

SHUBHRA RANJAN IAS STUDY PVT LTD

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POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Time allowed: Three Hours

Maximum Marks: 250

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Test Number: # 7

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Instructions:

1. There are eight questions divided into two sections. Candidate has to attempt five questions in all.
2. Question numbers 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, three are to be attempted, choosing at least from each section.
3. Question numbers 1 and 5 contain five questions each, carrying 10 marks. Other questions carry three sub questions with 20, 20 and 10 marks.
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.

Que. 1

a)

Fascism as extremism of centre. (10 marks)

Fascism is an ideology that specifically emerged in the inter war period in the regimes of Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy. Fascist ideology is totalitarian in its orientation and practices politics of racial exclusion and rejection.

Salient features :

(i) Fascists reject communism and capitalism both. since there is an emphasis on social cohesion and solidarity ie. the individual is subordinate to the collective ego, fascists oppose unrestrained pursuit of private profit simultaneously. they oppose the might of organised labour. Fascist economic policy is more PRAGMATIC, less ideological and locates itself in the centre.

(ii) The focus on militant nationalism based on duty, strength and loyalty as well as politics of REVENGE AND GLORY under the leadership of the CHARISMATIC LEADER makes fascism an EXTREME IDEOLOGY. Popper would call it a totalising system of thought, unable to be falsified.

- Thus, fascism is extremism of the centre.

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b) Decline of Political Theory. (10 marks)

In the 1950s, Behaviouralists like David Easton commented on the Decline of Political Theory as it was unable to confront the challenges facing society. Traditional approaches were speculative, abstract. He said that theorists were living parasitically on old ideas. Walzer called it "alienated politics" as political theory was losing its relevance as a policy science. Economics, sociology were taking its place.

Thus, the Behavioural Revolution based on empiricism and scientific rigour was initiated to tackle the Decline.

The next decline took place in '50s and '60s when the will to conform political science to the natural sciences led to

"mad craze for scientism." Scientists in their ivory tower were not engaging with normative and critical issues of the day. It is in this context that Lamenatz said that "political theory is not an escape mechanism but an ominous calling." Thus, Post Behaviouralism based on the credo of ACTION AND RELEVANCE began.

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c) Salient features of post behaviouralism. (10 marks)

Post Behaviouralism was as a methodological revolution within political science began in the 1950s and 1960s. There was consensus that over emphasis on scientific rigour had resulted in lack of engagement of theorists with issues of the day like ARMS RACE, FEMINIST AND WAVE, CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT.

Thus, David Easton called for post behaviouralism that builds upon the achievements of behaviouralism.

Features:

1. FROM pure science to applied science.
2. Engage with normative issues.
3. Renewed concern with values.
4. Build creative theory based on ACTION and RELEVANCE.

John Rawls' Justice as Fairness and
C.B Macpherson's "DEMOCRATIC THEORY:
ESSAYS IN RETRIEVAL" are considered
major works of the post-behavioural
tradition.

d) Legitimation crisis. (10 marks)

Habermas writes that in capitalist democracies, there are contradictory or oppositional forces at play which leads to legitimation crisis.

→ Capitalism leads to unrestrained pursuit of private profit and accumulation of wealth and property which breeds economic social inequality. However, the democratic and populist pressures of universal adult franchise lead to the demand of regulation of private interests and expansion of welfare functions for equality. This leads to crisis tendencies within the system.

→ The resolution is either ~~fostering~~ because of ^{popular resentment} inequality or through tax and spend policies which will lead to economic

collapse.

True, welfare states suffer from
legitimation crisis and the only way
out is SYSTEM STEERING and
IDEOLOGICAL CONTROLS which will create
acceptance.

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- e) Personal is Political. (10 marks)

Personal is political was the rallying cry of 3rd wave feminists or the radical feminists.

