)

Post behaviouralism emerged in political science to rectify deficiencies of behavioralism, which came to be criticised by normativists as 'naïve scientism'.

David Easton acknowledged limitations of behavioralism and in his lecture 'Credo of relevance' called for creative theory based on action and relevance which led to post-behavioralism.

The salient features of post-behavioralism are :-

- ① Prioritising relevance of political work



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to usage of scientific technique

② Retaining value analysis.

However, post-behavioralism has certain limitations:

① It doesn't discard empirical techniques altogether. But, scope of application of nonempirical statistical techniques in natural sciences is limited.

② It emphasises on preserving normative character of the discipline. But, normative theories are criticised as armchair and never un-verifiable theories based on 'speculation of philosophers'.

Despite limitations, post-behavioral approach contributed to ascendancy of discipline. Scholars like Rawls & Macpherson interlinked empirical & normative

analysis to produce socially relevant theories.

Que.5(d)

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

For many, Buddha was a spiritual leader, but for Gail Omvadt, and Kanaka Ilaiah, Buddha was first political philosopher. Buddhism belongs to idealist tradition that doesn't separate politics & ethics.

Buddhism is primarily concerned with ensuring peace & happiness in society. Hence, Buddhist political thought is more focused on moral law than positive law & affairs of government.

Buddhism is an egalitarian tradition which condemned caste and gender distinctions. Buddhism



place faith on rationality of man.
Ancient Buddhist Sanghas are earliest
example of deliberative democracy.

Unlike Arthashastra, which
calls king mandala chakravarti samrat,
Buddhism addresses king as Piyadasi
('loved by people'). It suggests
Dhammagosha (victory through Dhamma)
than Bherighosha (victory by waging
war). Buddhist texts like Buddhacharita
focus more on qualities of king
such as compassion than administration
of state.

Hence, it can be said
that Buddhist thought has lent
greater ethical foundation to Indian
political thought.

Que.5(e)

Dworkin's Idea of Equality. (10 Marks)

Dworkin in his "sovereign virtue" called 'equality' as a ~~sovereign~~ virtue of democratic sovereignty. He developed his idea of equality in response to libertarian (Nozick) & egalitarian (Rawls) theories of justice.

Nozick supports only equality of opportunity as he considers "people should be made responsible for choices they make". However, Dworkin argues that people should be made responsible for their choices only in chosen circumstances. He brings concept of 'option luck' (unchosen) and 'brute luck' (chosen).



Rawls, on other hand, is excessively concerned with making inequalities just, and proposes difference principle in his Theory of justice. However, Dworkin is more concerned about initial distribution than justifying outcomes.

Dworkin through 'political fiction' develops his idea of equality, wherein he suggests "equality means equal concern than equal treatment". Hence, Dworkin grants extra chances to those who suffer brute luck like physical disabilities to make initial distribution fair.

Amartya Sen, however thinks resource egalitarianism as insufficient and calls for equality of capabilities. Thus, there are diverse perspectives on equality within political philosophy.

Que.6(a)

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

Isaiah Berlin in his book "Two concepts of Liberty" held that liberty is substantive value of liberalism. However, within liberalism, there are multiple perspectives on liberty.

Classical liberal scholars like John Locke & Bentham considered liberty as absence of opposition. John Locke held that government is merely a trust and people are its trustees, hence it cannot take away natural rights of man.

This conception of liberty came



to be viewed as negative liberty. It called for night watchman state. It opposed state's interference in economy and believed in 'survival of fittest' (Sumner). Thomas Jefferson held "that state governs the best which governs least".

However, in early 20th century, concept of negative liberty came under threat from socialism due to increasing inequalities & exploitation of women. This led to idea of positive liberty.

It was J.S Mill who brought idealism in liberalism by

taking progressive view of human being. T.H Green was the first one to define liberty as capacity to do something worthwhile. It led to birth of welfare state.

Isaiah Berlin is a champion of negative liberty. According to him state can protect only negative liberty as in positive liberty, man is his own master. He held "if one cannot fly like a bird, one is by no means deprived of liberty".

In modern times, the near universal popularity of some form of welfare state shows that positive liberty has more acceptance.



Que. 6(b)

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

Hannah Arendt, using her methodology of phenomenology, gave an unconventional view of power in her work "On human condition".

Unlike Hobbesian view of coercive & hierarchical power, Hannah Arendt gave developmental & decentralised view of power. She held that power is feature of "people acting together in concert".

She distinguished between power, which is a feature of collective & strength, which is a

Characteristic of individual. Further,
power is not force as force belongs
to realm of state & power belongs
to people together.

~~She does~~
Through her conception of
power, she sought to encourage people
to come together and participate in
political action. According to her
revival of political is the only way
to end totalitarianism.

Her view of power is
extremely relevant in contemporary
times as there is simultaneously
growing people's indifference to



political participation and rise of
authoritarianism.

We can give example of
people in Hongkong & Myanmar,
who are trying to reclaim
public sphere to counter totalitarian
-ism.

In this context, as
Bhikhu Parekh observed, Hannah
Arendt's views on power are one
of the most influential works on
political importance of political
action



Que.6(c)

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

Political obligation implies the basis for authority of state. Since political science is 'study of state', problem of political obligation is an important issue.

