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PSIR Test -10 Paper I

Name- SANJEEV KUMAR

Roll No- OAC 24 PIT N030

Mobile No-

Date - 10-09-024

Feedback -

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Section-A

1(a). Machiavelli was an Italian diplomat who has written the classic book "The Prince".

He has been called as the first modern thinker. As he was the first "renaissance scholar" who separated the religion from state and give "secularism" in true sense.

He even given the true notion of "state" which is today's state with population, sovereignty, etc.

Even the term "sovereignty" was popularised by him firstly that led to Hobbesian monistic theory of state and Austian sovereignty.

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Machiavelli was the first empirical thinker whose ideas are based on "what is" ke observation. It inspired the realist scholars of IR such as Kenneth Waltz, Morganthau and Meirsheimer.

It led to creation of a new approach to study political science ke "empirical approach" Even, the "theory of aggrandizement" was initiated by him that motivated Nietszhze.

Thus, Ebenstein calls Machiavelli is the most relived and most followed thinker. He is the child of his time (Lastt).

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1(b). Power and hegemony are two central concepts in politics, just as economy is to finance.

Both power and hegemony is a tool to govern people using different techniques. However, there are differences between two.

Firstly, Max weber defines power is the ability to force owns will upon the behaviour of others. whereas, hegemony is the consent given by people to rule.

eg: Beating someone weak by strong is power, whereas hegemony is USA's hollywood or pop music.

Secondly, power can be both coercive and non-coercive

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in nature. eg: Hard power or soft power.

Whereas, Hegemony as per Gramsci can only be based on soft power. eg: manufactured consent to rule as per Noam Chomski.

Thirdly, power is created on one time basis or on regular basis. whereas, hegemony is created on regular basis.

eg: Kejriwal's Muffler was to create a hegemony in the mind of Aam Aadmi.

Thus, power and hegemony are used by state & society to rule using Ideological state apparatus and coercive state apparatus (Althusser).

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1(c). Herbet Marcuse is the father of left who has given the concept of one-dimensional man.

In one-dimensional man, he talks about changing nature of human in a modern world. It is leading towards consumerism where humans have just become a consumer for the capitalists.

eg: Bourgeoise few years sold 'Spinner' on large scale, which had no sense. It was just by creating a consumerist culture.

Further, man is not thinking about other benefits to their health and society. It has

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diverted from 2D or 3D view. They have become atmostic in nature. eg: neo-liberalism promoted humans as just cog in the wheel

However, such consumering culture is also leading towards economic benefits such as increasing employment to youth, increasing GDP rate and increasing overall societal standards.

eg: Spinners or neo fashion trends creating job opportunities.

Thus, one-dimensional man concept was neo-marxists notion to understand the nature of man.

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1(d). John Rawls in his "theory of justice", argues justice as the first virtue of the social institution.

He has given a social contract under veil of ignorance and original position. In this, he gave a maximin principle and lexical order. In this lexical order, third order was difference principle.

Rawls justified that there will be equal liberty and equality of opportunity at first two place. But difference principle will provide the "affirmative action" based on historical injustice to all who are still worst off.

eg: reservation to SC, ST, OBCs

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in India (Article 330, 332) to provide social justice to vulnerables.

For this, Rawls justifies discrimination and divergence from equality to help those who are in worst off situation. This can be tackled through welfare state and progressive taxation.

eg: schemes like PM Awas Yojana for poors by taxing rich.

However, Robert Nozick in his "theory of entitlement of justice" criticised progressive taxation as bonded labour.

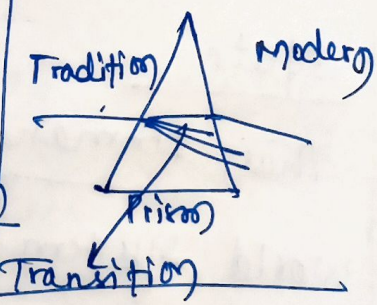
Thus, John Rawls difference principle is a tool for poor to climb the social ladder.