Traditional notion of politics sees the division of society into PUBLIC SPHERE and PRIVATE SPHERE. Feminists challenge this division ~~and~~ by saying that what happens in the private sphere is also POLITICS. Politics doesn't stop at the front door but is a wider concept.
Power structured relationships of domination and oppression." like Kate Millet, Germaine Greer Feminists thus draw attention to the sexual division of labour in the domestic sphere, the cult of femininity where women are conditioned to be sexually passive, the unpaid domestic labour.

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These differences are not natural or biological but discrimination and oppression in the private sphere. This has its roots in the political relationship between the sexes.

Que. 3

a)

Examine in detail Marx's prescription for ending alienation and reaching the stage of de-alienation. (20 marks)

Karl Marx, an eminent political philosopher, wrote "economic and philosophical manuscripts" where he gave the concept of alienation. Alienation is Marxist philosophical criticism of the injustice of capitalism.

Alienation means separation from true essence. According to Marx, a human being's nature has a strong creative urge, to engage with the world and transform it by asserting individual sovereignty. However, under the capitalist mode of production that divides society into two antagonistic classes of have and have nots, workers are separated from themselves.

- (i) They are separated from the process of production where labor becomes a commodity.
- (ii) They are separated from the product.
- (iii) They are separated from each other as social relations become conflictual and competitive.
- (iv) Ultimately, they are alienated from themselves.

MARXIST PRESCRIPTION FOR ENDING ALIENATION →

Marx advocates workers emancipation in his clarion call: "workers of the world unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains."

Only through a violent revolution will the capitalist mode of

production based on private property
be abolished. In a communist
society, there will be a just system
of distribution: from each according
to ability, to each according to his
need. This will end alienation and
lead to SUBSTANTIVE FREEDOM.

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- b) What are the issues of debate in contemporary democratic theory. Comment on the proposition that liberal constitutionalism precedes liberal democracy. (20 marks)

• Democracy as rule of the people, by the people and for the people is an institutional arrangement compatible with liberty and political participation.

Contemporary Democratic Theory aims at understanding the procedural and normative issues surrounding Democracy.

DEBATE 1: Schumpeter writes that democracy is a market mechanism for votes where political entrepreneurs compete for power. Robert Dahl says that it is polyarchy i.e. diverse autonomous groups competing for power and influence. However, scholars like C.B Macpherson have reemphasized the moral dimension of democracy. Democracy

leads to creative freedom and is essential for human flourishing.

DEBATE 2 Democratic politics with widening economic inequality and influence of nepotism, dynasty have led scholars to question the democratic credentials of these societies despite having the institutions of democracy.

DEBATE 3 scholars are also divided between first past the post system and proportional representation as the best electoral procedures to guarantee higher ~~representatives~~ representativeness.

DEBATE 4 goes back to the questions that were raised by Plato and Aristotle which questions ability of democracy to deliver EXPERT government and

competent leadership that can deal with multiple challenges of 21st century.

DEBATE 5 raises issues of democracy as the antithesis of liberty because the equality principle can degenerate into demagogery and Tyranny of Majority.

Liberalism believes that human nature is rational but it is also egoistic and self interested. Therefore, power can corrupt and absolute power tends to corrupt absolutely (Lord Acton). ~~thus~~ liberals like Montesquieu devised separation of power as a system of check and balances. Only power can be a check on power. ~~thus~~ Hence, it is true

that liberal constitutionalism precedes liberal democracy. Liberal ~~demo~~ constitutionalism demarcates the sphere of the government so that they cannot encroach upon civil society i.e. realm of freedom.

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- c) Critically examine the 'SaptaPrakriti' of state as envisaged by Kautilya. (10 marks)

Kautilya, also known as Chanakya, is the author of Arthashastra text, which is India's contribution to realist political thought. The Arthashastra is a state-centric view and considers the principles of RAJDHARMA.

The Saptanga Theory of the State reflects the high degree of FUNCTIONAL SPECIALISATION and STRUCTURAL DIFFERENTIATION. There are seven elements of the state that are interdependent and interlinked organically to each other.

