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PSIR Test -09 Paper- I

Name- SANJEEV KUMAR

Roll No- OAC 24 PIT N030

Mobile No-

Date - 31-08-024

Feedback -

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अभ्यर्थियों को इस हाशिए में नहीं लिखना चाहिए Candidates must not write on this margin

Section-A

1(a). Karl Marx is not just a philosopher but a revolutionary whose ideology inspired many revolutions such as China, Russia.

Marx has quoted this to inspire the proletariat that revolution is the indispensable mid-wife of social change. In his "historical materialism", he provided the violent revolution as a method to transition from capitalism to socialism.

As without violent revolution, the change would not happen. As it is required to change the basic structure of the society. Therefore, he preferred a violent revolution to overthrow

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bourgeois and establish the dictatorship of proletariat.

Although it is a short term, but violence is necessary to control over the means of production. Then, there will be another revolution to transition from socialism to communism. But it will be peaceful revolution. In this stage, the state will wither away.

But Gramsci called Marx understimated the superstructure. So, there is need of two revolutions- war of position and war of manouvre

Thus, for Marxists revolution is a tool for social change in the society.

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1(b). Pluralist theory of state is one of the 2 theory of sovereignty. Initial one was monistic theory of state.

In pluralist theory of state, there are multiple associations to frame laws unlike monistic theory so, it emerged after the failure of absolute state because it led to wars. eg: world-war II due to Hitler's absolute state.

Therefore, Pluralist theory initially given by Harold Laski who propounded that where society is federal, state must be federal. As there are multiple institutions, state can't make only laws. Others associations also indulge in making laws.

eg: Khaap Panchayats in India.

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Although Laski was a moderate pluralist, as he put state as supreme body over other body. while Maciver is a extremist pluralist. He provided that state is under the law (children of law) to maintain law and order, and also guardian of law.

He preferred the limited state and service state where powers are only delegated. It has no original power.

Although, pluralist state is under threat due to rise of protectionist policies and COVID-19 regimes. Happyjacob called state is the last refugee in the time of crisis.

Yet, Robinson called a "strapped leviathan".

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1(c). Garner calls political science's study starts and end with state. It is the basic unit to frame laws.

State is the expression of man's political behaviour. As formation of state depends on the state of nature and the human behaviour in the state of anarchy.

Thomas Hobbes in his "Leviathan" gave a absolute state through a social contract because the human behaviour was violent. There was no protection of life because it was "war of all against all". So, he created a state to protect the lives of humans.

On the contrary,

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John locke in his "second treatise on civil government" provided a delegated state where just legislature, judiciary and executive powers are given to state. He provided such state because human behaviour was good and formed by reason over passion.

Similarly, Rousseau's human behaviour was good in state of nature so, he created a popular sovereignty based on general will which is always right.

Thus, human nature has shaped the formation of state. It provides the expression through this.

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1(d). Affirmative action refers to positive discrimination based on historical injustice. It is provided via reservation policies to the vulnerables.

eg: recent 106th CAA to provide reservation to women in the lokasabha.

John Rawls in this "theory of justice" writes that discrimination and welfare policies should be provided to the last off to climb the social ladder. He in his lexical order gave 'difference principle' that identified the vulnerables to provide reservation.

Equality, on the other hand, provided by many scholars that focus on "absence of privileges". Rawls provides "equality of opportunity"

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that provides equal opportunity to all at the initial position.

Whereas Ronald Dworkin in his "Sovereign Virtue" gave equality of resources that ensured just "initial distribution of resources".

However, marxists claims to have equality of outcome where everyone will be equal.

However, Robert Nozick in his "entitlement theory of justice" denies both and argues that progressive taxation is a bonded labour that is being taken for affirmative action.

Thus, both values enriches the discourses of Political science.

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1(e). Asian value debates started as an opposition to western values that tried to impose the human rights and individualistic values.

Mahathir Mohammad and Lee Kuan Yew claimed that Asia is different from west. It focuses on the collective values rather than individual values.

