

Political Science & International Relations

Crash Course & Test Series - 2023

Test 7

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name Adha Jain
Test Date 3/sept
Email Address _____
UPSC Roll No 068498

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)

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

Ideology refers to use of idea for the mobilisation of masses. Two prominent ideology that shaped the world after WWII are liberalism and socialism/communism.

The end of ideology debate argues that ideologies in the modern societies has lost relevance due to emergence of welfare state in 60s.

S.M lipset argues that modern Bureaucratic structure has been adopted by everyone and 'development' has now emerged as main concern.

Scholars argue that irrespective of capitalist or communist nation,

each country pass through same stages of development. Every nation is now modelled on 'capitalist structure', so no more debate on which ideology is superior. For instance, china a communist nation is also following capitalism.

This is criticised by scholars like CB Macpherson who says liberal democracies have many limitations. Ralph Miliband also argues that power is concentrated in elites so class based mobilisation is not irrelevant.

MacIntyre said 'end of Ideology' is itself an ideology. After collapse of USSR, end of history also proposed same idea.



Que.1(b)

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

Political philosophy deals with normative ideas that are essential in political societies. Plato is regarded as father of political philosophy.

The main function of political philosophy has been to provide critique of existing ideas and suggest the ideals, a society should move to.

Justice has been central idea of political philosophy and it has evolved by critical debates between scholars. Aristotle go for proportionate justice in society based on merits while thinkers like Rawls go for substantive justice.



Liberalism as a theory also emerged in the context of criticism of feudalism. Emerging bourgeoisie demanded equality of opportunity and rights.

Similarly, Marxism was critic of liberal theory. Marx said that capitalism is unjust and oppress proletariat, suggesting 'Communism' as alternative.

Critical theories like feminism, post modernism provide criticism of mainstream theories and aim for human emancipation.

Thus, political philosophy has been intellectual debate and proved critical for evolution of society.

Que.1(c)

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

Behavioralism emerged in the context of decline of political science in 40s & 50s. Scholars argued for bringing scientific methods into the political science for its revival.

David Easton criticised historical, legal-institutional methods and called for testifiable and reliable knowledge based on evidences, mathematical methods, observational regularity to make political science 'Pure Science'.

But it led to the 2nd decline as they limited the scope and

nature of political science. Statistic
methods were useful for voting
behavior and comparative studies.

David himself acknowledged it
and gave intellectual foundation
of Post behavioralism in his 'Credo
of Relevance'.

He said 'purpose' and 'action' are
2 important part of 'creative theories'
which are needed. 'Values' are to
be encouraged and political science
is applied science, having more
responsibility.

Thus, post behavioralism while
focussing on reliable knowledge also
bring values. It's taking behavioralism
forward

Que.1(d)

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

Bentham is a utilitarian thinker who support 'Legal theory of Rights' as opposed to Natural theory of Rights given by John Locke.

Locke said rights are given by nature based on 'Reason' or 'natural law'. He says 'Reason in man teach him to not harm others in property, lives.'

Bentham called this nonsense and dangerous. He says Rights are creation of laws. Laws enforce rights of people and protects them from violation.



Legal theory is supported by Hobbes to who says 'covenants without swords are nothing but words.'

They argue that legal sanction is necessary for rights to be guaranteed. This is true because universal declaration of rights remain weak as they are not legally enforceable.

But scholars like Locke suggest rights can't be dependent on law and many rights are outside legal ambit. Law is protector not creator.

He says,

'Every state is known by the rights it maintain.'

Que.1(e)

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

Marx is most influential thinker in political science. He provided a rigorous criticism of capitalism and provides his vision of future society in the form of Communism.

According to Marx, Man is social and creative by nature. But in capitalism, man couldn't realise his true nature due to its oppressive nature.

Thus, he explains through his concept of alienation in book 'The Economic and Philosophical manuscript'. He explains how man first got

Separate from product of his labor
and then from process of production.
Finally leading to separation from
Society and himself.

Additionally, capitalism is based
on contradictions between man and
Society. They give rights for protection
from society but Marx says rights
not needed in Communism.

In his visionary society, distribution
is based on 'From each according to
his ability, to each according to his
need'. Thus 'freedom from necessity'
is envisaged for human emancipation.
Communism is classless and stateless
society, ending all contradictions
and exploitation.