- 1. Swami (King)
- 2. Amatya (Ministers)
- 3. Janapada (Territory or population)
- 4. Durga (Fortified city)
- 5. Kosa (treasury)
- 6. Danda (Force)
- 7. Maitra (Allies)

These are also the seven factors of power that enable the Vigigsu (King who wants to conquer the Indian subcontinent) to pursue a policy of CONQUEST.

Thus, the Kautilyan state is a source of positive law, it is a bureaucratic machine with different departments run by Adhyakshas and system of taxation. ~~thus~~ Kautilya gives a realistic account of the state.

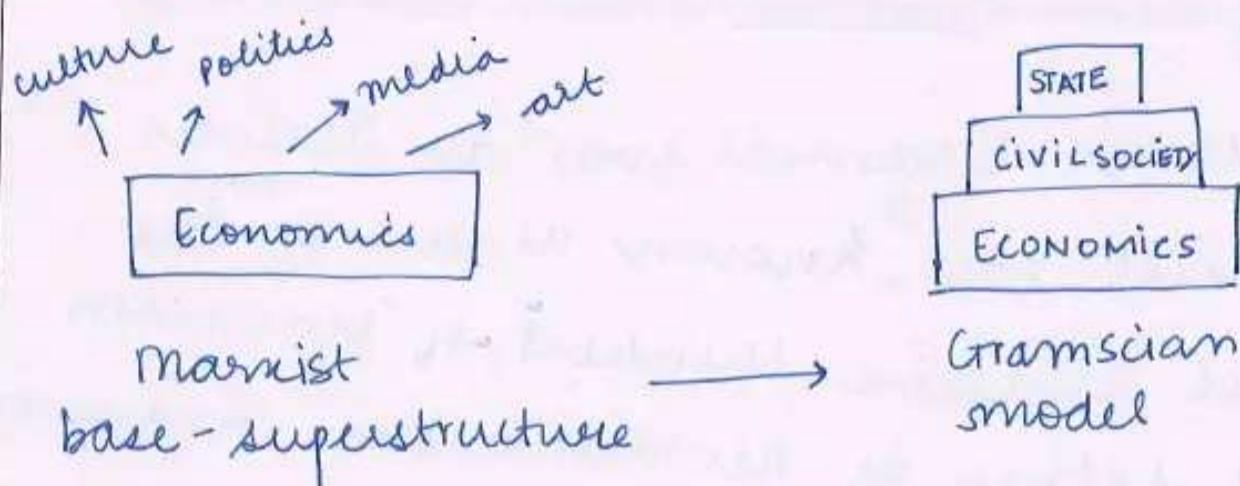
Que. 4

a)

