



SHUBHRA RANJAN

Always Ahead

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Political Science & International Relations

Crash Course & Test Series - 2023

Test 1

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name

Rishabh Choudhary

Test Date

10/06/23

Email Address

UPSC Roll No

7803201

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....!!!



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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)

Edmund Burke statement given is with reference to the criticism of behaviourism in political theory.

David Easton post the first decline of political science due to overemphasis on historicism and hyperfactuality which led to ~~set~~ armchair theories of political philosophers created little value and relevance in understanding rising authoritarianism and third world politics.

He has given systems model for understanding political sciences as pure science and as a value neutral discipline.



Hence over the 'Naïve scientism'
Edmund Burke criticised the systems theory
by asserting that political science is
a discipline of social science and not
mathematics - and values are key to its
understanding. without values it is like failing
to distinguish between clean water and
dirty water.

which further led to 'bring back of values'
and development of post behaviourism and
neo-institutionalism in political science.

This has led to revival of political science
and development of rich scientific literature
based on exit polls morning behavior and
approval ratings for leaders.



Que.1(b)

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

Rawls in his 'theory of justice' has given 'Veil of Ignorance' under original position where individual chooses what kind of society is ideal without any value biases.

Under original position an individual makes an choice to egalitarian social structure with hierarchical order of values. Rawls gives highest priority for maximisation of liberty, followed by equality and difference principle for compensation of least advantaged people.

Rawls' conceptions of veil of ignorance signified that existing inequalities during the 20th century were unjust.



and led to development of welfarist policies of states during 60's and 70's. (20th century).

Further his view was criticised later on by neoliberal scholars like Nozick ~~for~~ progrum against the difference principle and Hayek. Stating that progressive taxation is road to serfdom.

Communitarian criticised Rawls' veil of ignorance as an hypothetical concept as an individual is culturally embedded (tribal sandal).

Rawls' theory has led to ~~new~~ revival of theorising about justice. He is an reference point for all political philosophers of time. — Nozick.



Que.1(c)

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

Will Kymlicka in his book 'Multicultural Citizenship' professes the rights of minorities in a democratic setup of society and also extending special privileges to minorities for protection of their distinct identity.

Will's theory on Multiculturalism emerged amid growing intolerance against minorities in western world. Further the efforts towards homogenisation was seen as a violation of human rights by many.

His theory has given emphasis towards toleration towards minorities from a liberal point of view.



Later on scholars like Bhikhu Parekh have developed a Pluralistic approach towards Multiculturalism. Bhikhu's view was in criticism of Lyndal's idea of toleration towards minorities. He believed every culture has unique characteristics and need to be celebrated rather than tolerated. He further criticised well for ethnocentric attitude. Bhikhu has praised India for being a pluralistic country and programs for differentiated action for minorities.

~~Later~~

Multicultural citizenship is an inherent virtue, it need to be exchanged and cherished.

Raimond Ginnier calls for diatropical exchange between culture to do the same.



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Que.1(d)

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

M.N. Roy was an Indian revolutionary and freedom fighter who has given idea of Radical Humanism in his book 'The new Communist - Manifesto'.

Inspired the views of Locke and Kant's Idea of Inviolability of human dignity, Roy has kept human at the heart of all thinking. He considered his humanism based on scientific materialism of Marx stating that Ideas and Realities coexist together. Based on Spinoza's Ethics he considered his humanism as an Integral to human dignity.



Roy's humanism was radical in its world view was in a sense that the ideology of Humanism was not conceived earlier.

by anyone. It was based on a world view of Rational scientific nature of human and leading to happiness in the life.

Dr. Sudipto Kaviraj called M.N. Roy as an 'Remarkable failure' because his Indian society has yet not reached the rationalism what Roy has envisaged.



Que.1(e)

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

According to Comte-de Tracy, ideology is the 'science of ideas'. Hannah's view on ideology was based on her experience being a Jew in Hitler's Germany.

According to Hannah Arendt ideology is a propaganda of totalitarian regime to hide the realities from public sphere. For her Ideologies have led to development of anti-rationalism and loss of ability to function and debate which is the prime function of human in political sphere. (see position)



Within totalitarian ideology humans become what Hannah calls as 'Ordeopots' who has lost their sense of reason.