Que.2(a)

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

Fascism has been one of the greatest threat faced by humanity in 20th century. Thinkers like Harold, Issai Berlin, Karl Popper, all analysed fascism and its reasons, methods to fight it.

Fascism emerged as the totalitarian states after world war II in Italy under Mussolini and similar to Nazism under Hitler in Germany.

Their philosophical basis is derived from various sources, sometimes seen as hodge-podge

ideology because the leaders used it to mobilise masses through propaganda.

It's seen as counter revolution by scholars like Laski who says 'Fascism is desperate attempt of Capitalism to save itself'.

This means when workers got organised and threat of communism seemed imminent, instead of emergence of welfare state, capitalist state turn fascist.

Fascist leaders like Hitler were supported by Capitalist nations like Britain to control communism, from spreading.

Fascism turns capitalist state into authoritarian. They end the public sphere, as hannah arendt explain. Use of violence and ideology are 2 tools of fascist.

Mussolini said Democracy is luxury of rich nation. They end democracy and call for supreme leaders.

all class differences are diluted turning people into masses (Arendt). All are expected to work for nation (Autarky) and 'sacrifice at the altar of nation'. It is phenomena of 'Rightist' or 'counter revolution' in politics

But scholars also compare it with communism. Both system is based on totalitarian ideology, ending all rights of people and suppress any dissent.

The reason for fascism is not only attempt of counter revolution but economic misery, critical masses and other hardships. People are also naturally inclined for this system, as seen in today's times as well. After Pandemic, fascist trends are rising in politics around the world.

'Stripped to its essential, fascism is the phenomena of totalitarianism'

Que.2(b)

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

'Justice is the first virtue of any Social system' — Rawls.

Justice is an archetonic concept and cornerstone of normative political science. Various scholars have given their views of Justice which can be categorised into procedural and substantive.

Procedural justice is based on ensuring equality among people in the form of equality before law and equality of opportunity. Scholars like Aristotle, Locke believe

in distribution according to Merit and ensuring fair procedure. This is also known as proportionate justice.

while substantive justice is supported by Marxist who criticise liberal notion of procedural justice as formal. They argue for equality of outcome and equal distribution regardless of merit.

Rawls attempt to bridge the gap between the two views and balance equality with liberty. He proposed his 'Justice as fairness' theory according to which 3 principles in lexical order is arrived from original position and veil of ignorance —

1. Equal maximum liberty to all.
2. Difference principle —
 - a) Equality of opportunity
 - b) Maximum advantage to least advantaged.

His theory is framed on the backdrop of liberal capitalist society as he keeps 'liberty' as supreme. Utilitarians like Nozick gives opposite view saying Rawls compromised liberty for equality.

Also, Rawls think all will accept these principles (overarching consensus) based on liberal culture and idea of atomistic man. But communitarian criticise this saying man is embedded self. Rawls provide starting point of further ideas of Justice.

Que.2(c)

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

Critical theories aim at keeping 'human' at the centre of political system and theory. They criticise mainstream theories and aim for human emancipation.

Feminist theory also provide criticism of existing systems of power and operation. They call mainstream theories as 'Malestream'. They highlight masculinist nature of power structures. Cynthia Enloe, thus asks, where are the women?

Liberal feminist like Betty Friedan

analysed the system of patriarchy. She explains it as gendered division of society which systematically put men above women. In her book, Feminist mystique, she says patriarchy is oppression of women.

Feminist thus argue against division of 'Personal' and 'Political' saying 'Personal is political'. Kate Millet in her work 'Sexual Politics' suggest that family is the first institution which perpetuate patriarchy.

Radical feminist destabilise the general system of power and operation of society. Simon de Beauvoir go for



differentiating between sex and gender

Saying,

'one is not born rather become
a woman'.

But they don't solely aim for
destabilisation of existing system
but want an alternative system
based on equality. Simone de Beauvoir
argue for developing 'Good faith'
and fight this evil together.

They fight for gender justice
and equal rights and status. While
highlighting the patriarchal nature
of state (Catherine Mackinnon), they
also demand differentiated citizenship
and special provisions for women.

