

Political Science & International Relations**Crash Course & Test Series - 2023****Test 7****Time Allowed: 3 Hours****Max Marks: 250****Name**Rishabh Choudhary**Test Date**02/09/23**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....!!!

Que.1 (a)

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

According to Comte de Tracy, Ideology is the science of ideas. It remains a contested concept in political Science.

At the end of 'cold war', Daniel Bell and SM Lipset argued that it marks the end of ideology and rise of technocracy and bureaucracy.

They analysed that in all societies be it capitalist or socialist, bureaucracy wields power. The authority of political decision making in post-modern society is slowly getting transferred to non-elected technocrats.

However the end of ideology theorists is heavily critiqued.

Post modernist like Lyotard calls it metanarrative. Foucault reject full centralisation of power and believes in Sociological view of power.

Marxist scholars argue that the end of ideology thesis is status-quoist to prevent hegemony of bourgeois.

'In contemporary time we are witnessing resurgence of identity instead of ideology as Samuel Huntington suggest in clash of civilisation be it Arab exceptionalism or debate between liberal & Asian values.

To conclude, ideology remains an elusive idea as C. P. Wright will suggest it keep on evolving with time.

Que. 1(b)

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

Political philosophy is the intellectual study of nature of state, government, institution and broader social phenomenon.

Originating from the works of Plato's Republic in west or Dhammachakka and Buddhist tradition [Digha Nikaya] in East the critical function of Political Philosophy is to provide good life to human and ideal state.

Political philosophy as normative theory argues for 'what ought to be' rather than 'what is'. to create a just society.

However due to arm chair theories of philosophers devoid of practical understanding led to decline of Political science.

This led to era of behaviouralism
in post war world to make political
science as 'Pure Science' in works
of Charles Merriam and David Easton

However failure to reconcile the
essential nature of politics as 'master
Science' post behaviouralism emerged
with 'credo of reticence' speech of
Easton to develop 'creative theory'

He invited values of philosophy
for making political science as applied
science

Later with works of Rawls, Dworkin
and Berlin Political Philosophy became
central to subject,

As Leo Strauss argues the ends of
Politics and Philosophy are irreducible
to each other.

Que.1(c)

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

Behaviouralism movement in Political Science emerged against the backdrop of decline in political science due to hypocrisy historicism, irrelevance of Political theories

It professed to make political Science as pure science based on Regularisation, techniques, value neutral analysis [David Easton].

However post behaviouralism emerged in critique of very tenuous behaviouralist theory devoid of practical relevance.

Yet it doesn't make complete departure from the behaviouralism, David Easton in 'Credo of relevance'

highlight features of post behaviourism
as a synthesis of science and
values

He asks political scientists
to focus on relevance rather than
technique, to create creative theories
based on 'action' and 'relevance'

Instead of rejecting values post
behaviourism invites values to create
a political science as applied
science rather than pure science

This led to become inspiration
for neo institutionalism of March and
Olsen and political sociology of
Powell and Almonet.

Overall, no one theory can capture the
multifaceted and democratic political
science.

Que.1(d)

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

Rights are the conditions without which
no man seeks to be at it's best
[Harold Laski - 'Grammar of politics']

Bentham's view on right as [Creatures
of law] comes as critique of Natural
rights theory. He calls natural rights
as terrorist language due to context
of French Revolution which marked
Reign of Terror.

Bentham's legal positivist view
suggest that rights are guaranteed by
state and without state there can
be no laws.

This view is the foundation of
modern law and Human rights that

led to constitutionalisation of rights and internationalisation of rights with UDHR, 1948 and Convention on civil and political rights Under U.N.

However on Critical examination Bentham's view of legal positivism and sovereign guarantee made state as central institution leading to monist theory of sovereignty that led to world war.

Laslett argues that when society is federal, rights should be derived from society and having a federal state.

Extreme pluralist like Machover argues for service state which believes that as family society are prior to state, rights are also prior to state. today there is need for multicultural and community rights.

Que.1(e)

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

Marx in his 'Communist Manifesto' suggest his vision for future society based on communism where there is no inequality, no class and no exploitation.

This view is derived from Marx view of (benevolent vision) of human nature. Marx believed that human is by nature social and creative, It is the capitalism that lead to alienation (Entfremdung) of human.

As the desire of Marx was human emancipation he suggest that

When communism will come in future society there will be creative freedom for man. He can derive pleasure from his work.

As the state will take care of the basic needs of man, Morse argues, this will lead to self-realisation and fulfilment.