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1(e). Post-Colonial state are those which have got independence from the colonial power. They are termed as 3rd world nation such as Indonesia, India etc

Theory of post-colonial state is explained by Neo-marxists and marxists, liberals. Fro Riggs calls these states as "prismatic societies" as they are still in transition.



So, they represent heterogenity, Bazaar canteen model and saddle model, over-normatism, poly-communalism etc

Gunnar Myrdal

In his "Asian Drama" calls these states as soft state (India) due

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to un-implementation of laws like land reforms.

Neo-marxists like Hamza Alvi called these states as over-developed state because they are completely autonomous. As base is still traditional but superstructure has been modernised. So, there is a mismatch. eg: Pakistan's deep state.

Thus, Immanuel Wallerstein in his world system theory referred these states as semi-periphery (India) or periphery in nature eg: Africa, Pakistan, Bangladesh..

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2(a). Plato is the father of political philosophy and written his classic book "Republic : concerning justice".

Plato was a disciple of socrates and wanted to establish an ideal state by changing the corrupt regime in Athens. For this he gave a "theory of justice" in which "communism" was the safeguard tool.

Plato gave 2 forms of communism ie communism of family where no family was allowed for upper 2 classes, and communism of property where no property was allowed for upper 2 classes except producer class.

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This has been provided to prevent concentration of wealth and reduce the corruption among citizens.

However, Plato's communism was criticised by his own disciple- Aristotle. He criticised this by terming remedies are worse than the diseases itself. Aristotle considered family as the source of emotional support.

eg: It can support during mental health issues. It can even support during physical needs like intimacy or economic supports such as house, money.

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Aristotle even criticised property's communism because it can also be the source of motivation to work. for example - a citizen's own land will inspire him to grow more food crops or work more to earn more property.

Even Isaih Berlin criticised him for his theoris citing him as first fascist. Karl popper in his book "Enemy of open society" called him historicist and reductionist.

Yet, Whitehead calls entire western political thought is based on footnotes of Plato. It defines his greatness.

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2(b). Positive liberty and negative liberty both are two faces of same coin ie liberalism. Both promotes freedom of individual and rationality of human beings.

However, there are several differences between both such as:- Firstly, Negative liberty is the notion of classical liberalism who promoted laissez faire (Adam Smith) ie state should not interfere into the markets.

eg: Minimal state ie policeman or watchman state. (Robert Nozick)

Whereas, positive liberty is the notion modern liberalism who promotes the

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state's intervention to ensure social welfare of the society

eg: social schemes like PM KISAN or PM POSHAN 2.0.

Secondly, Negative liberty supports aggregate view of society where it is made of sum of all individuals. eg: people makes state (west).

whereas, positive liberty supports organic view of the state where state is natural and it promotes social justice.

Thirdly, Negative liberty refers to just absence of restrictions. It leads to removal of hurdles. whereas, positive liberty promotes promotion of freedom. TH Green argued that "state hinders the hinderances that come

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in the path of liberty".

Fourthly, negative liberty considers "state as a necessary evil". As Thomas Jefferson calls those state is best who governs the least" whereas, positive liberty inspires from Kant's categorical imperative and calls that "state is the source of virtue". It can ensures the human dignity.

Thus, despite differences both liberty have ensured that freedom, equality and fraternity remains the core discourses of Liberalism.

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2(c). Ancient Indian political thoughts are the traditions of Indian strategic culture dating from Buddha to Kautilya and Manu. It is rooted in the mythology and ancient scholars' discourses. So, there are many fold features:-

Firstly, state was the creation of god and king is the trustee to ensure welfare of the citizens. As Kautilya in his "Arthasastra" says yogakshem is the duty of the king to fulfil the material wellbeing of its Praja.

