

Name : SANSKRITI TRIVEDI

Test : 05

Date : 1/09/2022

Remarks

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	Poor	Average	Good	V. Good	Excellent
Understanding of Question					
Structured Flow					
Subject Knowledge					
Presentation					

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SECTION - A

Q1(a)

Gramscian understanding of Marxism saves the theory of Marxism from economic determinism as it discusses issues of superstructure and not just issues with the Economic base.

Gramscian Marxism or hegemony refers to a form of power where the ruling class rules not forces of coercion but also consent.

Gramsci uses the concept of intellectuals to explain the creation of consent. According to him everyone is an intellectual but not everyone acts like one.

His intellectuals are of two kinds — traditional and organic. Traditional intellectuals are those position holders

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of the old dominant class like the
church.

Organic intellectuals are those
new intellectuals emerging from the
new newly emerging classes. They play
an important role in manufacturing
consent and establishing the rule
and ideas of ruling class as the
"Common Sense".

Organic intellectuals of
the capitalist class like managers, engineers
etc further cement capitalist control.

Gramsci thus urges the
working class to have its own organic
intellectuals to make the position of ~~was~~
work of position.

Organic intellectuals finds
application in Indian set up too, where
Ambedkar emerges as the organic intellectual to
the Dalit class.

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15
a

Liberty and Equality are
two archetonic principles of
political theory. But both of the concepts
are very much contested. This makes
the relation between the two even
more contested.

In some liberty and equality
are both antithetical to each other and
thus ~~both~~ both can't go together.

Scholars like Lord Acton
feel that push for equality, creates
silencing of various opinions. Nes-liberals
like Nozick says that state engaging
in equalising is an assault to liberty.
On the other hand for
some liberty and equality go together.

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For Marxists, liberal ideas
of liberty is false consciousness and
only Marxist freedom and equality
go together.

For Social liberals like A. Sen,
J. Rawls both converge. J. Rawls
through his Theory of Justice tries to
~~under~~ reconcile them together through
his difference principle.

Scholars like Bartlett have
said that liberty equality together
form the base of justice. In this
context of contested relation, Isaiah Berlin's
value pluralism guides us to
understand both as important and
not choose one over the other.

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1 (C)

Democracy is one of the most common form of governments which can be traced back to Athenian polity. Socialism on the other hand is a meta-ideology that says that means of ownership should be State owned (socially owned) and not in hands of private.

As Socialism has various strands, certain strands of socialism correspond to democratic principle of participation of people. In German Social Democracy Model by F. Lassalle role of people is important in decision making.

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But socialism is they
can't fulfill aspirations of democracy.
Democracy is not mere headcounting
principle but acts of deliberation.
In socialistic regimes, we see the
party having maximum power
and people as silent recipients. This
is seen in case of USSR.

C. D. Mepherison tries to
expand the definition of democracy
when he says even in socialist
countries having popular participation,
democracy exists.

Thus there is need for
deliberation, governmental accountability
and human action (Arendt) to
form a democracy.

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1(d)

Democracy forms a basis
of government in many countries
across the world. Liberal idea of
democracy is one of the most common.
It reconciles the ideas of
liberalism with its stress on rights of people
with the democratic rights principle
of popular participation. This is seen
in elitist and pluralist models of
democracies.

Marxist critique to this
theory emerges in writings of C.B. McPherson.
He says that liberal democratic theories
had eroded democracy of its
intrinsic value and made it ultra
~~procedural~~ procedural in nature.

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Elitist and Pluralist models

Have focused on powers in hand
of few and haven't ~~taken~~ used
democracy as an end on itself.

He says this Pahl - Schumpeter
crisis is in need of values derived from
classical models as seen in writings of
Locke and Mill to make it more
normative.

Marxists would focus
on democracy to give everyone
the developmental power in contrast to
the extractive power in hands of few.

C B McPherson says
Democracy should unleash
Creative freedom for people.