However Morse's view is ^{opposed to} ~~criticised~~ by realist scholars like Hobbes and Machiavelli which considers human nature as selfish, heart-minded and forgetful.

Both the views reflect partial understanding of human nature. Considering the diversity of societies it is an misadventure to categorise human nature leading to reductionism. Human nature exist as Mosaic.

Que.2(a)

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

Fascism is derived from word 'fascio' that means bundle of rods. Lascel calls fascism as an last attempt of capitalism to prevent counter revolutionary force.

This is because of the values which fascism profess. Hypernationalism and Antirationalism of fascism promote false consciousness in the workers to speak up for their right.

The false propaganda and hodge podge of ideology which fascism profess as seen during

Hitler's reign with promoting
superiority of 'Aryan' race and
propaganda of natural inequality
between ethnicities.

In order to prevent the
transformation from capitalist state
to welfare state, the idea of
Autarky and imperialism are
promoted.

Mussolini in this regard
said that - 'Nothing above state,
nothing over state or outside
state' to demand complete obedience
from the people.

This false consciousness in
words of Hannah Arendt leads to

loss of public sphere and development
of 'braille paths' as she mentions in
Eichmann in Jerusalem.

Further Karl Popper as an supporter
of open society argues that fascism
suppresses reasons in workers for demanding
fair treatment and socio-economic rights.

Marxist scholars have criticised
fascism for ~~the~~ being the instrument
of Capitalist ideology to indoctrinate
common sense of hyper rationalism.
[Gramsci].

In addition Mahatma Gandhi
argues that fascism and British
imperialism are extension of

Capitalism and Medicalisation

Recent studies on the changing world order and observations such as rise of authoritarian leaders post pandemic suggest that fascist were lost in war but they were not rejected by people

Rising Islamophobia and Xenophobia in Europe as seen during Paris rioting suggest the need to bring rationalism and humanism back.

Habermas argues that legitimacy of a political system comes from communicative action in public sphere.
is the best antidote to fascism.

Que.2(b)

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

Justice is central concept to all political theories. John Rawls calls justice as first principle of any social institution.

while on one hand procedural view of justice considers justice as virtue in action. Rawls pure procedural theory of justice professes justice through fair distribution of primary goods i.e. liberty opportunity, income, resources.

On other hand substantive view of justice derived from Marxist view believes in equality of outcomes. The primary difference lies in the

notion of social organisation.
Substantive view considers society as
organic entity while procedural
view considers an aggregative view of
society.

Further as an status quoist
theory — procedural view aims at
reforming existing social order while
substantive view envision radical and
far reaching change like Marx notion
of communism by violent means.

[Rawls theory of justice] extend
the procedural view considering individuals
in original position under veil of
ignorance.

It was framed to address the
social movements in 1970's and rise

of non-party political processes. to reform liberal capitalist societies

For this Rawls proposes moral
order of liberty, equality and
difference principle.

However Rawls theory is criticised
by communitarians like Michael Walzer,
Alasdair MacIntyre for abstraction
of individual and society.

Michael Walzer in 'spheres of
justice' argues that grand general theory
of justice is not possible. Rather
justice is act of differentiation. He
suggests blocking of exchanges to prevent
injustice.
Overall to conclude, the idea of justice
as Alexis de Tocqueville argues is expanding
with the human society and consciousness.

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)

Feminism is a social theory which profess for equal rights for women in all spheres of life - Virginia Woolf.

In this regard feminist theory emerges as a critical theory against traditional political theories which have discriminated against women. For example Aristotle considers women's role to home, social contract theories profess contract between men.

Simone de Beauvoir in her book 'the second sex' argues that women are not second but secondary sex and patriarchy is the cause for women's subjugation.

Corole Hanish expands this idea and states that private sphere create the conditions and opportunities in Public sphere, for example pink collarisation of jobs.

Further their role and purpose to (destabilise systems of power) emerges which argues for equal rights for women. Mary Wollstonecraft's demand for voting right during French revolution and J Ann Trehners demands for ~~that~~ of increasing women's representation in international politics.

Cathrine Mackinnon in her book 'Feminism unmodified' states that State laws perpetuate patriarchy and

Stereotype power for men and
powerlessness for women.

Further as purpose of destabilising
operation) they argue ~~to~~ ~~see~~ for
social reforms, Nancy Fraser's
demands for differential treatment
favouring women. represents this.

Further Shulamith Firestone
suggest in contemporary time women
should use technology to break
from the shackles of patriarchy.

The central theme of feminism is
not about making women strong, they
are already strong. But to change
our attitude about how we perceive
their strength.

