

Political Science & International Relations

Crash Course & Test Series - 2023

Test 5

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name Astha Jain
Test Date 20/Aug/2023
Email Address _____
UPSC Roll No 868452

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, Karol Bagh, New Delhi 110005 | +91 9810212719 | www.shubhviraj.in

	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)

Describe the principle of political obligation as given in Hobbes. (10 Marks)

Political obligation explains the basis of citizen's obedience to state and rationale for creation of state and its extent.

Hobbes' political obligation is rooted in his understanding of human nature. He explains man as power seeking. In hypothetical state of nature, there is struggle for power, life is short and brutish.

To come out of painful SON, man enters into social contract to create state. This explains reason for political obligation is preservation of life of

man and to provide law and order.

State is created as supreme authority to execute laws and punish offenders.

The extent of power is unlimited only with 1 condition — state can't take man's life without procedure est. by law. Additionally, he explains that 'liberty is where the law is silent.'

His political obligation is contrasted by Locke's. Locke takes positive view of SOA and his state is minimal with the duty to preserve natural rights of man.

Marx called Hobbes as 'father of all of us' for his contribution.



Que.1(b)

Evaluate Marx's views on alienation. (10 Marks)

Marx idea of alienation is found in his work 'Philosophical and Economic manuscript' written during his youth. It's inspired from Hegel concept of alienation.

Contrast to Hegel, Marx explain reason for alienation of man is due to capitalism. Man feels lonely and separated from self due to his working conditions.

Alienation happens in stages -
first, man is separated from product of labour, then process of production, resulting into separation from society

and alienation from self.

Due to this, man couldn't realise his 2 basic nature — creative and social. This analysis is important to understand capitalist societies and inhumane working conditions.

Marx's idea inspired neo-marxist like Herbert Marcuse (father of new left) who analysed man has become 1 dimensional due to capitalist focus on market. Market has snatched freedom. Man has become consumer of commodity, killing his rationality.

Alienation is useful to understand how human emancipation can be achieved today.

Que. 1(c)

Discuss the contextual approach to interpretation of classics. (10 Marks)

Classics are those authoritative text which has dealt with issues of political life with such a depth that makes them transadental.

Contextual approach is based on understanding historical condition to understand meaning of text in more holistic way.

Isaki says, 'every thinker is a child of his time'. Thus, the text of authors has to be understood in context of his time.

For instance, Machiavelli's idea of

Secularism reflect thinking of this times - enlightenment.

Sabine also support this approach saying 'crisis period of history has produced most important political thoughts'. For instance, Puritan revolution led to Hobbes' Leviathan.

This approach is criticised by 'textual' approach, saying history is vast and politicised. Understanding text is enough. Derrida, post structuralist also criticise saying we have to deconstruct text.

This approach is useful as no thinker or text can escape the influence of their time.

Que.1(d)

Write the difference between normative and empirical approaches to political theory. (10 Marks)

Political theory is analysed and constructed by various approaches. Normative approach is philosophical dealing with ideas such as Justice, equality. While empirical is based on observations.

Normative approach is dominant in political theory as the subject deals with philosophical issues. Empirical approach is experience based, used by thinkers such as Aristotle.

Normative focus on what ought to be and empirical focus on 'what is'. For instance, Socrates favored rule.

of philosophers as ideal while Aristotle explain it's not practical.

Normative theory is subjective as it's based on philosopher's understanding while empirical theory is more objective as it's evidence based.

Aristotle favor normative approach saying, 'Nature of political theory is essentially philosophical'. While Machiavelli advised Prince to look at things as it is.

Both approaches are to be used for deeper understanding of political phenomena. After these approaches, more scientific theory (behavioralism) also emerged.

Que.1(e)

Explain the Stephen Lukes' 3-dimensional approach to the study power. (10 Marks)

'what money is to economics, power is to politics'

Power is central yet contested subject of political science. Various thinkers has understood power in different ways. Stephen Lukes accept that power is contested and gives 3 dimension approach to study power.

1) Power as Decision making: This relates to who has power to make decisions. Hobbes says this power lies to state. His theory is monistic view of power. Contrast to this

Pluralistic view see power in various association. of society.

2) Power as agenda setting :- means who is setting the state's and society agenda. Marx explain how bourgeoisie class controlling basic structure set the agenda & exercise real power.

3) Power as thought control process - This relates to how mind is governed. Foucault explain this in governmentality and Gramsci and Althusser explain it as hegemony and interpellation.