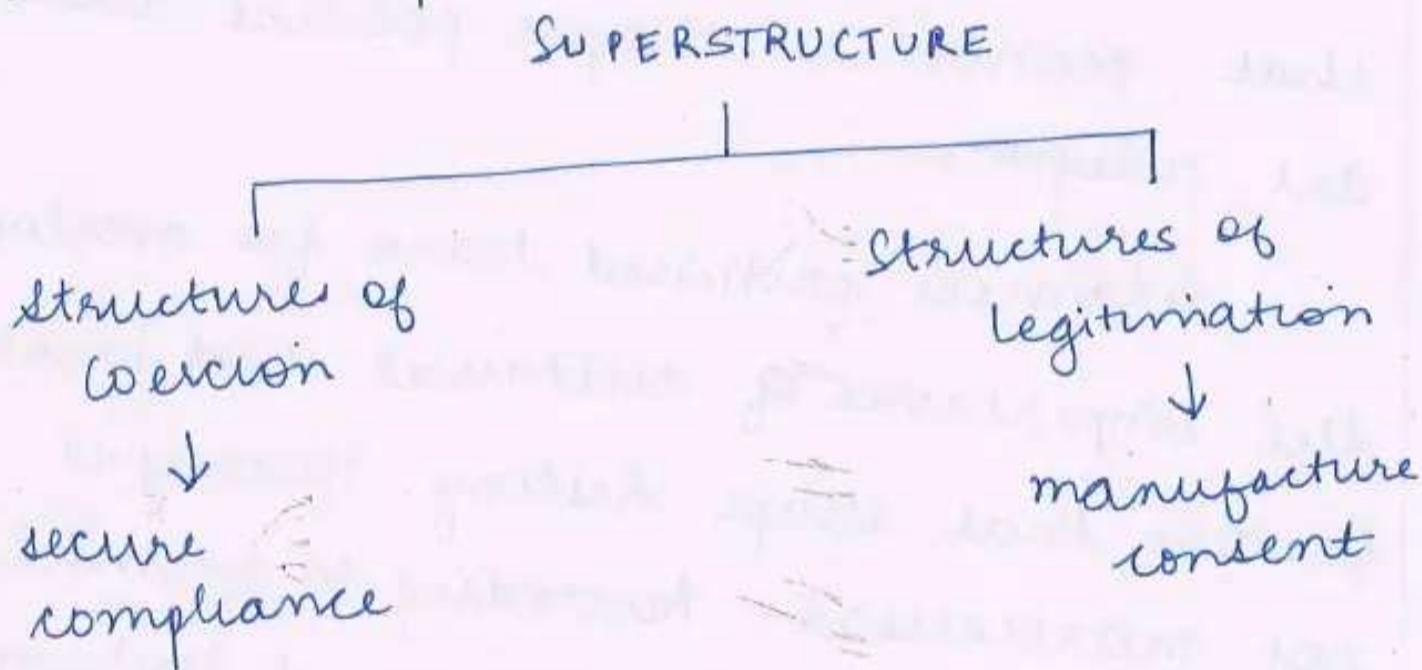
Is Gramsci a theoretician of Super Structure? Give reasons in support of your answer.
(20 marks)

Antonio Gramsci was an Italian Marxist who is known as one of the most creative thinkers of Marxism and father of neomarxism. Gramsci conceded relative autonomy of the superstructure. He differed from the conventional Marxist view ~~of~~ of HISTORICAL MATERIALISM that holds that economic shapes politics, culture, art, religion.

Gramsci criticised Marx for overlooking the importance of cultural and ideological factors that shape history. History is not monocausal. According to Gramsci, the structures of coercion and legitimization located within the superstructure allow capitalism to maintain its stability.



Thus, Gramsci argued that it is the ideological domination i.e. Hegemony of the ruling class that maintains Capitalism.



Gramscian analysis of the superstructure has implications for marxist strategy

of revolution. Thus, overthrowing of capitalism requires counter-hegemony by organic intellectuals by a WAR OF POSITION.

Hence, it can be said that Gramsci is a theoretician of the superstructure. He influenced critical school and post modernists. Example, Adorno's criticism of the culture industry and Marcuse's ONE DIMENSIONAL MAN.

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- b) Examine the arguments in the Normative vs Empirical debate in the study of political theory.
(20 marks)

Political theory is the systematic study of political phenomena. The process of intellectual inquiry consists of two approaches: NORMATIVE and EMPIRICAL. Both have their valuable contributions to make political theory an instrument for describing, criticising and reconstructing the social world.

\$ Normative approach relies upon evaluative judgements and logical/moral reasoning to uncover "what ought to be". It is a value-laden frame of analysis that cannot be tested or verified. It is prescriptive. For example, Plato's Theory of Ideal state based on harmony and excellence.

Empirical approach embraces scientific method and positivism to make political theory align with the natural sciences. Observation, sense experience, mathematical modelling is used to describe "what is". Example, Schumpeter's model of Democracy.