Secondly, it is rooted in "divine nature" of kingdom where

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Manu in "Manusmriti" talks about "Prithvi Dharamam Dhritam" ie those who protect the righteousness, earth will protect them.

Thirdly, society is based on different "varnas" such as Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Shudras, Vaishyas. They all follow 16 Samskaras and 4 purusharathas such as Kama, Dharam, moksha, etc

Fourthly, state and society were used interchangely in Ancient India because State was considered as the outcome of society. It resembles the Communitarian views (Michael Sandel)

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that we live in a society and not as a atmostic man.

Fifthly, Buddha in his philosophy talked about "Republicanism" that resembles the social contract where "kings" will be chosen by the people. (called as Mahasammat).

Kautilya also referred this in 'Arthashastra' as dvi-raja (2 kings) or no king system. He even prefers king to be smart enough to handle the extreme situations.

Sixthly, There were also systems of Mandal Siddhant and Saptang theory where Kautilya talked about foe and friends.

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There are 12 kinds of kings that present in the concentric circles. whereas in saptang theory there are 7 elements that are important before going into war.

seventhly, Buddhism promoted the virtues of liberty, equality, fraternity, dhammaghose over berighose, karuna, bhavna, mindfulness and so on.

But, this has been criticised by George Tanham because it focused more on spiritualism and sovereignty.

Thus, Ancient IPT provided the realist and idealist interpretations of Indian values.

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3(a). Political science is the study of political thoughts, behaviours, systems. It has various approaches to study it including traditional and modern.

In traditional approach, there is empirical and normative. Although both belongs to traditional methods but due to time and space, there are a lot of differences such as:

Firstly, Normative approach is given by Plato and socrates who were idealist. They have provided a philosophical notion of study of political science.

whereas, empirical approach is given by Machiavelli

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who created this approach using Observational methods.

Secondly, normative approach focus on "what ought to be". As Socrates argued it is not important to have life, but to create a good life.

whereas, Empirical approach focus on "what is" ie this worldly and being realist in nature

Thirdly, normative study the "values" to create a ideal state and justice. It is supported by Leo Strauss, Berlin, Rawls.

Whereas, Empirical, being pragmatic like Aristotle, focus on "facts".

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As Lord Bryce called "we need, facts, facts, and on facts".

Fourthly, normative focus on "dialectics" of socrates to create synthesis by using thesis and anti-thesis whereas, John locke called mind learns by observation as it is "Tabula rasa" ie clean slate.

Fifthly, Normative focus on "right or wrong". whereas empirical focus on "true or false".

Thus, both the approach are necessary to study the political science. As Oakeshott argued we go in bottomless and bordless sea in the political science.

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3(b). Virginia Woolf argued that feminism is a philosophy aiming to get the same rights and opportunities as men.

There are various waves of feminist theories ranging from political wave, radical wave to new third waves. In these notions, theories are divided on the role of state.

Initially, Mary wollstonecraft during french revolution charted a "charter of women" instead of women. She wanted to get the political and civil rights.

Further, Socio-economic

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rights were demaned by Engels and other marxists.

eg: Lenin added "Alexandara Kollontai" in his cabinet (world's first).

So, in this phase, they promoted **role of state** to provide civil & political rights. eg: New zealand in 1893 provided the voting rights in public sphere.

However, Radical feminists have different notion about state.

Kate Millet in her "sexual politics", writes that there is no social contract by the state, but it is sexual contract.

Even Katherine Mackinon called State is patriachal in nature where women is subordinated sexually

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under men. Even laws made by state are not enough.

eg: loopholes in Rape laws that is evident during recent Rh Medical rape case.