Thus, this framework provide ways to analyse different viewpoints on power.

Que.2(a)

"Justice requires that equals should be treated equally and unequal should be treated unequally" - Aristotle. Comment (20 Marks)

'Justice is the first virtue of any social system' — John Rawls

Justice is a architectonic concept and central to political theory. Aristotle, regarded as father of political theory, has given his Theory of Justice.

His idea of justice is proportional justice which believes in distributing social goods according to merit. He explains that justice is achieved when equals are treated equally. This means man as equals should

not be discriminated. This idea is found in Indian constitution under article 14 - equality before law.

He explains state should provide equal opportunities to equals for development of potentiality by participating in the affairs of state.

Similarly - unequals should not be treated unequally as it breeds resentment. Superior quality should get due recognitions and rewarded accordingly otherwise it would be seen as unjust. This may lead to revolution against state.

For instance if master and slaves are treated equally, it may demotivate master and breed hostility.

This idea inspired J.S. Mill who also went for differentiating people on the basis of quality of soul and mind. He bring aristocratic elements in democracy by giving more weightage to propertied class.

Aristotle's view is basis of liberal' conception of Justice who favor 'merit' based allocation of social goods.

This is criticised by various scholars as legitimising inequalities and

discrimination in society. Marxist go for substantive justice which aim for equality of output treating all equally.

Liberals like Kant also don't subscribe to this idea of justice saying — 'each man is an end in himself'. He gives concept of human dignity and says all are equal in terms of dignity and reason.

In modern society, differentiation between people can only be allowed if it's reasonable, as Indian constitution do — special treatment to disadvantaged sections.

Que.2(b)

"Distributions scheme treats people as equals when it distributes resources among them until no further transfer would leave there share of the total resources more equal". Dworkin. Comment (15 Marks)

Distributive Justice is concerned with distribution of primary goods among society in fair manner. Different scholars have different conception of how to ensure equality and justice in society.

Dworkin is social liberal who put his theory of 'Equality of Resources' in his book 'Sovereign Virtue'.

He devise a distribution scheme to balance equality and liberty in fair manner ensuring just distribution

of resources.

He recommends 'ambition sensitive auction' whereby all are treated equally and auction of goods are based on different ambitions.

He explains this using a hypothetical story where people stuck on island decide to distribute resources by auction.

He says transfer of resources should be such which makes everyone equal in first place. He suggests to compensate for brute luck such as physical disability to ensure endowment insensitive auction. He also recommends envy test to ensure equality.



Once distribution happened, no need to compensate again. This view of distributive equality is divergent from Rawls who compensable for all inequalities at later stage.

Amartya Sen criticise this approach saying even after equal distribution of resources, people may not be equal capable of using them. Thus he advice 'equality of capabilities'.

Neoliberals like Nozick also criticise saying, this violate liberty.

Dworkin approach is a golden mean between Rawls and Nozick ensuring fair distribution of resources.

Que.2(c)

"Multiculturalism is a creative interplay of the cultural embeddedness of human beings, the inescapability and desirability of cultural plurality and the fact that all cultures are pluralistic." Bhikkhu Parekh . Critically analyse. (15 Marks)

Multiculturalism is a political theory which recognise diversity of cultures and role of culture in man's life.

It's inspired by communitarian argument which says 'man is a embedded self' - attached to his culture. So, liberals should allow cultural recognition.

It acknowledge plurality of cultures in liberal societies which has to be respected. Will Kymlicka gives Multicultural theory of citizenship.

to give recognition to cultures of national minorities

He suggest liberal state should give self-governance, cultural and Special representation rights to national minorities, not to migrants and refugees.

Bhikhu Parekh takes a step ahead and says all cultures deserve equal recognition and protection from state. We should not exclude any minority culture as everyone is attached to their own culture.

Parekh recommend to go for Harm Principle (JS Mill) which giving cultural

rights to man.

Multiculturalism thus recognise plurality of cultures and the fact that each culture is rational in their own way. It suggest liberal state to be accomodative, not culture blind.

This view is similar to Value Pluralism of Berlin who says values are incommensurable and inherently pluralistic. So liberal states should not promote 'specific good' and let people decide.

Indian Constitution also recognise Multiculturalism in Article 29 & 30.