→ Modern approach is dominated by empirical studies whereas the traditional approaches are mostly normative. However, due to the post behavioural revolution, empirical and normative dimensions of political theory are converging. Hacker has said that every political theorist is part scientist-part philosopher. Therefore, it would be fallacious to consider the Normative

and empirical analysis divorced from each other.

Normative theories are criticised for speculation and abstraction whereas empirical theories are criticised for not ~~not~~ only being status quoist but also dangerous. Leo Strauss has said that by teaching equality of values, has contributed the mad craze for scientism to the "victory of the gutter".

Thus, one must remember that political theory is a discipline that is enriched by both normative and empirical content. It has an element of political vision even though it is not fantasy. It seeks to explain reality analytically and scientifically though it is not science. Both have complementary roles.

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- c) Comment: Validity of the statement that most prominent among Gandhian principles are non-violence, adherence to truth and dignity of labour. (10 marks)

Gandhi was a towering political figure, mass politician and global icon. His philosophy can be understood through HIND SWARAJ, MY EXPERIMENTS WITH TRUTH, Indian Opinion which are important works in the Gandhian tradition.

(i) Non violence → Gandhi's ethics was based on a non violent mass struggle. Means cannot be separated from ethics. Impure means will result in impure ends. Therefore, Gandhi led a non violent struggle against the most vicious colonial power of the day.

(ii) Adherence to Truth → This was encapsulated in ~~the~~ SATYAGRAHA or

truth-force. Satyagraha was a weapon of the morally brave. A satyagrahi understood that the adversary was pursuing his version of truth. Therefore, satyagraha advocated undergoing hardship and ~~and~~ suffering (tapas) in pursuit of truth.

Dignity of labour → Gandhi ^{tried to} destroyed the distinction between physical and mental labour by spinning the charkha. He subscribed to the wisdom of the Gita that said that all work is worship.

However, Gandhi has made many more contributions to political thought like Doctrine of Trusteeship, Sarvodaya, oceanic circles of ~~P~~ decentralised political power.

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Que. 5

a) "Minorities are the natural custodians of the secular state" (D E Smith) (10 marks)

Thomas Jefferson writes that secular states are those where there is a wall of separation between the state and religion. Indian secular state is built upon a positive view of secularism i.e. DHARMA NIRPEKSHTA (absence of discrimination on grounds of religion) and SARVA DHARMA SAMBHAVA (equal respect to all religions). Thus, minorities ~~are~~ Thus, the excellence of the secular state can be judged by the respect and constitutional rights accorded to the religious minorities.

for example, Indian state has multiculturalism woven into constitutional fabric such as Article 29 (right to preserve cultural identity) and Art. 30 (right to open minority educational institutions which are fundamental rights).

Articles 350 A and 350 B give right to teach in native language at a primary level and a special linguistic officer.

India has 6 ~~minorities~~ minorities → Muslims, ~~Hindus~~ Jains, Sikhs, Parsis, Buddhists, Christians. The National Commission for Minorities and Human Rights Commission address grievances.

On the contrary, the persecution of the Ahmadiyya ~~minority~~ minority within Pakistan demonstrates state inability to protect the minorities living within borders.

- b) Compare the Nehruvian and Gandhian models of development. (10 marks)

Post-Independence, India was embarked on a path of autonomous development as 200 years of colonial fetters on the economy were removed. Nehruvian and Gandhian models were two differing visions of development but the objective was to empower the people.

1. Gandhian model was based on economic growth, distributive justice and moral regeneration of the country. Gandhi believed in production by the masses instead of mass production. Thus, he said that labour displacing machines should not be introduced in the country in blind imitation of the western model of industrialisation.

He gave the theory of trusteeship to highlight the potential of class collaboration to achieve equitable growth. His ideal of sarvodaya (non violent socialism) kept the

marginalised at the centre of economic strategy. Thus Gandhian model promoted cottage and village industries, rural cooperatives.