That's why carole Hanisch called for "Personal is Political"

She wanted state to intervene in the private sphere to improve the situation of men. It's irony that they considers state as patriarchal but still wants help.

eg: Domestic violence Act - made by state to provide private safety

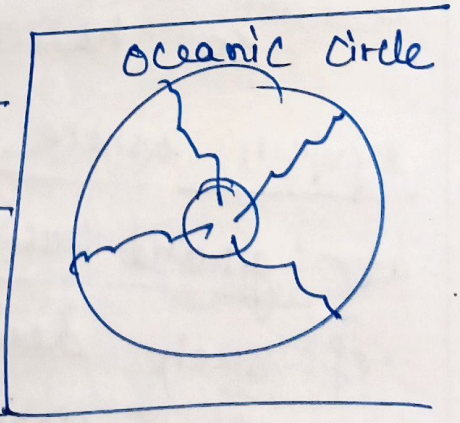
Thus, feminist theories have differently interpreted role of state. IM Young wanted "differentiated citizenship" as "sex is the basis structure (ss Firestone).

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3(c). Times Magazine mentioned Gandhi as the 2nd most loved on the earth after Jesus.

Gandhi in his "Hind Swaraj" talked about different notion of Swaraj, & one of them was political swaraj. In which, he talked about his concept of "village republic" as a tool of self-governance.

He gave a theory of "ocean circle" where individuals will create a ripples like waves. It will include "gram swaraj" where many village Sabhas will be created. It will ensure the proper functioning of village



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republics with the help of local representatives.

Each village will be self sufficient and governed by themselves without having an external authority to impose any rules.

This notion came to ensure non-violent regime at grassroot level. As Gandhiji considered state as an instrument of coercion because even minimal state uses force.

So, he wanted to create such system where decisions are made at ground level and swift implementation of such decisions.

eg: Cottage industry creation or road creation by Sarpanchs"

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This idea of [self-governance] shaped his approach to decentralization. As 'gram-swaraj" was a tool to create a larger virtuous state called as "Ram-rajya". It will be a "stateless" society.

It will ensure proper devolution of power in terms of funds, functionaries to take developmental decisions. It resembles with the "2nd ARC's" principle of subsidiarity which says those tasks which can be done at the lower level should not be done at the higher level.

In contemporary time, Gandhian decentralization is seen in Article -40 (DPSPs) to create

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Panchayats and Article 243A through 73rd & 74th amendments.

However, Gandhian "gram swaraj" was criticised by BR Ambedkar as he considers village as the "den of ignorants". Recent Manishankar Iyer committee noted the nexus of sarpanchs and officials that lead to grass without roots. eg: evils like honour killings are done by villages with the consent of Khap Panchayats. It denotes its limitations.

Thus, Gandhian self-governance was a tool to ensure proper governing power ensuring participative and deliberative democracy (Hannah Arendt).

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Section- B

5(a). Bipin Chandra calls Indian national movement as the most inclusive movements in the world.

Features of INM are many folds such as :- firstly, focus on Swadeshi and boycott of foreign clothes. eg:- In 1905, Bengal witnessed promotion of indigenous industries.

secondly, use of methods like RPM (Review, petition and meetings) by the moderates to demand the swaraj (dominion status).

Thirdly, participation of all citizens-class during Gandhian movements such as women, peasants, muslims, middle-class, business class,

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students. eg: Non-cooperation movement witnessed Hindu-Muslim unity over Khilafat issue.

Fourthly, use of Gandhian techniques for the first time like Satyagraha, non-violence and constructive works during passive phases.

Fifthly, promotion of Indian education system like Kashi-Vidyapeeth to study Indian subjects.

However, MN Roy called these movements as tool to end British rule and establish Congress rule.

Thus, it was a mosaic of movements.

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5(b). Article 32 is one of the fundamental rights. It has been called as most important article by BR Ambedkar.

It provides the basis for implementation of all other fundamental rights. If this Article-32 is deleted, then all articles (12-35) has no relevance. As, it provides the opportunity for the citizens to approach Supreme Court when their rights are violated.

eg: If someone practice untouchability then under Article-17, s/he can approach directly to Supreme Court.

Further, Article-32 provides the writ provisions. It

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includes 5 writes such as Habeas corpus which prevent the illegal detention of any citizen, even by private individuals.