Her views on ideology reflects decline of civil sphere. He prefers to encourage public participation by widening public sphere with action.

Arden's View are the foundation for ~~an~~ analysis of role of ideology in the rise of fascism.



Que.2(a)

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

Rawls in his book 'Theory of Justice' gives an notion of justice based on Kant's Idea of 'Inviolability of human dignity' which is the foundation of an equitarian society.

post behaviourism due to overemphasis on developing political science as pure science. Scholars have made political theory based on value neutral techniques, this Inquiry towards approach for perfecting the political theories have led to decline of political science.



Amid such scenario when political scene was a unable to explain the women's rights movements and social unrest due to cold war. Further people have taken their grievances to streets for protest against Vietnam war.

Rawls' theory of justice emerged as an response to the descripte. He assumed the notion of justice under an 'veil of ignorance' in 'original position' that aimed to ask individuals to develop a rational debate based on rational principles to arrive at rational conclusions. about notion of justice.



He has given lexical order for values based on highest- priority for liberty followed by equality. Further Rawls has given difference principle to compensate the least advantaged sections.

for him justice should be fairness and it must appear to be fair to all. [However]

Many scholars have a differing opinion on Rawls' theory of justice. liberals like Amartya Sen have said that liberty without giving equal capacity will not lead to fair outcome. Neoliberal scholars like

Nozick have criticised for difference principle, he holds that there should be only liberty and no compensation should be awarded.



However his most vocal critics come from communitarians, who held that Rawls's ~~does~~ notion of universalisation of justice is not possible. Justice is the art of differentiation (Allan Dine MacIntyre). Michael Sandel asserted that man is an 'embedded self' and notion of 'original position' is not possible practically.

This notion about pluralistic notion of justice was later developed by Rawls through overlapping consensus between different values.

Rawls have started a new era of reasoning about justice. He is a reference point for all political philosophers of 20th century - in words of Nozick.



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)

According to Harold Laswell, ~~Human~~ Rights are those conditions without which no man in general can seek to be at his best - in his book the 'grammar of anarchy'

The notion of Human Rights was developed from the works of scholars like Locke, Bentham and Mill. Post Puritan Revolution and glorious revolution there was widespread debate on the Rights of men. Scholars like Hobbes believed them to be the derived from State based on surrendering all other rights except right to life.



Scholars like Locke have made an case for limited government with only delegated powers to make laws, execute laws and adjudicate laws. All other Rights are derived from nature and make it an compulsion for state to ensure their adherence.

Furthermore, Post Industrial revolution ~~rights~~ the notion of human rights expanded to include rights to socio-economic sphere of life. Socialist scholars and thinkers like Karl Marx, Gramsci etc have professed for Right to substantive equality of outcome. Later on Karl Marx, developed three phases of human rights with third being



Community rights. ~~how~~

However the notion of human rights as an
excuse to treat people have been violated

In fascist regimes of Germany and Italy.

In contemporary times cultural relativist

criticise human rights as ideological imperialism

of the west. Mahatma Mohandas have

given concept of 'Asian values' where rights

of community supersedes rights of state and

states get preponderance power to treat its

people on its will.

Universal declaration of human rights (UDHR),

1948 which is one of the most ratified

declaration states the need for maintaining

limitations on state and treating human as an

end in itself.



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 often referred as an prophet of Indian Nationalism belonging to the extremist wing of the Nationalist. He was the first to give idea of 'Purna-dwara' (Complete Independence) and as an great synthesizer of rationality of west and spirituality of east.

Aurobindo was dissatisfied with the moderate's conception of accepting that India is not a nation but a nation is making (S.N. Banerjee). He further believed that the greatness of India lies in its cultural and spiritual history.



Based on the re-orientation of ~~the~~ Vishwamitra
based on Humanism and Spirituality and
Henderson's idea of cultural Nationalism

Aurobindo asserted that every nation has
its own soul and in order for its true
expression the nation must be free from
colonial masters. The soul of India lies in
spiritual guide of the humanity as a
Vishwaguru (world's teacher). He has given
nationalism as a new light which was
based on connecting culture and humanism
to Nationalism. That way Aurobindo's Nationalism
in a sense became immortal, transcendental
and far beyond the western notion of
Nation based on ideas of fraternity.