~~Also~~ Nehruvian model was influenced by the socialist 5 year plans under Stalin. The state controlled the commanding heights of the economy and there was focus on industrialisation to attain self sufficiency in heavy industries and capital goods. The Public sector led the national developmental effort and bureaucratic welfare state was established.

* Gandhian model had a rural focus as Gandhi said that if villages perish, India will also perish. Nehruvian model prioritised centralised planning and had urban focus.

c) Changing socio-economic profile of legislators in India. (10 marks)

The Parliament is a microcosm of society. The legislators are the elected representatives of the people of India. Thus, an analysis of socio-economic profile and the evolution of demographics can tell a lot about the progressive and regressive forces of the country.

- ① Post independence, the legislators were dominated by upper caste, upper class, educated professionals.
- ② In the 1960 - 1970s, the linguistic reorganisation of the states and the green revolution led to the emergence of intermediate castes, rise of rural elite (bullock capitalists) and regional elites. This was called ~~the~~ DEMOCRATIC UPSURGE

by Yogendra Yadav.

- ③ Due to the affirmative action policies of the government, the hitherto marginalised sections of the population (Dalits) are included in the power structure.
- ④ The representation of women is low and has stagnated around 9-11 %.
- ⑤ Increasingly, legislators have a criminal background, have won elections due to nepotism or family connections. Therefore, even though parliament has become democratic and more representative of India, unhealthy trends like dynasty, political entrepreneurs can be observed.

d) Dilemmas of human rights movement in India. (10 marks)

Human rights movements in India (PUCL, PUDR) are led by civil society groups, as well as global organisations like Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch. The philosophy of human rights is codified in the constitution morality. The Preamble is the key note to the vision to expand human freedom.

Judiciary has also been at the forefront through Public interest litigation and introducing Due Process of law (Maneka case) which has expanded the umbrella of human rights.

The Dilemmas of human rights movements are ① They function within the framework of nationalism and state-centric view of ~~no~~ rights. Thus, there has been failure to repeal AFSPA in

conflict zones like North East and Kashmir. Such human rights activists have been labelled anti-national and charged with sedition.

- ② Challenges to "internal colonialism" and violation of rights of Adivasis are opposed as anti-development, anti-growth.
- ③ Lack of a culture of human rights promotion. The National Human Rights Commission is a toothless tiger and ~~is~~ ill-equipped to strengthen the human rights regime in the country.

e) Constitution as a 'Power Map'. (10 marks)

Constitution as a power map decides the institutional framework for the exercise of influence and power in a democratic polity.

1. Fundamental rights are guaranteed to ~~outline~~ the relationship between the citizen and the state. There can be no arbitrary exercise of authority by the executive and rule of law will be upheld.
2. Separation of power between the legislature, executive and judiciary since power has the potential to corrupt, there will be checks and balances within the system. Power will be a check on power. Example: Judicial review to strike down unconstitutional acts and orders.
3. Under Article 326, there is universal adult franchise which places political power with the people. The Preamble

itself says that WE THE PEOPLE OF INDIA give to ourselves this constitution.

4. Since multiculturalism is woven into constitution, the religious and cultural minorities have equality before law and equal protection of the laws.

5. The constitutional also demarcates the administrative, financial and legislative relations between the centre and the states and establishes federalism. The states are not satellites or agents of the centre ~~but~~ but have their own independent ~~constitutional~~ constitutional existence.

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Que. 8

- a) Examine the role of Panchayati Raj institutions and urban local bodies in deepening of democracy in India. (20 marks)

Panchayati Raj Institutions and Urban Local Bodies were given constitutional status by the 73rd and 74th Amendment Acts enacted by PV Narasimha Rao government. The Acts added Part IX A and schedules 11 and 12 to the constitution. This created a MULTI - FEDERAL POLITY.

Democratic Decentralisation has resulted in maximum democracy. There has been a paradigm shift from representative democracy to genuine participatory democracy.

This is because the provisions are revolutionary.