Que.3(a)

Do you think that John Rawls attempts to provide an alternative to utilitarianism with respect to the problems of distributive justice? (20 Marks)

Justice is inherently a pluralistic concept. Different school of thought have recommended various parameters to ensure Justice.

Utilitarianism is advocated by Bentham who suggest 'utility' to be yardstick for distributive Justice. He says state's policy should adhere to 'Greatest happiness of Greatest number'.

This view was criticised by John Rawls who says utilitarianism undermine human dignity. He

suggest, happiness of few can't be satisfied for majority. Rawls is adhering to ideals of Kant who says 'each man is end in itself'.

Also, Rawls says principles of utilitarian Justice can't be applied universally, so sound theory of Justice acceptable to all can't be built on utilitarian principles.

Alternatively, Rawls suggest his Theory of Justice based on 'purely procedural method' for universal and foundational distributive justice.

Rawls devise hypothetical concept of original position and veil of ignorance to remove biasness in people who are to decide for principles of distribution of primary social goods.

When these rational people debate, they arrive at these principles-

- 1) Equality ^{liberty} to all
- 2) Equality of opportunity
- 3) Maximum advantage to least advantage.

These are in lexical order. These principles ensure dignity is protected and Justice is more substantive as compared to utilitarianism.

But these principles of distribution are criticised by various scholars such as Dworkin who goes for Equality of resources.

Amartya Sen recommend 'Equality of capabilities' and realisation-focussed justice.

Feminist also criticise saying these principles don't address issues of Gender Justice.

Neoliberals like Hayek suggest Entitlement based distributive Justice to protect liberty.

Rawls theory become the framework for evolution of Justice.

Que.3(b)

How does the feminist political philosophy underline gender bias in traditional political philosophy? (15 Marks)

Political philosophy from the times of Aristotle has adopted separation between 'Personal' and 'political', thus promoting gender bias in political theory.

Countering this narrative, feminist scholars go for 'Personal is political'. They call mainstream theories as malestream lacking women views.

Carole Pateman in her work Sexual contract suggest contract thinkers have missed women participation and are masculinist.

Similarly, Cynthia Enloe ask 'Where are the women' suggesting missing women in political philosophy.

Feminist political philosophy aim to present women issues emerging from discrimination in family and public sphere.

Liberal feminist voice for equality of women in public sphere. But Radical feminist like Kate Millet suggest patriarchy within family to be addressed to achieve gender Justice.

Simone de Beauvoir fills the gap of missing women specific vocabulary

by differentiating between sex and women, saying
'one is not born rather becomes a woman.'

Feminist theory of State is given by Catherine Mackinnon who suggest
'when i look at state, it appears male to me'. This shows patriarchal nature of state.

Although feminist scholars to an extent addressed gender bias in traditionally political philosophy, it's still highly masculinist, dominated by theories given by men. Thus, there is a long way to go for feminism.

Que.3(c)

"Behaviouralist methodology fails to resolve many important issues." David Easton. Elucidate. (15 Marks)

Behavioralism refers to the movement in political science to make political theories more scientific.

It emerged in the context of the decline of political science due to traditionalism. David Easton called for theories based on - observational regularities, verification, value neutral and objectivity.

This ensured revival of political science. Scientific methods were applied in fields such as voting behavior, comparative politics, leading



to such literature.

It proved useful to study post colonial societies as various methods - Systems approach, structural functional approach emerged for scientific analysis.

But behaviouralism led to 2nd decline of political science as they couldn't answer reason for rise of protests in US during 1960s.

Traditionalist criticised behavioural scholars for limiting the scope and subject matter of discipline. Normative issues can't be ignored in political science. Fetish with techniques led

to decline.

This was recognised by David Easton also who said 'Scholars perfecting their techniques in ivory towers forget the purpose of techniques'.

Important issues such as justice, equality and state's duty to ensure welfare, were ignored as these subjects require value based theories.

Thus he recommend Post behavioralism and suggested 'purpose' to be more important. Values were encouraged. He recognised Political science is applied science. As Leo Strauss said 'Nature of Political Science is essentially Philosophical'.



Que.5(a)

Opposition has a critical role towards the realisation of the success of parliamentary democracy in India. Elucidate. (10 Marks)

'Dissent is the spirit of Democracy'

Opposition represent dissenting voice and has the responsibility to ensure critical evaluation of government policies.

In India's parliamentary democracy, opposition has played significant role as a 'safety valve' of democracy.

