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Political Science & International Relations

Crash Course & Test Series - 2023

Test 1

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name Adarsh Jain
Test Date 7 August
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UPSC Roll No 868492

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)

"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)

Behavioral movement in political science attempted to make 'science of politics' and application of mathematical methods in political evaluation.

David Easton called for scientific, verifiable, testifiable, reliable theories in political science. He criticised philosophical approach as they led to 1st decline of political science.

Edmund Burke criticise Behavioralist saying we can't make science of politics. This leads to compromising subject nature & scope of political science.



Behavioralist excessively focus on mathematics/statistics but political science is vast, these methods' application is limited

(eg) - Voting behavior can be studied but not protests.

They compromise values in attempt of scientific study. But Rawls suggested values are 'ideals to be pursued by society'.

'Science' itself has to be studied
Broadly A political science is applied science. Eston himself acknowledged it, leading to emergence of POST
BEHAVIORALISM.



ue.1(b)

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

Rawls' Theory of Justice attempted to give a universal and foundation -al idea of justice, acceptable to all. To make it acceptable, he apply purely procedural method.

The aim is to distribute 'primary social goods' in society. To remove biasness, he puts 'rational self-interested man' behind veil of ignorance.

Veil of ignorance is a hypothetical device to make man unknown about his particular facts — gender, class, race etc.



As man is behind this veil, he will not be discriminatory and principles of justice will be purely based on 'Reason'.

These individuals will arrive at principles of Justice —

- i) maximum equal liberty for all
- ii) Equality of opportunity
- iii) Max advantage to least advantage

... Communitarians criticise this idea as man is situated self and society can't be separated from him. Feminist says if gender was known, outcome would be different.

But veil of ignorance shows us to overcome biasness & think rationally for just society.



Que.1(c)

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

Multiculturalism is a theory which focuses on minority rights, in a liberal society. They address the question — how to accommodate diversity in liberal nations?

Will Kymlicka gave his theory of multicultural citizenship and voiced for granting rights to national minority —

- i) Self governance rights
- ii) Cultural Rights

These rights to be given only to national minorities as they suffered historical injustices. (Eg) — Tribals



in India under 6th schedule.

Other migrants are not to be given these rights as they came by choice. This idea is criticised by Bhiku Parekh who go for 'Thick Multiculturalism'.

He says there is no harm in granting rights to other minorities as well, since they are also related to their culture. He applies 'Harm Principle' in granting rights.

Multiculturalism is criticised for being narrow & divisive, against unity.

But it is reflected in other theories as well - communitarianism etc.



Que.1(d)

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

M.N. Roy was a marxist scholar whose ideational journey led him to his theory of Radical humanism differing from any other ideas.

For Roy, humanism was focus on 'man as rational being'. Man is capable of controlling nature by the virtue of scientific knowledge.

Similarly humanism is based on the values of 'cosmopolitan unity of free beings' as MN Roy said. This means his idea of

humanism focused on breaking
barriers of nation, religion etc and
called for human unity.

In this spirit he criticised religion
and nationalism as chains which
limit human mind. Man should
focus on scientific progress instead.

His ideas were 'radical' as they
focussed on man as rational being -
his most original self. Also he
focussed on radical change in society
for progress of humanity.

His ideas are relevant today as
world is facing crisis of humanity -
wars, COVID.



ue.1(e)

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

Hannah Arendt was a Jew who lived during the time of Hitler. She has extensively analysed totalitarianism in her book 'On the rise of totalitarianism'.

She explains that totalitarian leaders rely on ideology and violence to propagate their rule. Thus ideology is an instrument of totalitarianism.

She says ideology defines limits of common sense of people, turns people into masses. Ideology is an instrument of mobilising masses.



For instance, Nationalism as used by fascist leaders to unify people, diluting all differences. It leads to 'mass politics'.

It's effective when there is critical mass who wants to escape reality: This idea is similar to Marx who says ideology is 'false Consciousness' and act as 'opium of masses'.

But her ideas are criticised as one sided as ideology can also unify people towards progress. (Eg) - hindu way of life.