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1(e)

Sovereignty is one of the most prominent concepts of modern political theory seeing revolution in writings of Machiavelli, Bodin and most prominently Hobbes.

Hobbes who is the father of ~~legal~~ positive school of law promotes absolute sovereignty as opposed to two swords of Medieval times.

Legal theory of sovereignty is derived from Hobbesian notion of sovereignty and discussed by J. Austin as single centre of control and violence.

This was brought in sharp contrast to Medieval times of divided sovereignty to bring in order.

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But this centralised sovereignty
is contested by pluralist idea of
sovereignty. Lascki says "As society is
federal, state should be too". As
the state is just one of the various
associations of man, it can't have
complete sovereignty over man.

This becomes crucial because
~~the~~ absolute idea of sovereignty gives
rise to totalitarian regimes at the cost
of human rights and international law
as was seen during the 2nd world war.

But pluralist idea of
sovereignty is doubted again because
though state is not given absolute
sovereignty, it is yet considered
'keystone of social architecture'.

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Q 2(a)

Political Theory is a rich
intellectual tradition that contains
engagement on various issues of
relevance of human life. It is a branch
of the larger subject of political philosophy.

In ancient Greek, the
scholars like Plato and Aristotle were
concerned about philosophical concepts
like Justice, ideal state while in
contemporary times political science is
very interdisciplinary and studying
issues of family, state and individual.

Political theory is that
vast sea of knowledge that can
help one navigate in the
pursuit of good life and
good political life.

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Political theory is the
systematic study of issues of
relevance like values — liberty, equality
and justice. Human civilisation is
concerned about these concepts but
political theory gives us the
language to discuss on these issues.
Political theory also helps
understand our society better and
make changes to move towards the
ideal as seen in Plato's quest for
the ideal state.

The theorising also
helps in debate about various
stand points. Within same
school of thought, there can be
multiple meanings and interpretations.

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Like liberalism is understood variously
by various people. Concepts like value
pluralism (Isaiah Berlin) show us the
way towards better reconciliation of
contested meanings.

In contemporary times, studying
political theory becomes very significant
as we question the obligation to state;
ask state to provide us our rights
and ourselves perform justice duty.

Thus political theory provides
something for each individual to
engage with.

Political theory is also
characterised by several features.
First as propounded by Karl Mannheim,
theorising is from a stand point
and often carries agenda of somebody.

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Political theory is also
constantly evolving but certain values
are universal like liberty and rights.

Political theory is also
situated deeply in the context
and history. As Sartre says "Every
thinks is child of his times".

If western thought is having dichotomies;
Indian thought is more continuous
because that is how our society is.

Thus political theory is
a promise of intellectual stirring
and every person should
engage with it.

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2(b)

Justice is a valued virtue
and an archetonic principle, engaged
by many various scholars across
time and ages. Distributive Justice
is one such tradition within this.

● Distributive Justice refers to
the study of Justice from the
standpoint of distribution of social
goods among people. Nozick, a
neo-liberal is one popular
proponent of this.

His distributive justice is
a critique of Rawlsian justice
which is a procedural idea of
justice, just like Nozick but
it is engaged in fairness and
minimising inequality.

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For Nozick, his theory is
ultra procedural. For him justice
is when each individual is given
the absolute freedom in the
free market atmosphere to engage
with any entrepreneurial activity.

He is opposed any actions
and interference by states which
stifle the abilities of a person.
Any action in free market until it
is not fraud is justice for him.

Policies of welfare state like
progressive taxation, affirmative action
are ~~is~~ criticised by him.

But this theory has come
under criticism by various
schools of thoughts.

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John Rawls, J. Rawls
would create different principle to
ensure that the most disadvantaged
also has a chance.

Dworkin through his envy test
criticises the distributive idea as
it would create envy of one against
other's basket of goods and thus he
would propose ambition, endowment
and insurance sensitive schemes on distribution.

A. Sen, social liberal
criticises distributive justice of Nozick
as there is no scope of capability
building. It would lead to formal
equality of opportunity and not
actual exercise of it.