Later on Gandhi's Idea of Swaraj was based on Aurobindo's Nationalist ideas. His idea also became inspiration for many Revolutionaries during and post Swadeshi Movement like Anushilan Samiti, Indian Revolutionary Army under Surya Sen etc. Through the voice of Aurobindo India has shaken the New thought of Nationalism. and its expression in its cultural and spiritual ethos.



Que.3(a)

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

Habermas in his book 'legitimation crisis'

gives the conception of deliberative democracy as a communicative action in public sphere.

which is the heart of any democracy..

Since the ancient time, western political philosophers like Socrates have given the idea of dialectics to find the truth.

Later on Aristotle after studying more than 158 constitution concluded that polity which is the golden mean of oligarchy and democracy is the best form of government because it provides for justifiable conception.



for dealing with moral disagreements in
politics through rational debate among
citizens. Later on scholars like Arendt
Inspired by Aristotelian view held that
man is by ~~nature~~ nature a political animal
(zoo-politicon) and participating in public
sphere (Action) is the highest kind of
thing he can do.

what remains a common thread ~~that~~ that
linked all the thinkers of deliberative
democracy is the 'act of deliberation'
itself. Here Habermas have professed
for widening the public sphere and
involving more participation in public policy



through open debates on legislations.
He held that the strength of democracy does not come from parliament but from coffee houses. Furthermore, without deliberation there is a risk of gowonability and legitimation crisis.

However excessive deliberation may also lead to degradation in quality of debate and ~~mass~~ voice of mass overpowering, overpowering the voice of rationality.

J.S. Mill was also called reluctant democrat

for highlighting that for democracy there needs to be democratic culture first.

people well versed with deliberation will have the understanding of its value.

From reference of Habermas the act of deliberation should be objective, rational and based on principles. ~~off~~

In contemporary time there is decline in the deliberation due to rise of mass politics around the world. What

V.P. Hamiel Hansen calls that debates are becoming rarer and informed debates are becoming rarer. Hence it is imperative to revive the public sphere with informed deliberations.

Rawls in his theory of justice argues that deliberation is the heart of democracy. It leads to enunciating higher truths.



Que.3(b)

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

Katherine Macinnone states that when we look at state it appears male to me.

Feminist conception of state is an extension of feminism itself which is an sociological ideology of understanding interpersonal relations extrapolated at a state level.

Simon de Beauvoir in her book 'The Second Sex' states that women are not second but secondary sex, their existence is only provisional to ~~male~~ man. J.S. Mill in his essays on subjugation of women states that the ~~of~~ subjugation of women around the world has become so universal



Across societies that it appears functional
Natural. For feminist scholars like Carole
Beutman, state represents an institution for
perpetuation of patriarchy. Carole
Hansche states this by affirming
'personal is political', what exists in
personal sphere gets reflected into political
sphere.

However state can play a role in
overcoming subordination of women through
affirmative action and differential
treatment to correct historical injustice
that led to subjugation of women.



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7th & 74th constitutional amendment act reserves 33% of the seats at all level for women. world bank states that this has led to empowerment of women at grassroots level and increased their bargaining power in family relations (personal is political)

Further with debate going around reservation of for women in higher legislatures may have a positive impact on socio-political empowerment for women.

However one must recognise that breaking stereotypes against women is essential for their empowerment. Women are already strong there is wider need for such acceptance.



Que.3(c)

With reference to the Asian values debate, critically evaluate cultural relativistic perspective of human rights. (15 Marks)

According to Locke, Right to life, liberty and property are inalienable and indivisible part of human. Breaching them is an violation against personhood of man.

The notion of human rights is based on ideology of liberalism which profers for progressive realisation of human rights.

However cultural relativist perspective argues against universal conception of human rights for them. Human rights are derived from community and they are different in each society and culture. For instance, In the Orient (east) the notion of



State came before society and hence state have the powers to define, guarantee and legitimately restrict human rights.

Asian values were given by Mahatir Mohammad in opposition to the western notion of human rights. He said the concept of human rights is an ideological imperialism mission of west. further it's differential application based on geopolitical interests (to eg. Arab exceptionalism) / strengthening this view. Asian values are based on ideas of collectivism over individualism and placing the welfare of community over the welfare of individual.