As Communitarians called humans live in a society and not alone. So, we look at the community through a lens of a society and not through naked eye cultural relativists like Franz Boas called every culture is supreme and no one is inferior or superior.

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eg: Asian values to respect the family is supreme, whereas western values to live alone is also supreme.

However, Amartya Sen in his "argumentative Indians" argued that Asian values are not one, as they are also diverse such a china, South east asia, India etc

Lee Teng Hui called Asian values are a mask to hide their totalitarian nature of state.

Thus, both Asian values and western values are supreme in their own way.

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2. (a). Kautilya is the father of statecraft in India. He has written the classic "Arthashashtra" which discuss the microsom of states.

He wanted to end the corrupt state of Nanda Dynasty and to establish a new ideal state. In this context, he advised the king the "theory of statecraft" which is famously known as "Mandal siddhant".

Kautilya has divided the states into 2 parts - one is enemy states and other is friendly states. Although he believes in the maxim that in IR, there is no foe and friends. He gave 12 elements of states based on their geographic location.

Firstly, in the near circle there are foe (Ari)

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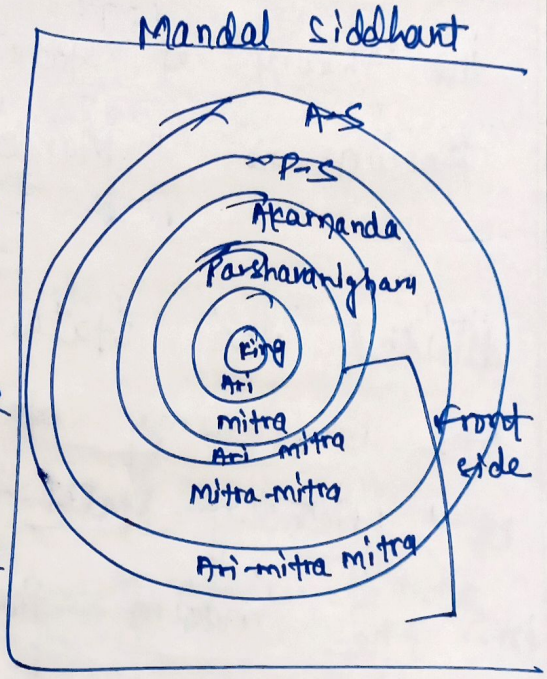
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and mitra (friend). similarly, there are Ari-mitra, mitra-mitra and Ari-mitra mitra. It is on the front side of the state. King must be aware about this situation when he goes into the war.

eg: Ari - Pakistan
Ari-mitra - China
mitra - Afghanistan




whereas, king should also take care of back side of the territory. As there can also be enemy and friends. There are parshvanigra, Akaranandа, Parshanigra-sara and Akaranandа Sara.

eg: Akaranandа - Bangladesh
Parshava-nigra - Nepal

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Therefore, Kautilya warned the king to be prepared. He also provided 2 more kind of states such as Neutral state (Bhutan) and Buffer state (Nepal) which reduces the chance of conflict.

Not only this, he gave "saptang theory" too as a extension of statecraft theory where he gave 7 more elements like Bale, Kosh, Janpad, Durg etc.

However, Kautilya has been criticised for ignoring the means for achieving the end. Max weber calls Kautilya is more dangerous than Machiavelli

Thus, Medha Bisht in his book "Kautilya's Arthashtra" writes that he filled the void of Indian thinking.

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2(b). Legitimacy refers to the consent of the people to rule given to authority (Jean Blondel).

**Power + Legitimacy = Authority**

Legitimacy ensures that power is being exercised on the people in any non-coercive way. so that, it means as a common sense

eg: hegemony of USA (Robert Cox).

However, legitimacy of states are facing several contemporary challenges. Firstly, they are facing issue of governability crisis due to use of force

eg: Atul Kohli mentioned such crisis in Jammu-Kashmir due to AFSPA misuses.

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Secondly, Habermas in his work "legitimation crisis" mentioned another challenge when the age of welfare state will be over. As it is based on two contradictory principle of socialism and capitalism. It is bound to collapse one-day.

eg: Venezuela and Greece, and more recently Argentina faced protests by citizens over crisis of government.