Que.4(a)

Aurobindo Ghosh represent the dilemma of the western concept of Modern nationalism and Indian concept of spiritual nationalism. Substantiate. (20 Marks)

Aurobindo Ghosh was a poet, Indian revolutionary who is called as Prophet Prophet of Indian Nationalism.

Aurobindo's ideas of nationalism came in the backdrop of moderate's view of Western concept of modern Capitalism.

This states that nation is a political entity and an 'imagined Community'. Further Moderates like Surendranath Banerjee suggested India is a nation in making.

While Aurobindo rejecting this nation Synthesized Indian concept of spiritual nationalism. For Aurobindo India is

~ civilisational state and a cultural nation. He takes inspiration from Herder's cultural nationalism, Hegel's view that state is march of god on earth, and mix with Vivekananda's neo Vedantism and Balaram Chandra's Bharat Mata.

His nationalism hence emerges as an naturalist view opposed to Constructivist view of modern nationalism.

Aurobindo professes that the role of India is to be the spiritual guide of the humanity. As in our 620 Providence the idea of Vandhana Kutumbham reflects the Aurobindo's view.

Further he compares nation to a living entity and espouse a 'Personality' of nation. He argues that nature has made 'Britain' consumerist and 'India' as 'Spiritualist'.

However Aurobindo's View of nationalism receives ideological challenges from liberals who believe that cultural nation can be possible for a small country like Israel.

Countries like India and USA are political nations because of the diversity and overlapping identities.

Nevertheless, Aurobindo's theory has led to the revival of Indian national movement and leased a new

energy to revolutionary and extremist
fraction of nationalists.

His idea of swaraj became
inspiration of following movement's
like Gandhian non cooperation, &
civil disobedience etc.

Today in post truth society
whose consumerism is emerging as
a secular and universal value. Aurobindo
view forces us to think on higher
purpose for human endeavours and
national goals.

As India's seeks to get its rightful
place in comity of nation in changing
world order. In words of Rabindranath
Tagore - it will send its message
in the voice of Aurobindo.

Que.4(b)

Examine Hannah Arendt's view on power. Analyse the relevance of her strategy to defend human freedom against violence in contemporary times. (15 Marks)

Power is central concept to political science. What money is to economics power is to politics.

While power remains an ~~contested~~ contested concept, broadly there are two trends i.e. extractive power and developmental power.

Hannah Arendt's view on power

emerges as developmental or phenomenological view of power. For her power lies with people, when people perform political action in public sphere (zoo politician) power emerges, and with rise of totalitarianism power flashes away and propaganda start.

In her book 'on origins of Totalitarianism' Hannah argues that Man performs three actions i.e. for Survival, for work (Homo faber) and as participation in public sphere (zoo Politiken), this represent liberal view of power as 'in state of nature', according to Hannah Man is powerless.

In [Contemporary times] we are witnessing onset of violence be it due to rising intolerance against minorities in Europe. For example Paris rioting post Nahel M. killing, or violence against refugees. and who highlights that violence against women increased post pandemic calling it shadow Pandemic.

Amid this Hannah's strategy to defend human freedom by expansion of public sphere and development of virtuous citizens in Aristotelian sense is the best way.

This is because it generates humanism, rationalism and tolerance.

Further, when people participate in deliberation it prevents the propagation of propaganda and hate to prevent violence.

India's experiment of PRC institutions and affirmative action for SC & ST expands Hannah's view to enlarge public sphere for a just, ~~peaceful~~ peaceful and egalitarian society.

Que.4(c)

Analyse the close interlinkage between Ideals of freedom and development from the perspective of Amartya Sen.

(15Marks)

Prof. Amartya Sen in his book
'Development as Freedom' argues that
development is the expansion of
human freedom to make choices.

This freedom makes people
to pursue the values they imbibe
and lead a kind of life they
value and believe as worth living.

The close interlinkage is
explained by Dr. Sen through the
development of capabilities. For instance,
he argues that book is a resource
while reading is a function.

Hence development is to increase

the literacy and capabilities of people to read books ~~and~~ rather than only distribution of books in a egalitarian manner as suggest by Dworkin's resource egalitarianism.

Further he profess to follow Nyaya (substantive justice) rather than Niti (procedural justice). Criticising the Rawls theory he suggest that Rawls has compromised Nyaya for Niti.

From perspective of Amartya Sen India's policies of affirmative action and welfare programs like PM Kaushal Vikas Yojna, Apprentice scheme, Skill India initiative are example

of expansion of freedom as development.