Mandamus is the order by the court to the officials to perform their duties. Prohibition is to stop lower courts in doing justice on certain cases. whereas, certiorari to stop or bring the cases to itself. lastly, Quo Warranto to check the warrants.

Thus, Article 32 provides the soul of fundamental rights. It is the basic structure it can't be deleted.

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5(c). Niti Aayog was established by an executive order in 2014 that come into force on 1st January, 2015.

It is neither a statutory body nor constitutional body like its precedessor - Planning Commission. It is the principle body for planning.

Niti Aayog as the "apex body" provides the guidelines to create long term vision to the government; eg: Niti Aayog plans for the "Amrit kaal" to ensure a "Utshit Bharat" by 2047.

Moreover, it creates several schemes to ensure planning in other sectors like education, technology eg: Atal Innovation

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for the children by providing Atal tinkering labs (3D-printers).

Further, Niti Aayog helps state to take planning decisions through several reports. eg: Multi-dimensional property index by it ensures proper reduction in poverty over time.

However, it has been criticised due to non-constitutional status, so it is termed as agency of central government for patronage

Yet, Niti Aayog is a body to ensure cooperative federalism with "team India wing" like a funnel system.

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5(d). PB Mehta calls Indian constitution as a consensus, revolutionary and cosmopolitan document.

It has been a fertile ground that makes it eligible for legal interpretation by our judiciary. Since its inception, constitution has been called as "lawyers paradise" by Ivor Jennings due to its tough legal vocabulory.

so, it requires judges to interpret such legal languages.

In 1967, Golaknath case upheld no power to amend fundamental Rights. But in 1973, Keshavnanda Bharati case, it upheld that it can amend unless its basic structure.

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Therefore, it has been under continous interpretation by our judiciary. It also comes under Judicial Activism and judicial review. As Article 13 provides the power to review legislative action and declare null & void.

Eg: Fourth Judges cases declared 99th CAA (NJAC) as null & void.

This led to criticism as PB Mehta called this as judicial paradoxicalism, barbarism and act of political balancing.

Yet, Judicial review provides a safety net to Indian democracy that prevents authoritarianism as per "Zia Modi".

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5(e). National commission for Scheduled caste was created through 65th Constitutional amendment act, under Article 338.

It is a Constitutional body. Its' [role] is to protect the right of SCs community from any discrimination like untouchability. (Article 17).

It also conducts inquiry into the complaints by the individuals to safeguard their customs and traditions.

NCSC prepare a plan and monitor- evaluate it on regular basis for its implementation.

Even they submit a report to

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the president for its overall functionally

Additionally, they protect the economic rights, educational rights (reservation), social rights such as health opportunity to the Scheduled castes.

However, there power is limited due to non-binding reports, patronage of central governments lack of staffs and technology. It is not able to control atrocities against SCs. eg: 89% Increase in SC-cases

Thus, NCSC should be given adequate tooth to ensure safety of scheduled caste.

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7(a). Article 153 provides the office of governor. He/she is the agent of the centre and head of the state de-jure.

As our constitution was made in the environment of fear as per Paul Brass. So, governor was provided some discretionary power to control secessionist trends.

Under Article 163, governor has constitutional discretionary power unlike president. Governor can use such powers for imposing president rule (Article 356) through president. eg: KR Narayanan (1997) - Bihar.

Even, reserve the bills under Article 200 for the presidents.

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eg: recently Tamil Nadu reserved several bills for president.

Governor can act on his discretion when he has been given additional duties of another state.

eg: Governor is given charge as Lt of Dadar and Nagar Haveli.

However, there are "situational discretions" too which are used based on several circumstances.

One situation is, when there is a hung assembly and no one party has full majority. Then, he can appoint a CM based on single largest party.

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Another situation, where states donot comply with the directions given by centre. Then, he can recommend the president rule using Article 365.

Eg: recent claims of using such scenario in West Bengal.