Thus Nozick's idea
gives a useful insight to justice.

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2(c)

According to Bhanu Prasad,
Ambedkar did what no dalit leader
could do for his community. Being
born in the Mahad community
and being faced with atrocities of
untouchability; he emerges as an
organic intellectual of the Dalits
and puts up a counter hegemony to
Brahminism.

Ambedkar studies ~~the~~ caste
closely through his works -
Who are the Shudras?, Annihilation of
Caste and Untouchability in India.

Anthropologically he feels
that caste distinction was the
result of settled tribal life
which creates a community
called the varnas who became

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dalits plea : He denies the
mythological understanding of Caste
being born out of body parts of Vishu
Purusha (Brahma)
He believes that Caste
discrimination is linked intimately
to hinduism and the practice of
Brahminism . Myth like endogamy and
vegetarianism had created divides in
the society .

He believes that the dominant
nationalist scholars are not interested
in ending the caste atrocity and thus
need for a revolution by dalits .

He is a supporter of
Symbolism and burns the Manusmriti
and drinks water from the
lower tank to show his
refusal to caste rules

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For him, Hinduism,
is with its stress on endogamy is
the major reasons for caste perpetuation
and thus need to end Hinduism together.

He also adds that as
dalits have been made a different
social category, they are a different
political category and thus seek
separate electorates, reservation etc.

Being one of the architects of
Indian Constitution, his focus was on
having social democracy beyond just
the top social class of India.

Thus Ambedkar's views are
valuable as still caste discrimination
exists and movements like
Bhimar Koregaon, BHIM party are fighting
for rights of dalits.

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Q4(c)

Justice forms one of the central concerns of political theorists since times of Plato and Aristotle. Being an archetonic value, justice in modern times features prominently in work of social liberal ~~to~~ John Rawls.

J. Rawls writes in the times of tumultuous history in USA where state was not able to address the concerns of dignity and rights of people. J. Rawls tries to then come up with theories of justice that are conceptualised by the public and thus helps in formation of well ordered society.

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To ensure that his
justice principles are universal,
without bias and publically conceptualised,
he uses the social contract tradition
of John Locke and the Deontological
arm of liberalism as opposed to
Utilitarianism to arrive at justice as
fairness.

He uses the original position
as the place where people deliberate
behind the veil of ignorance to
arrive at his three principles of
justice. As the people are guided by
Repeative Equilibrium, the principles
are just and agreed by all. The maximin
principles ensure that ^{even} the ~~for~~ most
disadvantages is taken care of (difference
principle)

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This theory of justice is indeed useful as it opens the door for affirmative action policies so that public goods are fairly distributed; this ensures any kind of rebellion and unhappiness among people is checked.

But his principles of justice are not the best according to various perspectives. For socialists, it is an explanation for inequality and injustice.

For Dworkin, Rawls is not right in not addressing natural inequalities.

For communitarians, the public conception is missing in

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Rawls because the Rawlsian
individual is separated from
reality and not embedded in the
society (M. Sandel). M. Walzer
argues for different concepts of
justice for different spheres.

Feminist criticism (Carole Pateman)
Rawlsian justice as being missing of
the female narrative. The original
position is masculine in nature.

Justice like any other
value then becomes contested but
Rawls must be appreciated of
bringing values into the conception
of Justice and ensuring distributive
justice.

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4(b)

Hobbes is considered
as the first prominent modern
thinker discussing issues of sovereignty,
state, political obligation and rights.

He is living in a tumultuous
times of Puritan revolution and thus
considers men as selfish and power
seeking. Using Resolutive Compositiv
method he shows that men seek
to increase pleasure and
minimise pain; thus he starts
as an individualist

As the resources are limited,
in state of Nature
~~then~~ and natural laws are just
articles of peace; the people are in
conflict with each other which
causes concern for self preservation
in men.

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This self preservation
becomes the sole reason that people
enter into the social contract and
give up their other rights. The social
contract creates a 'sovereign' called the
Leviathan and it has absolute powers.