Thirdly, Anthony Giddens talks about 'government overload' where government could not fulfil their said promises led to revolts.

eg: recent protests by doctors in failure of protection of RG Medical

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college rape and murder case.

But, there are tools to ensure the legitimacy. Ruchir sharma discussed the way of "feedback loop" to keep the citizens connect with the government.

Eg: mygov.in to provide suggestions over government working method.

Further, it can ensured with providing democratic system, party system and social-welfare policies as per Habermas. It also requires rule of law, independence of judiciary freedom of speech and expression.

Thus, legitimacy is based on consent created by organic intellectuals. (Noam Chomsky).

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Q.(c). Times magazine mentionedd that MK Gandhi is the 2nd most loved person on this earth just after Jesus.

Gandhi has analysed various daylife issues and gave practical solution after getting inspired by John Ruskin, Leo Tostoy, Gokhale, Rousseau and others. His one of the concept is Swaraj.

Gandhiji did not simply mean political independence in his swaraj concept. He wrote his theory in his "Hind swaraj", where he discussed 4 parameters. Political swaraj was just one of them, it meant Oceanic circle and democratic decentralization where people will rule themselves using Gram Swaraj (sabha).

It was not just freedom from Britishers but also

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freedom from within.

eg: freedom from social evils and rituals.

Further, he propounded a cultural and moral independence as his swaraj. In this, he focused on value of toleration and Dradira-narayan. As Usha Thakkar mentioned that his swaraj was combination of both sarvodaya and Antodaya.

eg: lifting the last man.

He even goes beyond this 2 parameter. 3rd is "economic swaraj" where there will be self-sufficient villages that will be created through 3 pillars. First is animal husbandry to



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increase the income. Second is Land Reforms for the equitable distribution of land. Third is cottage industry that is based on charkha.

last parameter of Swaraj was "Social swaraj" which aimed at performing the constructive works to emancipate the masses. The volunteers and satyagrahis needed to start national schools for the indigenous education.

Even he promoted the end of untouchability through his social campaigns like Harijan sevak Sangh. Further, the empowerment of women through ending the Parda system.

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Hindu-muslim unity was the last pillar of constructive work that can ensure fraternity in the society.

For all this approach, Gandhiji was called as Saint by Arundhati Roy because he focused on spiritual dimensions of his concepts

eg: Swaraj has spiritual angle

Thus, Gandhiji was praised by Albert Einstein that it will be hard for the future generation to believe that such person in bone and flesh had ever lived on this earth.



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4. (a). Empirical approach is one of the 4 approaches of traditional political science. others are normative, historical and legal-institutional.

Empirical approach refers to observation based theory that focus on "what is" rather than "what should be". Machiavelli was the founder of this approach who takes cue from Aristotle's paragmatic approach.

So, the significance of empirical approach are found in analysing the "worldly nature" rather than "other idealistic nature". It generally focus on facts and figures rather than values. eg: Election voting percentage

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data rather than values of voters.

Secondly, it was basis to other approaches such as behavioural approach and comparative methods such as input-output models (David Easton).

Eg: Taking inputs in form of data.

Thirdly, it focused on the "learning through experience" rather than spiritual soul concept. John Locke criticised Socrates for soul theory that knowledge depends on real soul. Locke countered by saying that mind is a "Tabula rasa" ie open-clean slate and it is filled through experience.

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fourth significance of empirical approach is in creation of "realist theory" of IR that focus on "As it is" rather than "what ought to be". Realists like Morganthau, Kenneth Waltz and Meirsheimer created their theory based on empirical approach.

However David Easton called this traditional approach as arm chair theory because they did not focus on scientific methods that made political science irrelevant.

eg: could not explain rise of fascism.

Thus, yet Empirical approach provides a thesis that created the synthesis using dialectic in the form of fact-value dichotomy. (post-behaviouralism).

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4(b). Hannah Arendt holds the rare designation of being female scholar in a male dominated discipline. Her theory is known as phenomenology.