During Nehruvian era, Congress System was established yet opposition parties acted as 'pressure agent' to keep alive democracy. During 1962 war, Nehru faced no confidence motion,

showing opposition's dissent.

Similarly Indira Gandhi's rule saw crucial role of opposition in emergency to protect civil liberties and fight authoritarianism.

Various important issues of country needed opposition's voice. For instance Indo-US Nuclear Deal, recent farm bills and Adani case. This shows opposition keeps 'deliberation' and 'consensus' alive.

But in India, they also played destructive role by obstructionist agenda, not following 'Opposition has its say' & 'ruling party have its way' maxim of democratic functioning.



Que.5(b)

Account for the tensions between the legislature and judiciary in the contemporary Indian situation. (10 Marks)

Seperation of power in Indian
Constitution gives autonomous powers to legislature and judiciary but also ensure 'checks and balances' by each other.

Tensions between legislature and Judiciary is not new. During India
Gandhi's time, tussle over CJI appoint-
ment, Judicial review etc was seen.

In recent times, tensions are arising in various issues. The foremost being appointment of Judges. Government brought 'NJAC Bill' to replace

collegium' but SC struck it down saying it violates Judicial independence.

Second issue is regarding sittings of Supreme Court. Law Minister says sittings should be increased due to pendency of cases.

Another issue arise in powers of SC with regard to judicial review. SC struck down Tribunals Act and also recommended how Election Commissioner should be appointed. This is seen as breach of power and impinging parliamentary sovereignty.

Judiciary's role in era of majoritarian government is crucial to protect citizen rights and constitution.

Que.5(c)

Elaborate on the main positions in the debate over the developmental strategy at the eve of Independence. (10 Marks)

British left India with brutal legacy of mass poverty, industrial backwardness and converted India into a supplier of raw material.

Debate over Developmental Strategy aimed to suggest measures on how to address these issues. Major debate was seen between Nehruvian Socialism and Gandhian Method.

Nehru advocated State led reforms in economy while Gandhi was against State and suggested 'village led development' (Gram Swaraj).

Nehru was in favor of modern machinery for mass production of basic and consumer goods while Gandhi favored production by masses.

Nehru went for state's control over heavy industries and saw industrialisation as panacea for poverty eradication. Gandhi favored cottage industries and self-sufficiency.

Nehru's ideas were based on USSR's experience, while Gandhi's idea were based on India's culture. Both shared concern for welfare of poor and farmers, favored land reforms.

Nehruvian Socialism was adopted as path of development by Independent India.

Que.5(d)

Enumerate the colonial legacy on Indian politics. (10 Marks)

'I am sure British would leave one day, but they will so much of filth that generations to come will be unable to clear it.' — Rabindria Tagore

Colonial legacy is reflected in India's politics, economics as well as social structure, ~~due to~~ as India is a post colonial society.

Biggest legacy is Partition described as 'Longest August' haunting India's domestic and foreign politics.

Parliamentary form of government, rule of law is taken from British.

The office of governor is also a colonial legacy. Centre's control over governor leading to federal disputes is seen from British era.

India's overdeveloped state is a result of British's policy of strong executive. Politicisation of Bureaucracy and police, corruption and apathy, are reflective of colonial mindset.

Indian politics suffer from social cleavages such as communalism, casteism, showing colonial policy of divide & rule.

Yet India's tryst with Destiny strived for overcoming these legacies and ensure justice for all.

Que.5(e)

Do you agree that section 124 A of IPC tests the limit of free speech, a citizen can right fully enjoy? (10 Marks)

Section 124 A of IPC is related to sedition. It's defined as attempt to cause disaffection towards government by words, action or visuals.

Indian Constitution guarantees Right to freedom of speech and expression (A-19) to citizens subject to reasonable restrictions of public order, morality, contempt etc.

To maintain public order and protect government from violent upheavals, Sedition law was introduced. It defines the limit of free speech

of citizens. It enumerates cases where citizen's criticism can be considered as sedition, thus restraining citizens from using speech as a license.

The law is criticised as 'colonial' and 'suppressive' of dissenting voices. It is misused to silence opposition and criticism of government by the citizens.

It is seen as limiting free speech by arbitrary use against political opponents and media.

Mill, advocate of freedom of speech, recommended 'harm principle' to limit freedom. Sedition law should also follow it.