Hobbes supports
absolute political obligation to the
sovereign because if not given, men
would return to state of nature which
is utterly painful with life being
 nasty, short and brutish. For men the
pain of absolute sovereign is less than
the pain of state of Nature, thus
starting as individualist, Hobbes ends
at being Absolutist (Mcpherson)

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But for Hobbes, state absolutism
can be overthrown if state doesn't
perform the duty it is made for -
that is preservation of life. If
State fails to protect life or itself
starts taking life; individuals can
have a violent Revolution to oppose the
~~absol~~ absolute state.

Thus Hobbes ends with
being an Individualist. Later liberal
scholar ~~Robert~~ Dworkin takes up various
elements of Hobbes Individualism but
his state is not absolute & rather a
trust in control of people.

Though criticised as ~~being~~
giving low principles (Vaughan),
Hobbes, is indispensable while
studying modern political theory.

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4 (C)

'Political' forms a debated term in political science and has seen evolution. If during Greek city states, political was limited to the act of deliberation by few in modern times 'political' becomes an all encompassing term including various elements of human life - elections, power, social movement etc.

Hannah Arendt, a prominent 20th c. philosopher belongs to school of Civic Republicanism. As she engages with act of politics and people's participation through her phenomenological approach; 'political' becomes core area of concern.

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She is situated in the
context of Totalitarian regimes in Europe
and thus blames the modernity and
rise of ideologies as myths that have
reduced the political sphere and reduces
humanity of its value.

In this context, in her
works; on totalitarianism and
'Human Action'; she urges to revive
the public sphere through true human
action - people's deliberation.

She welcomes human
freedom and creativity and encourages
plurality and reality to revive the
~~political~~ political sphere. This human
action is 'political' because it
would create something permanent
as compared to work and labour.

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Even her concept of power
talks about acting in concert to
revive the 'political sphere'.

Though appreciated by scholars
like Dante Germino for reviving the
political philosophy; her ideas of political
has come under criticism & is being
said that her 'politics' creates division
between political - public sphere and private
sphere thus encourages feminist
oppression. She is also criticised
of being obsessed with Aristotle's
polis and is utopian for this
day and age.

Nevertheless H. Arendt
becomes a key philosopher to study
in times of rising totalitarianism
and learn.

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5(a)

India adopted the parliamentary system on lines of British government. collective responsibility of the ministers to the elected representatives then becomes crucial to ensure accountability of the government to preserve the Social Contract.

Coalition politics has been the reality of Indian party system since the late 1980s and is marked by fragmentation of party systems, unstable government and even regionalisation of politics.

In a Coalition, MP Singh remarks "there are multiple PMs and not one" which shows that coalition shows plurality of

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ideologies / interest coming together
to form a government.

As Zoya Hasan points out
that often these alliances are just
out of pragmatism and not strong
ideological similarity, these coalitions
stand on weak base. The collective
responsibility is weak.

The governments break
and dissolve easily because
as J. Manu points out parties become
'machines' and have no developmental
considerations in mind.

This fall in collective
responsibility as pointed by Shanker and
Rodrigues erodes trust from the
parliament. Since 2014 as we are in
new dominant system (J. Palshikar); collective
responsibility has strengthened.

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5 (b)

Indian tradition and philosophy has close relations with conservation of nature as seen in worshipping of gods of nature. This environment ethic is reflected in our constitution.

Supreme Court through its various expansive reading has read ~~to~~ right to safe air, water as part of fundamental right to life under article 21.

Directive Principles under article 48(2) added by 42nd constitution

amendment Act (1976) puts the duty of state to conserve environment. Acts like EPA(1986); Water Act (1984) are steps in this direction.

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Under article 50, the
Indian government is bound by
international commitments and this
is reflected in ~~the~~ the new Pandemit
commitments under COP26.

In the seventh schedule,
Environment is mentioned in the
~~the~~ concurrent list and thus calls
for greater collaboration on federal basis.