Que.3(a)

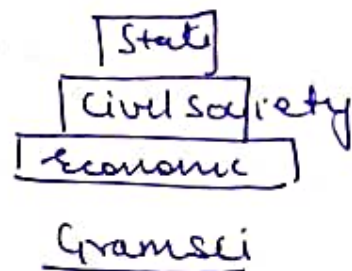
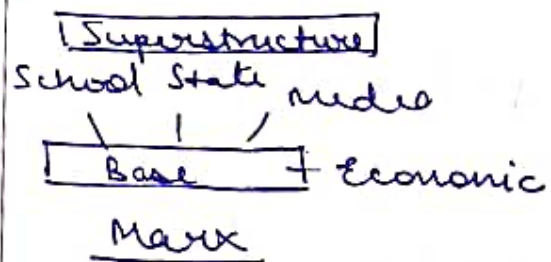
Gramsci's theory of hegemony implies the need for new strategy of revolution in capitalist society. Elaborate. (20 Marks)

Gramsci is a neo-marxist and one of the most important scholar in Marxism after Marx. In his 'Prison Notebook' he has given his theory of hegemony:

Gramsci analysed Marx ideas and reason for their failure to bring revolution. He advocated role of ideas in shaping history suggesting to focus on 'cultural structure' of society.

For his focus on studying 'superstructures' he is called as theorist of superstructures. He says, Marx

ideas are economic determinist but
Society is not simply base & superstructure.



He suggest that in 'opaque States' like Britain, real class nature of state is hidden by civil society by manufacturing consent for state and bourgeois values.

This, he calls as hegemony which is Power of attraction. It's soft power which is based on controlling minds by making 'Capitalism' as 'National popular' or Mass Culture.

Thus, revolution can't be simply brought in capitalist society. First, opaque nature is to be exposed by dismantling hegemony. He suggests workers to develop counter-hegemony by developing 'coalition of classes' and with help of 'organic intellectuals'

Organic intellectuals are those who provide counter hegemony and put forward ideas of workers.

He says the revolution in capitalist society will be a long drawn, protracted battle. It will happen in 2 stages -

First is war of position which is

war of attrition. In this stage, counter hegemony will be developed. Civil society will no longer be able to hide state and state will use coercion thus exposing its real nature.

In war of manoeuvre, direct confrontation with state will result into revolution and arrival of Communism.

This strategy can be seen in Gandhi's struggle for India's independence in which he used struggle-truce-struggle against british.

He inspired neomarkist like Herbert Marcuse who analyse perils of mass consumerism in today's capitalist societies.

Que.3(b)

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

Aristotle is regarded as the father of political science for his contribution in the field. His book 'Polity' gives his ideas on women, property and slavery.

Aristotle is different from Plato in his views about women. While Plato suggest communism for liberating women, Aristotle deprive women of citizenship.

He says women are busy in household work, can't develop the virtues needed for participation in the affairs of state. So they can't

be given citizenship rights.

Additionally, he goes for separation between personal and political which was followed later on.

His theory of property explains virtues of property saying it's a source of motivation, charity. He suggest that out of 3 methods of ownership —

- 1) Common ownership common property
- 2) Private ownership common property
- 3) Private property but common use

Third one is most appropriate as it favours both man and society.

For slavery, he says it's natural

and useful for both master and slave.
this idea is functionalist - using slave
for manual work and master can
participate in state.

His views are seen as regressive.
He undermines human dignity which
is inviolable as per Kant. Feminist
criticise him for separation, saying
'Personal is political'.

In modern society, there is no
place for slavery. Everybody enjoys
equal citizenship and rights. Property
views are useful to minimise inequality
based on ideas of Gandhi's Trusteeship.

'Entire western thoughts are nothing
but footnotes to Plato and Aristotle'

Que.3(c)

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

Indian political thought are confluence of Buddhist and Hindu philosophical thought. They don't differ substantially, as Bhikhu Parekh says 'Buddhism is rebel child of Hinduism'.

Buddhist political thoughts are seen as reformation over Hindu political thoughts. ~~Manu's~~ Manu's Dharma shastra 'Manusmriti' lays down Hindu thoughts while Tripitaka and Jataka explain Buddhist.

Hindu political thought explain



Origin of state as contract between Brahme and man while buddhist go for contract between humans.

on varna system, hindu follow caste system but buddha doesn't believe in it saying everyone is born from mother's womb, so all equal.

For king's duty, Ashwamedh Yajna and expansionism is espoused by hindu thoughts. Buddhist focus on 'winning hearts' by Dhamma.

India after Independence adopted the best of both thoughts in public policy. Following buddhist ideals of equality, Caste system was discarded.

and untouchability banned.