Hannah's idea is important to understand misuse of idea to fool masses & to prevent it.



2(a)

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

Justice is an architectonic concept and most foundational value in political science. Thinkers from the time of Plato have deliberated upon Justice, producing diverse notions.

Rawls is credited for revival of political science & normative theory with his Theory of Justice.

In this theory, he uses hypothetical device of 'veil of ignorance' and 'original position' to arrive at principles of justice without any biasness.

People are gathered for deciding principles of distribution of public primary goods. They decide —

- i) Maximum equal liberty
- ii) Equality of opportunity
- iii) Max. advantage to least advantage.

These principles are lexical order.

How it lead to debates and made Justice pluralistic —

These principles of Justice has been criticised by Communitarians as they focus on role of community in man's life. Michael Sander says man is embedded / situated self & Rawls' man is atomistic



Michael Walzer says 'Justice is not the science of homogenisation but the art of differentiation.'

This means that these principles can be applied everywhere as there are differences in societies & between societies.

Similarly feminist view of Justice came up, criticising Rawls' contract as masculinist (Kate Millet's Sexual Contract). 'Gender' should be accounted in these principles.

Marxist scholars have their own notion of justice as giving everyone share in resources, ensuring equality of outcome.



While Dworkin go for ensuring equality of ~~capat~~ resources, Amartya Sen takes a step forward & focus on equality of capabilities.

Neoliberals like Nozick criticise Rawls and gave Entitlement theory of Justice which focus on 'merit' and 'liberty'

Thus, these debates surrounding Rawls idea enriched Justice as a pluralistic idea which helped in ensuring welfare state & just society. Rawls theory become starting point of Justice & its journey.



Que.2(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 without which no man can seek to be at his best.' — Laski

This idea led to emergence of human rights in international sphere. Human rights aims to ensure dignity and protect liberty of individuals.

Kant's idea of dignity and Locke's idea of Natural Rights are basis of human rights. Locke said man has inalienable right to life, liberty & property, given by nature.



Human Rights as guide:-

1) It makes state liable to respect autonomy and dignity of its citizens.

For instance, right to life & liberty (Article-21) in India.

2) It ensures equality and respect for all human. It aims at eliminating discrimination, all of its form.

(eg) - CEDAW for women empowerment & eliminating violence.

3) It teaches government to treat people as 'end in themselves' not as means.

This is relevant to ensure equality in wealth rather than just economic growth.



- 4) It ensures 'human centric governan-
-ce' and institutions and ensure
'people at the heart of policy making'
- 5) It redefines sovereignty in terms
of state's responsibility to
ensure protection of its citizens.

But human rights theory is
criticised by Cultural Relativist, Asian
value debate as 'promoting liberal
values' and a way of intervening
in domestic politics & regime
change by west.

Human rights are revolutionary
idea that ensure 'Social & economic
democracy' along with 'political'.



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)

Aurobindo is known as 'Prince among patriots' due to his theory of nationalism and contribution in Indian National movement.

The prevailing notion of nationalism during his time was 'liberal nationalism' favoured by moderate leaders like Surendranath Banerjee who called India as 'Nation in Making'.

Aurobindo criticise this idea of India not being a nation and took inspiration from German Nationalism.



According to it, nationalism is eternal & immortal. It's a soul of nation. Cultural Nationalism, thus, define nation as eternal.

Surobindo took ideas from Neo-Vedantism of Swami Vivekanand.

His nationalism is not exclusivist in terms of culture. It's based on 'cosmopolitan' culture of India.

Thus, Surobindo is known as great synthesizer as he combined western idea with Indian Spirituality in his theory of Nationalism.



He inspired Indians to fight for their motherland who is in chains. His theory of Indian nationalism emboldened youths to sacrifice for Purna Swaraj.

He said Rise of India as a nation is destined as universal spirit is with India and India rise is for emancipation of world.

Against this, B.R. Ambedkar present realistic assessment & said India is divided community.

Tagore praised Surobindo saying 'world will come to know about India through Surobindo'.



ue.4(a)

"Aristotle differs from his master Plato, much more in the form and method than in the substance of his thought" (Dunning). Critically examine. (20 Marks)

Aristotle is called as father of political science for his contribution to ~~this~~ field. He is also known as the greatest discipline as well as greatest critic of Plato.