New Environmentalism ~~emphas~~
is seen in 5th & 6th schedule where
the local tribes are given the rights to
their environment.

~~to~~ R.C. Guba says
India has now entered the
phase of environmental activism from
the phase of environmental inaction.

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5(c)

Political philosophy in writings
of Dasgupta, Gandhi finds convergence
in rights and duties. Duty thus is not
just a formality but an important
responsibility for people.

Fundamental Duties are set of
10 duties under article 51A brought
by ~~1978~~ constitutional amendments. Indira
Gandhi, then PM said that
duties were a reminder that we had
made a treaty with destiny ^{for} which
we all need to work.

Duties are very broad
and involve moral qualities
like - respecting values of
nationalism, symbols of government,
instill patriotism and scientific zeal.

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These duties are a
reminder to our conscience to
do our bit for the success of
Indian Democracy.

As we are part of the
social contract, it is also our
responsibility in the progress of our
nation through - education of children
and working for India's development.

Though 1947, they haven't
been made enforceable, which
shows the liberty that the state
gives us to contribute in any which
way possible.

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5(d)

Executive form one of
the three organs of government
concerned with Rule Application (J. Locke).

But sometimes it takes the role of
rule making which is the function of
~~one~~ legislature.

In the Indian system ordinances
by president (Article 123) and governor (213)
become tools for executive to form
laws in the times of regency and
~~dissolution of~~ when both houses are not
in session.

But this emerges as a tool
for executive excess and breach
of separation of power when executive
tries to pass unfavourable legislation
to escape ^{legislative} ~~judicial~~ scrutiny.

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Supreme Court in DC Wadhwa
case tried to restrain this by saying
that ordinances can't be re-promulgated
with no passing in legislatures. Even in
Re Cooper Case, it said that president's
ordinance can be void if found to be
malafide.

Constitution provides safeguard
by saying that within 6 weeks the
ordinance has to pass after re-assembly.

But the real force of restrain
has to come from voice of people by
protesting against executive excesses.

Ordinances are useful in
maintaining legislative continuity but
to be used as medicine and not like
regular meal.

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Q 5(c)

Indian party system has
been suigeneris and dynamic
as per changing the political dynamics - social dynamics.

Regionalisation is an important feature
which has been first seen in the late 1980s

As the central/parliamentary
axis weakened, more powers went
to the regional parties as they were
crucial in forming coalitions like
the SP, BJD etc.

In 2014 elections, BJP was
able to win an absolute majority
which was called the surplus coalition
by E. Sridharan where regional parties were
still ~~able~~ given importance at
centre.

But with the rise of majoritarian
tendencies, the ~~local~~ regional parties

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find themselves at the fringe. (at the sides)

Regional parties are now
limited again to their respective states.

But here too, national party like
BJP have been dominating them.

Thus Regional parties are rarely
alone and often making coalition
even at the state level to form
gov governments and stay relevant. This
is seen in Maharashtra where
Shiv Sena had former pre election
alliance in 2021.

(C. P. Jaisankar)
Thus with the new
dominant party system, regional
parties will have to find their route.

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Q 26)Indian government

System has embarked on Gandhian ideals of democratic decentralisation and organic circles through the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments that give constitutional recognition to government at pillage and urban level respectively.

Urban governance is an old tradition in India seen since the well planned cities of Indus civilisation to first municipalities being set up at Madras in 1793. But 21st century urban India is facing unprecedented challenges.

According to Census 2011, 30% of population lives in urban India which creates a severe resource crunch in the urban areas.

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Only write
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number in
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The urban demographics is also extremely varied due to waves of migration - reverse migration in want of better jobs. This leads to labour market instability, casualisation and lack of solid sector responsibilities.

The urban infrastructure is extremely pressurised and prone to disasters. Thus good urban governance is indeed a challenge.

Added to this, is the very dilapidated condition of Municipal governance. Though constitutionally provided, the devolution of 3Fs - funds, functionaries and functions have been low.