The recent NEP 2020 have many features like ~~change~~ choice to choose diverse subjects through academic bank of credit expands human choices and freedom.

However Neo liberals like Nozick argues for night watchman state and considers progressive taxation for development as bonded labour.

The current world is moving from Washington consensus to Cornwallis consensus aims to expand development according to Amartya by more state and it's central role as social institution.

Que.5(a)

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

India was formed not by a political Contrivance between state but by transfer of power from colonial state.

Further as Article 3 makes India as a 'indivisible union of divisible states', led to many reorganisation of state post independence.

Hence this various factors create various interstate boundary disputes.

Belagavi dispute between Maharashtra and Karnataka, disputes over boundaries of state in Northeast between Assam and Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram are other instances

Further dispute over Chandigarh between Haryana & Punjab led to

its recognition as an Union territory.

Sarkaria Commission in this regards suggested making Permanent Interstate Council (Article 263) for resolving disputes.

NCRWE suggest strengthening Zonal Councils to resolve regional disputes through political negotiation.

In contemporary times, settled border is Sine qua non for cooperative federalism and achieving the goal of developed India by 2047.

Que.5(b)

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

Ambedkar inspired by Fabian Socialism believed in bringing socio-economic equality with state playing the central role.

Ambedkar considered state as an institution to just the historical injustice against the depressed classes by affirmative action that reflects in Article 15(4), 15(5), 16(4), 16(6) of the constitution.

Further to bring political equality he pressed for reservations as reflected in Article 340, 342, of the constitution.

Ambedkar's vision was to make India a social democracy from

a political democracy.

He states that Constitution is only top soil, we ~~at~~ must work conscientiously to develop culture of Constitutionalism.

This becomes critical for the present time where we are witnessing politicisation of Post of Governor, Speaker and President among others.

Further as with recent Janhit Abhiyan case S.C has reiterated need for creamy layer in SC / ST to ensure that benefits of Constitutional provision reaches to the people.

Que.5(c)

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

According to KM Munshi, Preamble is the ~~Horosop~~ Horoscope of our Sovereign democratic republic.

This highlights the substance of Politics of the Preamble that it is based on vision of equality and democracy aimed to create a Republic of virtuous citizens as envisioned by Aristotle, Hannah Arendt and Habermas. Who participate in public sphere.

Further the Substance of Preamble is reflected in its noble vision of justice i.e. social, political and

economy, Liberty of thought
belief, faith, worship and expression.

Equality of opportunity for all and
promoting it equally among all, and

Fraternity between citizens ensuring
dignity of individual.

S.C. in Shankari Prasad case
said that Constitution should be
interpreted in the noble vision of
Preamble.

Today amid the threat to
multiculturalism and toleration by Hate
Speech on Social Media there is need
for all to reflect to members and
fundamental duties imposed in Article
1A of Constitution.

Que.5(d)

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

Directive principles of constitution in part IV are inspired from Irish constitution for socio-economic justice in society.

They can be broadly classified into 3 categories i.e. liberal, socialist and Gandhian principles.

As Liberal Principles, Article 39(A), 39(D) promote equality b/w men and women. Article 50 promote separation of judiciary from executive, Article 51 promote international peace and Article 14 promote uniform civil code.

As Gandhian Principles, Article
40 promotes bram swara, Article
47 directs for prohibition of liquor,
Article 48 directs for organising
agriculture and animal husbandary on
Scientific line.

As Socialist Principles, Article
38 aims for reducing inequality,
Article 39(b), 39(c) aim for subverting
common good and preventing concentration
of wealth, Article 45 promotes
education, Article 46 promotes interest
of backward classes;

Granville Austin correctly calls

DPSP as conscience of the constitution

Que.5(e)

Enumerate the achievements of NHRC. (10 Marks)

Rights are inalienable part of human existence, they are universal, absolute and fundamental - James Nickel

NHRC in this regards have played a critical role in expansion of rights.

Its achievements includes promoting rights of inmates by providing guideline for treatment of detainees, rights of Chakma and Rohingya refugees.

NHRC's efforts for solving issue of criminal justice system like undertrials and over occupancy of prison.

However despite the efforts
NHRC ~~remains~~ falls short of expectation

Soumitraje calls that NHRC
has become tool for political
patronage and accommodation
for judges with political affiliations.

It failed in raising issues of
HR violation against AFSPA, Justice
Undertrials - 80% Prison occupancy -
130%. (PSI report) suggest inaction.

Here there is need to empower
NHRC to prevent it from becoming
toothless tiger and Eager parrot
of central government to take substantive
action for reparation of rights

Que. 6(a)

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

Grassroot democracy is the notion of taking governance to the lowest level based on principle of Subsidarity (2nd ARC).