However, Rebam Nabia case upheld that discretionary power is not in isolation such as summoning of houses. It must be based on advice of council of ministers under Article 163.

Soli Sorabjee noted the misuse of this in "Sage or Saboteour". He called it led to conversion of co-operative federalism into bargaining federalism.

Thus, Ram Nath Kovind suggests governors to be friend, philospher & guide.

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7(b). Edmund Burke calls parliament as the free representative of the society, having general will (Rousseau).

It has been the temple of democracy under Article 79. It includes lok sabha, Rajya sabha and President. However, in the recent decades it has been under decline.

There are several factors for its decline in the productivity such as :- Firstly, rising criminalization of politics in the parliament. Recent 18th lok sabha have 46% criminals decedant MPs. (ADR).

Secondly, decline

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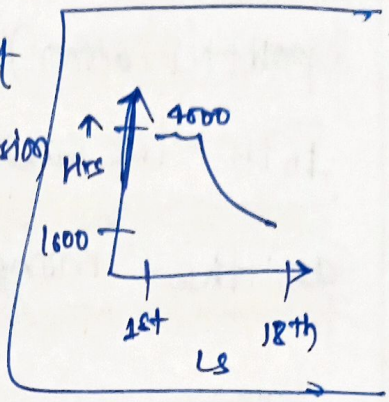
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in working hours in last few year due to dispersion and walk-out culture.



Thirdly, suspension of members due to obstructionist behaviours in the house. eg: 17th lok sabha saw suspension of even LOP - Rajan chaudhary.

Fourthly, decline in the referral of bills due single majority party in lok sabha. eg: there was 71% referrals of bills to DRSCs in 15th lokSabha, and it reduced to just 44% in 17th lokSabha.

Fifthly, misuse of powers by speakers (due to

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politicization). As speakers in 16th loksabha termed Aadharbill as the money bill.

Even the debates are not being conducted throughly and hastly passing the bills. Eg:- abrogation of Article 370 was done in just 1-2 days.

Therefore, NERWE recommends public scrutiny of bills and MPs. It suggests minimum working days of 100 days in Rajyasabha and 120 days in Loksabha.

Thus, PB Mehta and Dinesh Kapoor calls Parliament has become just a notice board.

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7(c). RC Guha in his "Unquiet woods" traced the rise of environmental movements in Chipko Aandolan. It is the collective efforts by people to save environment.

In India, it started in 1970s when environmental degradation increased due to industralization in the Himalayas. Gaura Devi and SL Bahuguna used non-violence strategy with huge women participation to prevent environmental damages.

During this time, there was also creation of national parks and wildlife sanctuaries under wildlife protection Act-1972. But due to such movements, these protestors were called as CIA agents who

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are preventing the growth of India.

other strategy evolved during 1980s when environmentalists started organised efforts by writing magazines and giving scientific basis.

Eg: Medha Bisht led the Narmada Bachao Aandolan to stop the displacement of tribals from the creation of Sardar sarovar Dam.

During 1990s, when liberalization was adopted, they started a new approach of new social movements by using art, literatures, theatres to promote

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environmental degradation.

However, there were termed as old socialist guys who were trying to play old games to stop development.

In the recent times, there have been several environmental movements such as Save Aarey in Mumbai. It was protest the Aarey Forest from being cut for the Aqua line of Mumbai metro.

Another movement was "Save Dehing Patkai" that also used strategy of new social movements. It aimed to protect the wildlife sanctury in Arunachal Pradesh.

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Recently, with the advent of technology and social media. Environmentalists are raising their voices on twitter (now X), facebook and instagram.

eg: recent trees cut in Delhi-Ridge areas led to several hashtags.

However, Indian movements have been called by "empty stomach" vis-a-vis "full stomach" (USA west) due to its focus on livelihood issues as core concerns.

Thus, Sunita Narain called "new environmentalism" in India is the key strategy.

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