Aristotle differed from Plato on various fronts —

1) Method — Aristotle believed in 'Golden mean as golden rule'

while Plato aims for perfection.

This difference is visible when we compare Plato's theory of Philosophy

King and Aristotle's polity.

Aristotle said 'Philosopher King' is best but polity is best practicable as the King would be a tyrant.

2) Aristotle is conservative while Plato was radical, and sometimes out of this world.

Plato's theory of communism is criticised by Aristotle as 'medicine worse than disease', he goes for preserving age old institutions of marriage & property.

3) Aristotle doesn't agree with Plato's theory of idea being only reality.



He said idea & matter coexist and real world is also important.

- 4) While Plato goes for Rule of wisdom of Philosopher king, Aristotle criticise it saying 'laws are reason without passion' thus Rule of law is preferred.

Though they differed in method & form, yet they come on common grounds when looked deeply.

Aristotle and Plato both aimed at making Athens an ideal state.

They both looked at state as a source of virtue and go for complete obedience to state.



Their idea of justice is also somehow similar. While Plato goes for differentiating people on the basis of soul, Aristotle favored slavery and said it's unjust to treat unequal equally.

They both belong to idealist tradition which rely on 'reason' of man and 'man as social / political being'.

Yet they differ in substantial manner as Plato makes no difference in personal & political while Aristotle do -

It's rightly said that 'Entire Western thoughts are nothing but footnotes of Aristotle and Plato'



Que. 4(b)

With reference to Foucault's concept of Governmentality, explain why Foucault says "Power is everywhere"? (15 Marks)

Foucault belongs to post-modern tradition which came after WWII. Post modernism focus on questioning knowledge system and 'incredulity towards meta-narrative.'

Foucault's theory of power is also inspired from post modern idea of looking at micro-views and deconstructing reality.

He says 'Power flow into the society just like blood flows into the capillaries.'



It means power, as seen traditionally, is not concentrated into institutions or central authority. Power is everywhere in the society.

Society exercise power over individual by governmentality. It creates an identity of individuals, making them 'subjects'.

This helps in governing the society easily and controlling the minds of people. It can be understood by 'Panopticon'. Society act as panopticon, keeping an eye on individual and individual are governed automatically.



For instance, Boys rarely wear skirts. If they do, society don't let it continue, maintaining patriarchy. Similarly heterosexuality is maintained by governmentality.

How do we realise this power? —

When resistance happens. For example, women resisted in Iran against hijab.

Power is not a commodity or coercion, it's flowing in society and exercised by everyone over other. This idea is important to understand various types of domination & injustices in society.



Que.4(c)

The Ambedkar-Gandhi debate although has a special place in the academic discourse has become a redundant debate. Discuss (15 Marks)

Ambedkar and Gandhi are the two most influential and respect leaders in India for their contribution in national struggle and social justice.

Ambedkar - Gandhi Debate

1) Ambedkar criticised Gandhi and his commitment to caste elimination.

Gandhi prioritised political freedom before social reforms while Ambedkar was concerned about annihilation of caste. He also didn't like 'Haryan' word as it spread false consciousness.



2) Ambedkar accused Gandhi of never keeping fast for abolition of untouchability and opposing Mahad Satyagrah.

But Gandhi was politician. He knew his social appeal may not result as expected.

3) Ambedkar goes for inter-caste marriage while Gandhi said these restrictions are present in lower caste also

4) While Ambedkar go for state socialism, Gandhi is against State

5) Ambedkar was against village panchayat, Gandhi went for Gram Swaraj.

Redundant debate

- a) India has gone for democratic decentralisation & gram Swaraj, as visualised by Gandhi.
- b) Ambedkar ideas are accommodated in reservation policy and AIT - abolition of untouchability.
- c) There is no doubt about sincerity of Gandhi about elevation of 'lower caste'. His approach was based on 'appealing' and persuading upper caste.