Hannah lived during the time of Nazi in Germany and had faced the atrocities of Hilter. It has shaped her viewpoints.

In the conceptual triad, Hannah writes in her book "on human action" that human performs 3 level of actions ranging from lowest to highest.

Firstly, labour is done by "animal laboran" that focused on just basic needs like bread and butter. They do not

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indulge in any critical thinking.

secondly, Work is the 2nd level where humans become "Homo faber" ie they do the task of socio-economic.

eg: working for environment protection.

Thirdly, Action is done by most intelligent humans. So, he called them "zoon politicon", in this people participates in the public sphere and shape the politics.

eg: deliberative democracy and participative democracy.

Further, in her action, she mentioned freedom and plurality of every individual. In Plurality,

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there are equality and diversity. As everyone is equal, so no one should force others whereas everyone is unique. so, no one can replace others.

This action creates natality in the society. However, she has been critised by marxists for not focusing on socio-economic conditions. she only focused on political sphere but not economic sphere

However, the current relevance can be seen through social movements where people come in "public sphere" to do action.

Thus, Bhikhu Parekh called Hannah as most influential scholar.

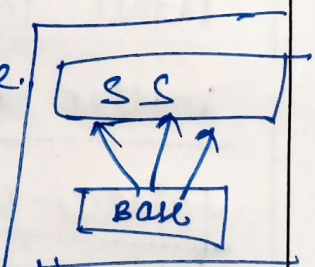
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4(c). Marxist ideology refers to the principle based on ideas of Marx. It mainly analysed the poor economic condition due to rise of capitalism.

They wants to provide an alternative to capitalism and implementation of socialism and communism where states will wither away.

In doing so, they focused on "materialism" mainly. In "Base - superstructure model" by Marx, he provided that superstructure is just the reflection of base. Whatever is the economic condition ie means of production, it will decide the state's nature




ie if capitalism is at the

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base, then Liberalism will be the nature of the state.

By doing so, Marx gave "historical materialism" and "dialectical materialism". In this, he explained the nature of states from prehistoric times till today and also predicted the future where communism will be established.

Contrary to Hegel, marx focused on materialism rather than idealism. As Marx considers matter as real and ideas are false-consciousness.

However, explaining everything on the basic of materialism has limited our understanding of

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the nature and state. Antonio Gramsci criticised Marx that he had underestimated the role of super-structure.

Gramsci in his "prison notebooks" writes that there is a historical bloc where hegemony is being created through civil society and organic-traditional intellectuals. Therefore, superstructure is not just a reflection but a base in itself.

He even explained the reason for no revolution as predicted by the Marx. His answer is also hidden in hegemony, as they are ruling based on consent.

Similarly, Althusser critised marxists and called that,

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there are multiple structures from which states are ruling. one is ideological state apparatus that creates the consent. other is coercive state apparatus which uses force when ideology fails.

eg: Obama ordended attack on protesters after lehman crisis.

Even Foucault talked about relation of power than just relation of production. As there are discourses to understand the state.

Thus, Neo-marxists fulfilled the marxists ideology by adding their concept of hegemony and culture.

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## Section - B

5(a). Indian constitution is a cosmopolitan document that aims for social change as per PB Mehta.

The structure adopted for the political institution is based on the study of 60 constitutions over a period of 2 years. Finally, it adopted the British- west minister model which is a parliamentary form of government.

The structure has mainly 3 organs such as legislature, executive and judiciary. It aimed to provide a legislative body that can make laws.

eg: lok sabha, Rajya sabha, and President.

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Similar notion is found at the state level because Indian structure is federal in nature that was inspired from canadian model.

Other features of the structure is bureaucratic control over the executive. Even they do the task of delegated legislation to make laws.

However, it has been critisised as a carbon copy of Government of India Act 1935.

BR Ambedkar defended this by saying that it is nothing bad in adapting. Thus, Alexanderowicz called Indian model as sui-generis ie unique.

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5(b). RC pradhan argues that studying Indian national movement is like 4 blind men judging the elephant.