Que. 7(a)

What are the major challenges in the functioning of urban local self governance bodies? Do you think that 74th amendment can be seen as a success? (20 Marks)

Local governance is based on idea of democratic decentralisation to empower grassroot democracy. It's based on Gandhi's village swaraj and self-sufficiency.

Independent India followed bureaucratic model of governance over Gandhian method. Nehru started Community development programme but Balwant Rai Mehta committee suggested for 3-tier local governance.

Starting of local government saw

many hurdles — voluntary provision, disparity between states, no periodic elections etc.

Thus, 73rd and 74th Amendment Act were introduced to plug these gaps.

73rd CAA is related to village panchayat and 74th CAA pertains to urban local governance. It added 11th & 12th schedule related to functions of these bodies.

Major challenges of urban local governance —

1) Financial crisis :- Urban local bodies (ULBs) lack funding to finance infrastructure and municipal projects.

Internal generation of revenue is meagre.

2) Capacity to fulfill functions :- Proper devolution of functions didn't happen and capacity building of municipal officers is lacking

3) Staff crunch :- Number of official required are not fulfilled, leading to poor delivery of public service.

4) Functionality - The ULBs lack training, political will, and proper mechanism for effective delivery of services.

Manishankar Agar Committee said 'Bad PRI is worse than no PRI' as they lead to devolution of corruption and called as 'Grass without roots'

74th Amendment was only partially successful -

- 1) It created the 3-tier municipal structure to ensure uniformity
- 2) 12th schedule ensured clear functional devolution.
- 3) Periodic elections are happening and citizen participation is ensured
- 4) State finance Commission addressed the financial crunch.

But Urban government are over-burdened without adequate power and resources to fulfill their mandate.

The need is to follow 10 points agenda of PM for reviving and revitalising ULBs.

Que. 7(b)

What is the present system of appointment of Judges of higher judiciary in India? What improvements can you suggest in the process? (15 Marks)

'The best test of government functioning is how its judiciary is working'
— Lord Bryce.

Constitutional assembly debated over Judicial appointment and adopted the method of Presidential appointment after consulting with judiciary.

In first Judge case, the meaning of the word 'consultation' was asked. SC clarified it only means exchange of views, not concurrence.

In 2nd judge case, consultation was seen equivalent to concurrence.

and CJI was to consult with 2 judges for appointment recommendation. In 3rd judge Judge case, collegium was expanded to CJI + 4 senior judges to appoint judges.

This is the present method of how judges are appointed but face many criticism. Foremost is the opaque nature of collegium which leads to nepotism and 'Uncle Judge' issue.

Ambedkar also didn't favor judges appointing judges saying there can be no 'impexio in impexum'. This system leads to vacancies and delayed appointment with arbitrariness.



Government brought NJAC to institutionalise appointment but it was held as void. The bill can be reconsidered to balance judiciary members in its constitution.

Additionally, British system where open notice of appointment is adopted can be considered for merit. US system of ratification by Senate can also be seen.

Government is suggesting recommendation by law ministry and then SC can suggest its chosen members.

The need is to ensure transparency and speedy appointment which don't harm judicial independency.

Que.7(c)

The Governor's office in Indian political system doesn't operate as a constitutional head for the whole gamut of office responsibilities. Discuss (15 Marks)

Governor is nominal head of the states in parliamentary system of government. In India, Governor has 2 responsibility — constitutional head of state and centre's nominee in the state.

Article 153 says there shall be a governor for each state. Governor is also given discretionary power whereby he can act without aid and advice of council of minister.

Governor's office ensure federalism is carried out in true spirit. Sarkaria commission called him as lynchpin

of federalism.

Official responsibility of Governor is to ensure Government is carried out in accordance with constitution. He can recommend President rule if this doesn't happen.

His discretionary power also include assent to bills of state legislature. He can reserve them for president's consideration.

These powers are being misused by Governor in many instances. For eg - Governor of Arunachal called assembly 1 month before.

Similarly, Governor is accused of

partial role by states. Governor is seen as Centre's agent favoring ruling party. Eg - LG of Delhi tussle with Delhi government.

Governor's role of constitutional head is also criticised as State accuse him of overreach. Eg - Governor Tamil Nadu speaking against government.

Misuse of office of Governor is also raised by SC. SC in SR Bommai Case said ~~exclusively~~ Governor has to act on advice of council of minister.

Soli Sorabjee in his book 'Sage or Saboteur' said 'governor can do good if he is a good governor'. Thus, Governor has to act as per constitutional morality.