Renowned scholars like Anantya Sen argue that the notion of Asian values is defence of a few 'soft Authoritarianism'. He gives example of Akbar's din-e-illahi regime based on liberal principle in the east. Further many thinkers from Taiwan & Japan believe this that ~~Western~~ democratic principles ~~are~~ have been very much part of eastern ethos as well.

Cultural relativism held cultural differentiation but there are certain basic principles of human existence which binds our world. Hence the conception has universal elements within as well.



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Que.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)



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Que.4(b)

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



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The Ambedkar-Gandhi debate has a special place in the
modern discourse has become a technical debate. (p. 2)



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Que.4(c)

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



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Que.5(a)

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

Karl Marx was known as a revolutionary,
most fierce critic of capitalism and
inspiration for many Marxist regimes
around the world.

~~His~~ His ideas on History were inspired
by Hegel's idea of historical idealism
however he believed that material
forms the ~~part of~~ basis of development
of idea and given historical materialism.

Marx stated that history of all mankind
is but a history of class struggle.

It repeats itself first in form of masters
and slaves



Secondly in form of lord and serf during medieval time and in form of capitalist Bourgeois and proletariat during Modern times. For Marx history represented constant endurance of class struggle. He then developed communism based on end of history where there would be no class and class struggle.



Que.5(b)

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

Rawls in his response to ~~the~~ communitarian critique has given an idea of overlapping consensus.

Rawls idea of original position was criticised by communitarians to be unrealistic. Further universalisation of the conception of justice have led to misadventure. Communitarian scholars like Michael Walzer have said justice is art of differentiation. The sense of justice of individual is derived from his sense of community.



Later to their output Rawls have said that individuals in a liberal democracy develop overlapping consensus on idea of justice for the society. Some basic principles which are crucial for the functioning of the society.

However Rawls have given limitation on overlapping consensus for only political sphere and in liberal democracy in his book political liberalism.

This has led to new era of theorizing about justice. Later on other scholars developed various ideas from Rawls conception of overlapping consensus.



Que.5(c)

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

Differentiated citizenship is an idea given by W.V. Gopal in his book 'Multicultural citizenship' which means giving differential treatment to minorities for protecting their socio-cultural practices.

It emerged during the time of growing intolerance towards minorities in custom societies. ~~towards~~ will now give

emphasis on providing treatment for minorities and giving differential treatment in political, social and economic sphere to ensure their rights are protected.



Further the idea of differential citizenship was expanded by Bhikhu Parekh in his book 'Rethinking Multiculturalism'. He professed for giving differential treatment to national minorities as well as immigrants. While Celebrating diversity and Multiculturalism. Multiculturalism has given a new paradigm for diatopical exchanges between cultures complementing each other's practices and uniqueness — Raimon Panikkar:-



Que.5(d)

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

John Austin has propounded Monist theory of Sovereignty which states for preponderance of power of state over its subjects. Unrestricted by law.

Austinian theory of sovereignty ~~has~~ emerged in response to the violence of medieval time due to theory of two swords between king and parliamentarians. The main concern of Austinian sovereignty is to establish law and order in the society. However pluralist scholars like Laski



Criticised Austrian sovereignty as an
impossible misadventure. Further

Some held that Austrian sovereignty is
a recipe for totalitarianism and
despotism.

Reconciling both views James Robinson 'in

his book 'The narrow corridor' gives idea

of 'structured leniency' based on

balanced view of state sovereignty in
own sphere and individual rights on other.



Que.5(e)

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

Habermas in his book 'Legitimation Crisis'
gives the idea of legitimation crisis
based on lack of communication
in public sphere.

Habermas being a Neo Marxist have
stated that welfare states based on
the ideas of capitalism and socialism
are bound to face legitimisation crisis
as the funds for welfare projects are
coming from ~~tax~~ taxing capitalists.

He held that there is a limit to which
capitalism can be forced and this
irreconcilable values will bound to



came legitimization crisis for states
based on welfare model.

However Habermas proposes for
widening of public sphere by deliberative
democracy to resolve the conflict of
legitimation crises, he held that
when people participate in public sphere
it leads to development of legitimacy
of the policies.

In contemporary times, there is greater need
for increasing the deliberations due to
increasing irreconcilable differences within
nation and between nations to ensure
lasting peace in society.