Hobbes considered that the reason people should obey the state is that state protects right to life and saves man from 'nasty, poor & brutish' state of nature. Hobbes considered state's authority absolute & people can resist only if it deprives them of their life illegally.



John Locke on other hand held that state deserves individual's political obligation because it protects natural rights. He held "no law, no liberty".

T.H. Green observed "state hinders the hinderances" and hence is a source of virtue and necessary for ^{human} development.

However, Marxists considered state as class institution. Karl Marx in "Communist manifesto" called state as "executive committee of bourgeois class" and called workers to overthrow state. Lenin held "the very existence of state represents irreconcilable".

-ability of class conflict". Hence, Marxists
aimed at stateless society.

Radical feminists called for
sexual revolution as to them state
represents 'institution of patriarchy'
(Susan Moller Okin).

Thus, various schools of
thought have given various basis
for political obligation as well
as reasons to revolt against state,
thus making problem of political
obligation a core concern of political
philosophy.

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 is one of the most profound and original thinkers of 20th century, who is credited for her work "On origins of totalitarianism".

Being a German Jew, she had first hand experience of totalitarianism and gives us critical analysis of the same.

According to Hannah Arendt, "totalitarianism is totalitarianism". She says there are no words to describe it and one can only experience it (phenomenology). She calls it 'pathology of modern times'.



According to her, in totalitarianism, violence is an end itself. She says Nazis wanted to convert world into "theatre of death".

Totalitarian rulers propagate ideologies that instill a sense of divine mission among masses. They propagate militaristic nationalism to restore national pride. Mussolini held "war is to men what maternity is to women".

Thus, driven by sense of superiority, totalitarian leaders attempt global conquest. For instance, Hitler talked of 'Lebensraum (living space) in East'.



Totalitarianism makes its base on atomistic manner, when social solidarities are broken due to crisis. For instance, World War I, Great depression & deterioration of position of middle class acted as conducive circumstances that gave rise to fascism & Nazism.

We can agree with Hannah Arendt's description of totalitarianism as the destruction of humanity. Her recommendation of reviving the political to counter totalitarianism is also relevant in present times due to rising trends of xenophobia, majoritarianism and anti-immigration.



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~~ Chantal Mouffe held that, in Marxism, we entered era as Gramscianism. Gramsci is the most prominent thinker in Marxism after Marx, and is recognised for his theory of cultural hegemony.

Gramsci sought to understand reasons for non-occurrence of socialist revolution in capitalist countries as predicted by orthodox Marxism.

He was influenced by Benedetto Croce who sought to explain role of cultural factors in shaping history.



Gramsci explained that capitalists maintain control not only through coercive (govt & police) power, but also through consent. Gramsci termed hegemony as domination through consent. Bourgeois by making their values hegemonic values, define the limit of common sense of workers making revolution a psychological impossibility.

Hence, Gramsci suggested workers to create counter-hegemony to displace bourgeois values. Gramsci suggested workers to have their own organic intellectuals, who with the help of other social groups like



traditional intellectuals from a 'hegemonic bloc' to manufacture consent in favour of proletariat.

Gramsci held that civil society is dictatorship of state and is also an instrument of bourgeois, which is where hegemony is produced & reproduced. Hence, unlike orthodox Marxism, Gramsci suggested two-stage revolution - war of position (to capture civil society) & war of manoeuvre (to capture state).

Thus, Gramsci not only explained importance of counter-hegemony, but also the need to overthrow bourgeois structures that contribute to bourgeois power.



Que.8(c)

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

"Human rights are not privileges,
rather they are every human beings
entitlements by virtue of being human"
- Mother Teresa.

The idea of Human rights gained
prominence since end of WW2 after
world has witnessed the atrocities
committed by Nazi regime. Universal
declaration of human rights (UDHR)
is a UN document codifying human
rights.

Although the concept of
human rights was originally advanced
using natural rights tradition (Jack
Donnelly), due to criticism as 'vague'
and 'ahistoric', it later came to
be advanced on de-ontological grounds



of Human dignity as prescribed by Kant's categorical imperative.

The ~~essence~~ preamble of UDHR states that "every human being is born same and is equal in dignity".

Thus, the essence of UDHR is that there are certain rights every human being irrespective of place, religion, caste, creed, etc. must enjoy to live a dignified life.

The basic features of human rights — inalienable, permanent, indivisible, universal — also capture the essence of Kant's categorical imperatives.

However, despite being grounded in universal human nature and



human dignity, UDHR is opposed by
Proponents of cultural relativistic rights.

For instance, Lee Kuan Yew, proponent
of Asian values held that UDHR
based on western values like
democracy, individualism, liberty is
an attempt of cultural hegemony of
West:

However, Amartya Sen in his
"Argumentative Indian" criticised doctrine
of Asian values as an attempt to
justify authoritarianism.

In contemporary times, popularity
of UDHR across the ^{global civil society} ~~world~~ shows that
it captures essence of Kant's categorical
imperative. It redefined notion of
sovereignty from "power to protection"