Human emancipation as aimed by Buddha is targetted by policy makers through 'welfare state' Model. This model also contain hinders idea of 'Yogakshem'.

The duty of state, as described by Kautilya is 'In happiness of people, lies king's happiness'.

Public policy is based on 'Vasudha Kutumbakam' and 'Sarva Dhamam Sadbhava' - tolerance and unity in diversity.

The aim of state is to minimise sufferings (Buddha) and maximise wellbeing as enshrined in Constitution.

Que.5(a)

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

India is a federal country in which state is divided into further administrative units. The Constitution provides for boundaries, powers and functions of various states.

Inter-state boundary disputes emerge due to colonial boundaries artificially dividing states. After State Reorganisation in 1956, boundaries were rationalised, as per languages.

But even today, many boundary disputes exist. For eg - Karnataka - Maharashtra dispute over Belgaum.



The reasons are presence of linguistic minorities in other state as the Belgium issue show. This got accentuated by politicisation of disputes (eg) Demand of Greater Nagaland lead to dispute between Assam & Nagaland.

The impact of these disputes are loss of lives & property. Law & order got affected, reflecting issues in our federal polity.

The resolution lies in dialogues as seen in Sumachal - Assam agreement recently. Additionally, use of Inter State Council and Zonal Council is necessary.

Que.5(b)

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

Ambedkar is known as father of Indian Constitution. He was the member of Drafting Committee and main architect in framing it.

His vision of constitution was based on his idea of constitutionalism. He suggest that no constitution is good or bad. 'Laws are as good as people governing it.'

So, he suggest to develop constitutional morality - reverence for laws. Additionally his vision was based on his idea of social justice.

He wanted to imbibe ideals of 'equality, liberty, fraternity' into the constitution.

Further, his concern for the weaker and marginalised section shaped his vision. Along with political democracy, he called for 'social and economic democracy saying without it, political democracy will be a contradiction. For this, he added DPSP in constitution.

He also supported state's role in justice - affirmative action for weaker section. Overall he believed that

'A just society is which there is rising sense of reverence'

Que.5(c)

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

The Preamble is called as the identity card of constitution reflecting the ideals & vision of the founding fathers. It was based on Objective Resolution by Nehru.

The text reads, Indians (we the people) solemnly resolve to constitute India into sovereign, secular, socialist, democratic republic. This reflects the nature of India as welfare state.

Further, it is poised to ensure justice to all - economic, political and social. This can be seen in DPSP

and fundamental rights.

It aims for equality in status and opportunities, as reflecting in equal citizenship and 'one man, one vote'. The politics is also shaped by this idea as affirmative action is based on it.

Liberty is also guaranteed in matters of thoughts, expression, beliefs etc, making India a liberal nation. Further, unity and integrity of India is also emphasised upon.

This reflects Preamble as horoscope of India shaping the social revolution and politics even today.



Que.5(d)

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

Directive Principle of State
policy (DPSP) are ideals aiming for social and economic democracy, fulfilling the goal of welfare state. They are inspired from 'Instrument of instruction' in Govt Act 1935.

They can be classified as Socialist, Liberal and Gandhian reflecting constitution as mixed bag.

Socialist principles are equal pay for equal work, participation of workers in the management of industries (Article 38). State's aim is to ensure minimisation of inequalities ensuring

concentration of wealth don't happen.

DPSP also aim for legal aid to weaker Section (Article 39).

Gandhian principles can be seen in promotion of cottage industries, village panchayats (Article 40), protection of cows etc.

liberal principles reflect liberal idea of equal citizenship — VCC in Article 44. Also separation of power (A 50), protection of environment and A-51 — just international relations.

DPSP are ideals which is to be adopted by state for ensuring equitable society.

Que.5(e)

Enumerate the achievements of NHRC. (10 Marks)

National human rights Commission was formed after passage of Protection of human Rights Act 1990 aiming to secure human rights of citizens from state & society.

Main functions of NHRC are -

- 1) Investigate and monitor human rights regime in India.
- 2) Promote research in HR
- 3) Engage with civil society
- 4) visit jails for inspection
- 5) Suo-moto cognisance of violations.

Main achievements of NHRC are protection of Chakma refugee in

north east. Also, it investigated into Punjab Mass cremation. It played role in repeal of TADA, POTA.

Recently, NHRC sent notice to UP government over encounters, Rajasthan over Suicides in Kota.

But it's role has been marginal. Critics call it as 'lapdog' instead of watchdog and biggest post office.