There are various perspectives, one of them is liberal. Liberals are also known as moderates, as they supported the constitutional struggle to get independence.

Initially Surendra nath called India is not a nation, but nation in making. They considered it was britishers who provided the rule of law that shaped the nation. They formed INC in 1885 to create a platform to demand the dominion status.

Its proponents like Dadabhai Naroji,

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Badrudin Tayabji aimed at RPM methods ie review, petition and meetings.

RC Mazumdar praised them for creation of notion of India, as initially there were bengali, marathi, punjabi. It created a neo-nattionalism and swaraj notion.

Howeeever, Ranjit Guha calls their perspective as elite biography. Lala Lajpat Rai in "young India" wrote that India has been a nation for past 2000 years. It is not in making.

Thus, liberal perspective provided a base and it is a hegemonic perspective too in study of national movement.

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5(c). 73rd Amendment created the panchayati raj institutions taking its cue from Gandhian oceanic circle and Article 40.

~~It~~ role in strengthening democracy is huge. ~~As it~~ focused on devolution of powers to the lowest level ie gram sabha. It led to actualization of principle of subsidiarity.

Further, 73rd CAA led to democratic decentralization via creation of 3 levels of governments at panchayat, block and district levels. It even provided reservation of women that empowered the women.

~~eg:~~ World Bank reports suggests

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PRIs have increased the independence of women in private sphere.

Nirmala Buch praised women as they participates in meetings of gram sabha regularly. It has led to deliberative and participative democracy as propounded by Hannah Arendt. They participates in the "public sphere".

However Mani shanker Iyer committee noted it led to grass without roots democracy due to rivalry between sarpanch and officers.

Thus, NCRWC recommended to define its power constitutionally to increase its value.



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5(d). Green revolution was a capitalist method to increase the productivity of the agriculture. It was introduced after the PL 480 crisis.

1st green revolution was implemented in some pockets of Haryana, Punjab initially to boost the use of hybrid seeds. It led to increase in productivity that finally created the self-sufficiency in food security.

However, it led to several issues that's why there is need of 2nd revolution.

Recently PM Modi launched a green revolution for eastern states to focus on oilseeds and pulses that was left in 1st revolution.

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As Sunita Narain mentions that 1st revolution led to overuse of fertilizers that led to eutrophication and infertility of soils.

eg: Punjab became cancer-hub.

Vandana Shiva called it led to desertization and environmental crisis. Utsa Pao argues green revolution ends the benefit of land reforms, as smaller farmers mortages their land for HYV seeds.

Thus, Swaminathan committee focused on creating a new evergreen revolution that should be based on sustainability principle of agriculture.



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5(e). Article 368 of the Indian constitution provides the amending power by the Parliament.

It can be done through using special majority and with the help of consent of half of the states in federal cases.

So, it has immense Socio-economic impact. Firstly, it has done to change the status of agriculture

Eg: 1st CAA was done to ensure land reforms by creating the 9th schedule.

Secondly, the education sector was also changed by providing the fundamental rights.

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eg: 86th CAA changed the Article - 45 and added a new fundamental right under Article 21A.

Thirdly, the social impact such as creation of fundamental duties to ensure the respect for nation.

eg: 42nd CAA to create a new part IVA under Article 51A.

Recently, several amendments were done such as 101 (to implement GST), 102 (for NCBC), 103 (for EWS reservation) and 106 (for 33% women reservation).

Thus, Article 368 aims to make our constitution a living document. (-JL Nehru) -

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7.(a). Neera Desai defines women movement as the collective effort to ensure equality and justice as par as men.

The nature of women movement has been changing since its formation. During freedom struggle, women movements were part of socio-religious movements where leader like Karsondas Mulji focused on eradication of social evils like charan-seva. Other issues were polygamy, purdah, sati, widow remarriages etc.

Partha Chatterjee called this women movement were part of national movement.

But soon after independence, women movement took a turn as Aparna Mohanty called these years as "grey years".

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women did not ~~want~~ to question the indigenous government for any reforms.