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Que.8(a)

Ambedkar is not a doctrinal Marxist or socialist. He evolves his own brand of socialism in which not only the economic aspects but also the social aspects are emphasised. Elaborate. (20 Marks)

B.R. Ambedkar is one of the tallest dalit leaders and a freedom fighter who fought two battles one against colonial government and one against social stratification within Indian society.

Ambedkar's idea developed from his own experiences being born as dalit, he was discriminated in his childhood in school, later on when he was practising law in Bombay, people used to refuse his service based on his caste. This non-sensical social division in the eyes of Ambedkar based on birth was the cause of



discrimination against dalits and were inhibiting their growth in socio-political and economic spheres of life.

Ambedkar was not a believer in Marxism neither in the Fabian Variety of Socialism proposed by Congress. He was skeptical about the role of Congress in emancipation of dalit further Congress leaders' hesitancy towards removal of caste have led increased his apprehension.

Ambedkar's socialism was then developed based on equality towards all section in social, political and economic aspect driven by affirmative action of state.



He proposed for separate electorates for dalits to ensure political equality; reservations in government jobs for economic empowerment of dalits and annihilation of Caste in social sphere.

He envisaged India to be an egalitarian society which ensures welfare of all sections of society in a substantive way.

Hence his idea of state led socialism differed from Marxist conception of stateless society. Ambedkar's socialism ~~had~~ was criticised by many as anti-national which is further dividing the society based on & separate electorates.



In contemporary times, Ambedkar's idea of socialism have maintained their salience, with 103rd Constitutional Amendment Act government has further extended the program of affirmative action. However supreme court in Nagray case asked for introduction of creamy layer in SC/ST categories to ensure Ambedkar's ideals of socialism are implemented in letters and spirit.

As an Architect of India's Constitution, Ambedkar's socialism are part of state Policy and Rights of citizens guaranteed under Part-II (Fundamental Rights).



Que.8(b)

What do you understand by 'Affirmative action'? What could be the limitations of affirmative action? (15 Marks)

Affirmative action refers to differential treatment by state towards weaker sections of society who were historically discriminated.

The idea of Affirmative action finds its root in Ambedkar's idea of socialism driven by state. Ambedkar believed that when society is divided based on caste which discriminates some people based on birth. It becomes imperative for state to take affirmative action to bring about equality in a substantive way.



Later on post Independence, affirmative action became an state policy to establish India into an egalitarian society. Under Article 15 and Article 16 State can make provision for socio-economic welfare of & backwards sections of society.

Further the Constitution provides for reservation of seats in legislatures for Scheduled caste and scheduled tribes based on their population in preceding Census.

However there are certain limitations of affirmative actions as given by supreme



Court in various judgements. In Nagay case Court held for compensation only one's (Dworkin's idea of equality in initial distribution) and introducing creamy layer. Further concerns regarding balance between affirmative action and ensuring merit have to go hand-in-hand. (Mandal case judgement). Further in Recent judgement on constitutionality of 103rd CAA. Court held that affirmative action was an temporary provision.

Dworkin in his book 'sovereign virtue' held that justice through affirmative action should also ensure justice to all sections, as justice is a sovereign virtue.



Que.8(c)

The path and judicious ways shown by Sir Syed are still relevant for the new generation. Discuss. (15 Marks)

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was an social reformer of 19th century who showed path of modernisation and empowerment to the community when it needed the most.

After the Mutiny of 1857, when britishers held muslims responsible for the revolt, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan professed his loyalty in 'loyal Mohammedans of India' to british and professed muslim youth to embrace western education. In his pamphlet - 'Astaq-e-bhawak-e-hind' he asked muslim youth to keep Quran in one hand and break up science



in other. In 'Tahfeez-ul-Achqalash' he
proposed to leave derogatory and irrational
religious practices and develop reason.

Later on he founded oriental muslim
collage in Aligarh to teach western
education to Muslim youths.

In contemporary times youth misguided
by ideas of terrorism and Radicalist
ideology of ISIS, Al-Qaeda etc
represent the sobering condition of degrading
consciousness amid-developing technology.

Ideas of steel armed during such times
can play a critical role in imparting
Value-based education and developing



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rational thinking - among youth...

His thoughts will remain a beacon
of hope and light for the
generation of youth to come.