NHRC failed to prevent or react in Manipur violence and other cases. It is dependent on government for 3Fs - funds, functions, functionaries.

The need is to follow Paris Principles and ensure effective functioning of NHRC.



Que.6(a)

Panchayati Raj institutions in order to make democracy inclusive need to focus on empowerment of women representatives. Critically Examine. (20 Marks)

Panchayat raj institution is based on the idea of democratic decentralisation, envisaged by Gandhiji village swaraj and Article 40.

PRIs are constituted to provide grassroot democracy in India. The 73rd Amendment Act created 3 tier political structure for village local government.

It created Gram Sabha as embodiment of direct democracy. Further, panchayat at village, block & district level were created. It included 12th schedule

to demarcate function of PRIs such as maintaining water bodies, village roads etc.

Further, it provided reservation for SC & ST based on their population and $\frac{1}{3}$ reservation for women.

But in recent times, PRIs are going through 'phase of disillusionment'.
As Manshankar Aiyar committee said, 'Bad PRI is worse than no PRI'.

Even after women reservation, 'Panchayat Pati' phenomena emerged where real powers were exercised by husbands of women sarpanch.

This reflects need of empowering

women to ensure inclusive democracy.

women representatives need training to handle administrative work. Capacity building will ensure better functions are carried out.

Empowerment not only ensures women representatives are enabled to make decisions, but it ensures they are made participant/stakeholder of democracy.

They ensure democratic decision making by inclusion of women's issues and demands. As seen in Rajasthan, Chavi Rajawat become

shining example of women empowerment when she became head.

women representatives also ensure citizen centric work, as a report suggested. where women were heads, more investment on water, sanitation, education were made.

The biggest hurdle is patriarchy which excludes women from democratic institutions. Additionally, PRIs are in needs of 3Es from Govt.
→ funds, functions & functionaries.

Inclusive democracy, as Gandhi said treat weakest and strong same.



Que.6(b)

Evolution of federalism in India is best understood as continuous yet changing processes in the realm of political economy. (15 Marks)

Federalism is a system of government in which power is divided between union and various states by constitution.

In India, constitution demarcates the powers and functions of federal units. 7th schedule distributes the subjects in union, state and concurrent list.

Federalism is not static, rather dynamic, as seen in evolution of federalism in India, showing both continuity and change.

After independence, India adopted State Socialism and centralised planning in political economy. The Planning commission was seen as undermining federalism - state's autonomy.

States in formative years, demanded more powers & autonomy in terms of resources. Anandpur Sahib Resolution & Rajmanna Committee demanded more federal authority.

They argued for abolition of All India services, devolution of power, reform in governor's power etc.



As India adopted economic reforms in 1991, federalism also witnessed change. The competitive-cooperative federalism was adopted by India.

States aimed for economic growth and cooperated for India's rise. It doesn't mean end of conflicts but co-existence of both.

Federalism in India is shaped by other factors also - party politics, coalition government, regionalism etc.

Federalism ensures distribution of power in India and healthy check & balance maintaining unity and integrity of India.



Que.6(c)

What are the advantages and disadvantages of the parliamentary system of government in India. Identify the challenges confronting parliament of India. (15 Marks)

Parliament system of government is taken from British model and experience in the form of GOI Act 1935. It was suited for India as it ensures representative democracy to its best.

Advantages of the system

- a) The two heads — nominal & real ensures continuity in government. PM is the real head while President is nominal.
- b) Majoritarianism — It's based on first past the post system which

gives clearly majority most of the times.

3) Parliamentary system ensures participation of citizens in the electoral process

d) It also maintain check and balances by ensuring executive accountability to parliament

Disadvantages

1) Parliamentary system doesn't ensure true representation to every section. It's based on FPTP - excluding minority.

2) It also results in coalition politics and adversarial competition among parties (during Parliament)



- 3) It also tends towards executive authoritarianism as it enjoys domination in parliament.

Challenges confronting parliament

- 1) Decline in prestige - Public trust is eroded in parliament's functioning.
- 2) Lack of healthy debates → confrontation rather than deliberation among parties
- 3) Declining productivity - 43% & 47% for Lok Sabha & Rajya Sabha.
- 4) Delegated legislation, misuse of Speaker's powers (money bill), decline in committee referrals are other issues.

Parliament is 'temple of democracy' which should be able to ensure value to taxpayer money.