But after 1975 when "Towards equality report" surfaced, the women movements nature changed. It highlighted the issue of gender discrimination, domestic violence and sexual exploitation.

eg: Sati in 1980s.

From 1980s to 1990s, they focused on getting issues like equality, safety. They formed various associations like "Vimochna", "SEWA" etc However, after 1990s they again take a turn in the wake of liberalisation, globalisation.

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eg: #me too movement

However, in the recent years they are facing challenges such as identity crisis due to division on the line of caste, class.

Usha Thakkar argued that what movements have got is just some bizzarre pieces of legislations. eg: Domestic violence Act, Dowry prohibition act.

Further, lack of support from male-counterparts are making their issues more vulnerables.

Thus, women movements need to focus on ground issues and should use inter-sectionality to strengthen themselves (KM crenshaw).

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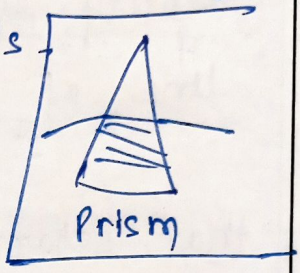
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7(b). FW Riggs calls postcolonial states as prismatic society which are in trasition from tradition to modernity. Indian states falls under this The dynamics of the "social fabric" are also determined by this "heterogenity" that shapes the nature of indian political parties.




Initially political parties were based on national movement ideologies like Muslim league and Congress But after independence, the social fabric comes into play Yogendra Yadav in his "1st democratic upsurge" mentioned the rise of OBC based

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political parties due to land reforms and green revolution. It was also affected by linguistic reorganization of states.

eg: DMK, AIDMK.

In the "2nd upsurge" the rise of dalits promoted the new political parties. It was also shaped by Mandal and Kamandal politics.

eg: BJP, BSP, TDP etc.

Therefore, the nature of political parties in India is shaped by identity factors. As India is a developing country where dynastic politics take more important place than ideology.

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However, in recent years, the formation of political parties changed. As Ashis Nandy called rise of "Aam Aadmi Party" as ~~a~~ upsurge. It was not based on any identity but development

Recently, Prashant Kishor is shaping the Bihar politics through Jan-Swaraj movement. He is going to form a political party on october 2nd. This is also not shaped by social fabric, but by development agenda.

Thus, Indian political parties are like mosaic which is based on multiple electoral behavioural factors.

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7.(c). Fundamental rights and DPSPs are two cornerstone of Indian constitution as per Granville Austin.

Fundamental rights under Part III (Article 12-35) and DPSPs (Part IV and Article 36-51) seems to be contradictory to each other.

As Fundamental rights aims to ensure political rights where DPSPs aims to ensure socio-economic rights.

eg: A-19 (Freedom of speech and expression)

A-43 (Cottage Industry)

However at large both are not contradictory, they mutually re-inforce each others.

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In Keshav-nanda Bharati case, supreme court declared that any fundamental rights can be amended to implement the DPSPs until it does not violate the basic structure

eg: upheld Article 39 (b) and (c) over Article 14 and 19.

Similarly in the Minerva Mills case, Supreme court ruled that both are two wheels of a same chariot. Both should be balanced while implementation, no one is less than others.

eg: Article 40 (Panchayatiraj) was implemented through Article 243 by 73rd and 74th CAA. Thus, reinforcing



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the DPSPs as Fundamental rights now.

Similarly, various other provisions of DPSPs have been implemented through laws to protect the rights.

eg: Wildlife protection Act-1972 aimed to protect environment is inspired by Article 48. (DPSPs).

Various economic laws like equal pay for equal work under recent "code on wages" are mentioned from Article 39.

Therefore despite differences in the core goal of the DPSPs and fundamental rights both are acting as a beacon of light for each other.

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Recent demand of implementation of Uniform civil code (A-44) is also based on same principle. It aimed to provide a common law for every religion. It ensures the gender justice and equality.

However, there are challenges in re-inforcements of DPSPs due to lack of resources by the government.

Thus, DPSPs if implemented properly can make India a true heaven on the earth as per MC Chagla.