- under Articles 243 D and 243T are the RESERVATION CLAUSE, which has 33% of the seats will be reserved for women.
2. Scheduled castes and Tribes will be accorded reservation in proportion to their population.
3. The GRAM SABHA will be the nucleus of participatory democracy. This is because all the members of the village in the electoral rolls will be its members and can hold the Panchayat to account.
4. Members of the ULBs will be consulted and empowered to undertake city administration keeping local needs in mind.
5. These institutions are venues of social audit.
- * Thus, the hitherto marginalised sections have been represented in local governance institutions. According

to the Association of Democratic Reforms,
3.4 million men and ~~no~~ women are
involved in local governance.

→ Hailing Democratic Decentralisation,
Nehru said → we must function more
from the ^{bottom} ~~top~~ than the top in a democracy.
Too much centralisation means decay
at the roots and ultimately withering
of branches, leaves and flowers ~~branches~~.

However, PRIs and ULBs can be
further strengthened by devolution of
funds, functions and functionaries.
Scholars have noted that fiscal devolution
has not taken place and where nexus
of development bureaucracy, contractors and
local politicians are prevalent, the PRIs
have failed to perform.

- b) "Identity politics has trumped development politics in India." Comment. (20 marks)

The Indian political system has three enduring basis of mobilisation: caste, religion and ethnicity. Zoya Hasan writes that India lacks modern basis of mobilisation so associational and kinship ties, group identity that operates at a subconscious level become important.

Caste is pervasive social structure based on hierarchy. Andre Beteille writes that since ^{and marriage} kinship ties stop at caste, it is very strong basis politically. In fact, it is said that Indians don't cast their vote, they vote their caste. This can be seen in proliferation of caste based parties like BJP (upper caste), BSP (Dalits), SP (Mawadi Party). The recent Presidential election had the

narrative to have a Dalit in the Rashtrapati Bhavan.

Religious politics is seen in the articulation of interests of a community. It is assumed that since the people share religious bond, their interests in the secular sphere also converge. Subas Palashikar writes that since older institutions are breaking down and newer, modern are yet to become fully embedded, the political elite are using cultural expressions of authority.

India's diversity also makes it a hotbed of ethnic politics as seen in the Northeast, Kashmir and Dravidian nationalism.

The 2014 Lok Sabha Election largely evolved around issues of governance, jobs and decisive leadership. Yogendra Yadav writes that Indian voters are not frozen in their preferences. They are looking for "Identity plus" politics. Identity is a necessary but not sufficient condition.

With the deepening of democratic culture, political modernisation and education, the influence of identity politics may lessen. However, Identity politics must not trump issues of governance, corruption, accountability and development.

c)

Discuss the extent to which the Indian constitution reflects successful reconciliation of alternative perspectives. (10 marks)

The Indian constitution was the result of rich debates and deliberations of the constituent Assembly. According to Granville Austin in "INDIAN CONSTITUTION: CORNERSTONE OF A NATION", there was an agreement on the macro ~~ends~~ for India but fierce disagreement over the means.

1. Gandhian vision advocated for Panchayati Raj and keeping villages at the centre of political power whereas leaders like Nehru favored modernisation and industrialisation along with parliamentary democracy.

2. In the aftermath of creation of Pakistan, there was a strong lobby for HINDI as national language and HINDU STATE which was opposed by secularists.

3. Members favoured Socialism or Fabianism which gave equal importance to civil liberties and socio-economic rights. However, there were liberals who advocated for increased role for private sector.
4. There was debate on whether Right to Property should be made justiciable. Nehru opposed it whereas Patel endorsed it.
5. The role of the President in a parliamentary democracy was debated - whether he should be given discretionary powers or direct election.
Thus, even though "Congress was India's, even though India was Congress" in the Constituent Assembly, a very healthy tradition of Democracy, a very healthy tradition of representation of all political and philosophical perspectives was established.