Panchayati Raj Institutions in this regard emerges in order to make democracy inclusive based on the vision of Gandhi's 'Gram swaraj', M. N. Roy's 'Radical democracy' and Deen dayal Upadhyaya's 'Antyodaya'.

Article 40 of constitution directs state to make village panchayats as institutions of self governance making representative democracy ~~or~~ participative.

Since the implementation of 73rd & 74th Amendment, we have witnessed significant empowerment of women through provision of 33% reservation (Article 243D). Currently PRS Research suggest that 45% of representatives in PRIs are women.

Further as radical feminist argue 'Personal is Political', women's reservation increased their bargaining power in family affairs, their participation in gram sabha led to women's empowerment and development of women's agency to control their lives.

However recent studies by PRIA suggest that there is a lot

left undone. Women representatives emerge as proxies of their husbands (Saraloch pati). Further due to lack of political awareness and knowledge about their rights they fail to experience the constitutional rights they enjoy.

Lack of gender sensitive infrastructure of Panchayat's with lack of women toilets, creche facilities ~~lead~~ leads to absentee women representatives from Panchayat meetings.

Hence to make democracy inclusive we need to focus on empowerment of women representatives.

Manishankar Iyer Committee has suggested mechanism of Panchayati

Unbonded man to keep vigil on the activities to ensure realisation of women's rights,

The need to form women SHG's (Self help group) and linking them with Panchayat was suggested.

Further economic empowerment of women through welfare schemes and women bank account is needed, in particular for Panchayat representatives.

Reducing violence against women, developing capacity and reforms of funds, functions functionaries is critical.

PRIs can become tool for inclusive society by bottom up approach of women empowerment.

Que.6(b)

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

According to AU Dicey, Federalism is a political contrivance between those states which desires unity without uniformity.

In the realm of political economy which lies at interface of politics and economics. i.e. understanding the impact of economic factors on Politics like democratic upsurge [Jaganmohna Yadav] Post green revolution, and land reforms..

Federalism can be understood as continuous process from single party dominance system till 1967, what is called as 'Congress system' by Rajni Kothari to whose states were weak.

Later due to democratic upsurge regional parties become strong, ^{but} leading to strengthening of federal parliamentary aspects [M.P. Singh] i.e. regional and small actors punched above their weight in national politics.

However subhas Patel likens argues that post 2014 we are witnessing a transition from coalition era to BJP system, making the federal aspects strong parliamentary aspects strong.

This continuous yet changing process has significant impact on political economy. From the socialist era of 1970's where state led economy was prevalent as seen with

Nationalisation of banks, Import
licencing and production licencing.

Later Post LPGs (1991) Market
economy has led to rise of right
wing parties.

The phenomenon of Aam Aadmi Party
was argued to be the demands of
metropolitan middle class for good
governance.

In today's time Populism in
political economy has re-emerged.
Mod. A. Ayaz argues that Post Pandemic
State have resurrected and became
more powerful and 'welfarist'.

Overall the notion of federalism
keeps on changing with needs of changing
political economy and nature of state.

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)

Parliamentary system or Westminster style of governance is based on the Principle of executive accountability to the parliament. [Article 75(3), 164(2)]

There are various advantages

as argued by Shankar and Rodrigues in their book - 'Indian Parliament'.

First, it provides for a diverse representation in government for a multicultural country like India,

Secondly, it extends the idea of checks and balances in government with parliament's powers of ~~non~~ passing no-confidence motion, censure motion,

Thirdly, it aims for normative value of deliberation in democracy where laws are formed by discussion [Rousseau's general will]

However there are many disadvantages like it leads to ~~conflict~~ co-optation between executive and legislature due to majority government. The efficiency of governance also gets undermined due to plabianisation of administration.

Further coalitions leads to instable government and multiple centres of power. PM get reduced to role of coalition managers.

There are various challenges confronting Parliament in India, like criminalisation of politics [43% MP have

Criminal cases - PRS) further anti-defection law which aimed at stopping horse trading of legislators ended up silencing them.

Lack of inclusivity with only 14% women in Parliament and 8% in State legislative assembly.

Further with over 85% MP being millionaires, there is challenge of promotion of class interest as suggested by Marx.

Hence there is need for overhauling Parliamentary system based on recommendations of NCRWC which suggest barring criminals, minimum attendance and referred to committees for deliberation on bills.

Parliament has to become an symbol of national virtue in the 'Amrit kaal'.