There are multiple laws and types of governance like Town Area Committee, Port Trust etc. The

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legislations are such that the
elected councillors are often
subordinate to executive permanent
councillors

The funds paucity is the
biggest issue as state devolution is
less and even self generated funds like
property^{taxes} fees are not enough. Ishtarji
Khurshid says that with this, the
urban governance can't be "smart".

In this situation, there is
need to reinvent the urban governance
as also suggested by the 15th Finance
Commission through resource allocation -
like ₹8000 Cr for cities by the 15th
Commission.

State also need to
devolve powers under schedule 12

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of the Indian constitution and bring
Synergy and collaboration with urban
government bodies.

Institute of Urban Studies
suggests having strengthened task
system. In this context more such
think tank and academic need to
be made part of the urban
growth story like NIUA.

For the socio-economic
development there is need to properly
implement schemes like AMRUT, Smart City,
JNNURM etc. Also urban
employment guarantee on lines of
economist J. Dreze's DUE scheme
can be explored.

Indian cities are urban
engines of Indian growth thus need
to be given fuel!

Candidate must adhere to the word limit specified in the question.
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Q.6)

Directive Principles are considered
one of the essential elements of the
"soul of democracy" as described by
G. Austin. They are present in
the part 4 through articles 36-51.

Through article 37, DPSPs
are differentiated from Fundamental Rights
as they are just guidelines and not
legally enforceable. But as Ambedkar
had pointed out they carry
huge moral weight and thus can't
be ignored by any parties.

But in line with
the tradition of Judicial activism
and Judicial-co-governance (P.N. Bhagwati)
courts have been much more
active in realising them.

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As Nehru has said, Our
courts are not passive judiciary but
active actors in the development process.

During COVID 19, state was
criticised of being ignorant of its
welfare state commitments under article 38
and thus announced a number
of steps for the ~~to~~ migrant workers
in distress.

The provisions of protection
of environment under article 48(2)
were used by courts to announce
the guidelines on air pollution in
Delhi.

Many times, fair conditions
of work under article 42 have
been brought to notice by Supreme
court like in plight of
manual scavengers.

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But after this judicial
activism has breached the line of
power separation and entered the
realm of judicial excessivism.

As prohibition is part of
DPSP article 47 of public health, Supreme
court ordered the closing of liquor
shops 500m near the highways
without any credible data.

Thus as P B Mehta points
out Judiciary needs to act with
caution and not put predilection over
principle.

Article 50, a DPSP asks
to have power separation, this
should guide the organs of
government to have vibrant democracy

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7 (C)

As per John Locke, the government is the trust of people and free and fair elections further reinforce this trust. The ~~now~~ Election Commission of India is a dedicated institution for this.

Election Commission of India is a constitutional body formed under article 324 to see after the elections of houses of Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha, state assemblies and high offices of president and vice president of India.

Election Commission has seen evolution in its role. In the earlier times under Sukumar Sen, due to one party dominant system

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of India, there was no serious
clash in election commission and
the parties.

But post 1967 with
regionalisation, fall in Congress system
ECI has risen in importance as
fair elections become crucial for
level playing field and question dominant
parties.

During activist ECI like TN Seshan,
there were significant confrontations
between the government and the body
which made the ECI a 3 membered
body to cut the importance of
Chief election Commissioner.

Election Commission has
been the wheel for various
electoral reforms like - MCC,

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form 26 on criminal antecedents, bringing
in EVMs, NVPAT, ethnic mapping of
voters and voters education (SVEEP)

But election commission
has come under scrutiny too. The
§ malfunctioning of EVMs, limited NVPATs
and continued use of muscle, money power
and identity politics and hate speech
during elections ~~continue~~ are some of the problems.

Even institutionally it
is criticised of being the voice of
the elector government; partisan
appointment.

Thus it becomes very
crucial to abide by Recommendations
of 2nd ARC, NCRWC and allow
independent finances and appointments
for the body.