Both leaders have contributed immensely in emancipating marginalised sections of society



ie.5(a)

"History repeats itself, first as tragedy, second as farce". (Marx)
Comment. (10 Marks)

Marx is one of the most influential thinker of 20th century. He gave his ideas of class & class struggle in his book 'Communist Manifesto'.

In his concept of class struggle he explains

'history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle'

This means various stages of history shows 'class struggle' got repeated. In primitive stage, there was common property, so no struggle.

But in feudalism, serf & lords exist and in capitalism, bourgeois and proletariat. This shows class exist so state also exist

In all these struggle, 'victory' of revolutionary force was repeated and had profound impact. Same way, capitalism will be succeeded by Communism & struggle will end.

Critics and even neo-marxist accuse Marx of reductionism & economic determinism. Also his prediction of history is not happening.

But Marx's influence can be seen all over the world as the supporter of worker class.



Write a short note on 'Overlapping Consensus'. (10 Marks)

Overlapping consensus was the idea of Rawls given in his book 'Political liberalism'.

He accepted that his theory of justice has to accommodate communitarian argument of role of community in man's life.

He modifies his concept of 'overarching consensus' and said that if not overarching then overlapping consensus will emerge.

People will reason according to their 'reasonable comprehensive'

doctrines and accept 'Burdens of Judgement'. It means they will understand that in order to leave peacefully in society, some common ground has to be arrived.

Rational people will come up with overlapping consensus to govern public sphere. This will be same principles as Rawls' 3 principles of Justice.

Thus, overlapping consensus can be arrived in liberal societies to govern society. This is important to allow diversity but also finding a middle ground by reasonable deliberations.



Que. 5(c)

What do you understand by 'Differentiated citizenship'? (10 Marks)

Differentiated Citizenship is the idea of feminist scholar Iris Marin Young who prescribe state to look for differences in conditions of man & woman to understand its impact better.

Rather than universal citizenship which is 'color and gender blind' it would be better to take into account women's oppressive condition and grant them special privileges.

Thus, by differentiating between man & woman based on their social



conditions and privileges, we can substantially equalise society.

As Michael Walzer said,

'Justice is not the science of homogenisation but art of differentiation'.

In India, differentiated Citizenship can be seen in reservation policy of government, gender budgeting, even separate women coach in metro.

This idea is also supported by multi-cultural citizenship as they also look for recognising specific disadvantages to certain sections & addressing them.



Compare Austin's theory of Sovereignty with that of Pluralists (10 Marks)

"In a definite territory, if any human superior, not in a habit of obedience to like superior, receive obligation from bulk of society, then that superior is State."

This explains the complete theory of sovereignty given by Austin. He concentrate all powers in State. State become only source of law & power of enforcement.

Monistic theory is also supported by Hobbes who call state as 'Leviathan' means Supreme authority.



Pluralist theory emerged in the context of World war II when it was realised that monistic theory has led to state's excesses on people & harm to international peace.

Laski said 'Society is federal, so authority must also be federal.' This means devolution of sovereignty to other institutions as well such as UN.

MacIver also suggest state as only one of the institution and general will is people's will. State is in fact child & protector of law, not source.

Pluralist theory is desirable for peace & accountability of state..



e.5(e) Write a short note on 'Legitimation crisis'. (10 Marks)

Legitimation crisis is the concept given by Marxist scholar Habermas who analysed nature of welfare state in capitalist society.

He inquired if capitalist state has overcome their survival crisis as predicted by Marx — 'Capitalist will die in their own contradictions.'

He said welfare state is based on 2 contradictory principles —

- i) Capitalism in economy
- ii) Socialism in polity

These contradictions can't go on for

long because there is a limit to which capitalist will sustain 'freebies' given by state.

State would have to 'roll back' subsidies and this will lead to protests — thus legitimacy crisis.

This was seen in Greece which faced economic crisis and afterwards political unrest. Thus Capitalist has not overcome their contradictions and will face legitimization crisis.

However, Critics argue that legitimization crisis is short-lived as 'capitalist state' bounce back and refashion according to needs. For instance, India after LPG reforms.

Q. 7(a)

Freedom is both the primary end and the principal means of development. In context of the given statement, discuss how Amartya Sen makes a philosophical case that freedom-centered development can create a better society and economy? (20 Marks)

Freedom is an architectonic concept in political theory. Due to its normative nature, it has been analysed from different lenses by thinkers.

Liberals are primarily concerned with 'freedom' as central to political system. W. H. Green said, 'human mind postulate liberty.'

Similar views are expressed by Rawls whose first principle of Theory of Justice is 'Maximum equal liberty for all'



Marxist, on the ~~other~~ hand look at freedom as 'Freedom from Necessity'.
[Marx]. They believe man realise freedom when his basic needs are taken care of.

Amartya Sen belongs to Social-liberal school which defines freedom not only as absence of state but expanding opportunities for man to realise his potentiality.

'Development as freedom' explain Sen view that freedom is the primary means as well as end goal of development.

Development needs that people are empowered to harness opportunities.



This require capacity building. For instance, Girls in India need not only books but education to be empowered.

Women Development is possible only when we expand their freedom in terms of capabilities. Similar is the case of poverty alleviation when the approach should be capacity building.

Development also leads to expansion of zone of freedom of man as they become empowered to participate fully in society and economy.

Freedom centered development creates better society because it enables members to exercise choices in meaningful way.



Such approach led to progressive and peaceful society. (Eg) Nordic countries top HDI index as they invest in capacity building.

Similarly, economy function better when 'functional approach' to development is taken. Increasing 'functional' area of man lead to better workers.

Sen's influence is seen in Indian government approach to development.

MNREGA increased financial freedom, Skill Development Mission expanded capacity of workers and RTE ensured universal education.

Thus just society and economy can be achieved through freedom led Development.

"One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman." (Simone de Beauvoir). Comment. (15 Marks)

Simone de Beauvoir is a radical feminist who goes for differentiating between 'sex' and 'gender' saying we are born as male or female but gender is given by society.

'One is not born' means 'woman' is not just a sex category but a societal identity given to women.

'One becomes a woman' means being woman is a gradual process. It starts from womb where woman is killed (female foeticide) or born as 'secondary sex'.



'Secondary sex' means women are not just second sex but secondary to male. Being woman is transactional defined in terms of 'not a man'.

In her lifetime women are faced with stereotypes and gendered notion of 'female type' and thus they become women.

This approach of Beauvoir is 'existentialist' explaining how 'our essence' determine our existence rather than women determining their own essence. In this process we become subject.

Betty Friedan another feminist

also defines role of female magazines, science and literature in perpetuating patriarchy and gendered stereotypes. For instance, female magazines show housewives as ideal type and career women as villain. Being beautiful is also seen as women's duty.

Thus, feminist explains role of society in perpetuating patriarchy and calls for 'Personal is political' — unless discrimination in family not addressed, nothing can't be changed.

Essential feminism differ from it saying there are essential female qualities. But most feminist agree with this view.



Que.7(c)

"Right is prior to good". Critically examine. (15 Marks)

This is the defining statement of 'liberalism'. Liberal schools focus on primacy of man over society. They are individualistic in nature.

Liberal states guarantee Rights to man to protect himself against society or state. Locke, father of liberalism gave theory of Natural Rights.

Natural Rights tradition says man has unalienable Right to life, liberty and property which can't be sacrifice for greater good of society.



Similar views are upheld by J.S. Mill who says 'liberty' is the most important right.

Rawls, while criticising utilitarianism says 'individual rights can't be sacrificed in the name of Greatest happiness of Greatest number'.

This idea is based on Kant's dignity principle which says 'each man is end in itself.' Thus, individual rights has primacy over society / collective good.

Liberal state also allow individuals to determine their own good and only



ensure enabling conditions by ways of guaranteed rights. This is in line with Issak Berlin Value Pluralism.

But communitarian argue that rights are not prior but embedded in good. Michael sandel says that man is embedded self and 'notion of good' shapes man's rights.

For instance, Indian values prioritise collectivism / common good over individual rights.

But 'rights' are trumps as suggested by Dworkin, they are not to be compromised. This is enshrined in UDHR.