

# **CIVIL SERVICES (MAINS)**

## **EXAMINATION 2018**

### **SOLUTIONS**

#### **Political Science**

##### **Paper 1**

By

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# POLITICAL SCIENCE AND IR - 2018

## PAPER - I

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### SECTION - A

1. Comment on the following in about 150 words each :-

1. (a) John Stuart Mills is a 'reluctant democrat'. - C.L. Wayper

**Ans.** C.L. Wayper called Mills reluctant Democrat in his celebrated work Political Thoughts (1954). He considered 18th and 19th century as the times of Revolution and Consolidation of Capitalism respectively and in the early 19th century also Democracy was developing in its early stages transiting from Monarchy and Autocracy.

And in those times Mill was a democrat but only by the standards of 19th century. James Stuart Mill in his work "Considerations on Representative Government" shows himself distrustful of democracy. He is a democrat because he believes that democracy alone gives freedom, the means to prosperity and happiness, democracy makes people better. But at the same time he is reluctant to have democracy everywhere in order to have safeguard and protect it in future. He does not want to lose the hard won democracy to "Mass Democracy". According to Mill Democracy is "Not a Gift to be Distributed Everywhere" it is not suitable for all people like in colonies of Asia, Africa. 'Benevolent Despotism' is something suggesting as the way forward for colonies in South Asia and Africa while working for East India Company.

Mill also distinguished between false and true Democracy. He called democracy of numbers i.e. best explained in current times as Majoritarianism as the degenerate form of governments. As per him, the principle of "every man to count for one and no one to count for more than one" would mean a government of least educated class and manual labours. Mill suggested caution about democracy not because he did not have faith in it but with a view to make it more effective. Sabine puts it – "Mill's fear of oppressive and intolerant public opinion was in part a realization that individualism of early liberal theory was inadequate. Although he never really quoted the Ancient Athenian system of Democracy but he regarded Rights to participate in suffrage, liberty should be conferred only to those who had the character for self control and interest in using them.

Wayper in a way judged Mills on modern standards of Democracy and therefore found many faults in his world view and hence while allowing him a seat among the earliest democrats of Modern times he called him Reluctant Democrat.

(b) Decline of Political Theory

**Ans.** After the end of second World War all the Political Scientists knew that Classical approach won't be able to predict the political scenario and hence all out efforts were made to base political theory upon the foundation of empirical research and to scrutinize political principles by data and facts. David Easton writes, "Political theory today is interested primarily in the history of ideas". This was the exact character of political theory. Also it was inextricably associated with notions of value and general principles. Easton could not accept this position of political theory. He thought that value, principles and history cannot be the sole determiners of political theory. He further elaborated

that the ever-increasing role of historicism (a belief that history is governed by inexorable laws of change and that human actions are guided by permanent ultimate purposes.) is a major cause of the decline of political theory. In his words: "Political theory has been devoted to a form of historical researches that has robbed it of its earlier, constructive role". He even went on to say that because of the excessive dependence of political theory on historical facts and data there is practically no difference between history and political science. W.A. Dunning also believed that political theory was nothing but a historical account of condition and consequences of political ideas. Traditional political, scientists generally built up the principles of political science on the basis of historical facts which they collected from past history. This approach made political theory completely dependent on history and it lost its own identity.

**Beyond this other reasons are:**

- **Hyper Factualism:** It's excessive dependence upon facts and the failure to relate facts to the theory. Easton said because of this hyper-factualism a conceptualisation of political theory has not taken place.
- **Domination of Moral Theory:** For several centuries political science in general and political theory in particular was dominated by the moral premises of Western civilisation. The exponents of these moral premises have constantly and vigorously preached that they are right and no objection or criticism can be levelled against them. This notion crippled all sorts of research work.
- **Ideological Reductionism:** Reductionism is the practice of analysing and describing a complex phenomenon in terms of its simple or fundamental constituents especially when it is said to provide a sufficient explanation. According to Dante Germino (Beyond Ideology: The Revival of Political Theory) one of the major causes of the decline of political theory is colourful emergence of ideology or ideological reductionism. He called the whole idea of Marxism to be nothing more than a Reductionist look of Historical events.
- **Absence of Man of Vision:** Current lot of Political scholars lack the vision and zeal of their predecessors. Plato, Aristotle, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Hegel, Marx comfortably traversed the outer and inner roads and lanes of political science, political theory, philosophy, and political philosophy with a clear vision in their mind and far-flung outlook. There is no one scholar currently who has done that in last century.
- **Contemporary Conditions:** Contemporary conditions of various parts of the globe have contributed to the decline of political theory. No one really have time to understand things in larger context and each and every plan is made in all nation states to win the next elections only.

**(c) Distributive Justice**

**Ans.** Distributive justice seeks to specify what is meant by a just distribution of goods among members of society. A society in which inequalities in outcome do not arise would be considered a society guided by the principles of distributive justice.

**Following are the principles of Distributive Justice:**

- **Strict Egalitarianism:** It calls for the allocation of equal material goods to all members of society. The principle is most commonly justified on the grounds that people are morally equal and that equality in material goods and services is the best way to give effect to this moral ideal. The index problem arises primarily because the goods and services to be distributed need to be measured if they are going to be distributed according to some pattern (such as equality).
- **Difference Principle:** Given by John Rawls. It permits diverging from strict equality so long as the

inequalities in question would make the least advantaged in society materially better off than they would be under strict equality. Every act of the state should be aimed towards the greatest benefit of the least advantaged members of society. Its main critics are Advocates of strict equality who argue that inequalities permitted by the Difference Principle are unacceptable even if they do benefit the absolute position of the least advantaged.

- **Equality of Opportunity and Luck Egalitarianism:** Distribution of material goods and services is not the only economic distribution which is important to people. The distribution of opportunities is also important. Equality of opportunity is often contrasted favorably with 'equality of outcome' or strict egalitarianism, by those who believe that we can show equal concern, respect, or treatment of people without them having the same material goods and services, so long as they have equal economic opportunities. The luck egalitarian ideal (also sometimes known as the 'level playing field' ideal) elevates the role of equal opportunity to the central distributive ideal, so that distributive inequalities are only just when they flow from one's choices or from factors for which one can reasonably be held responsible.
- **Welfare based Principle:** It's motivated by the idea that what is of primary moral importance is the level of welfare of people. Welfare theorists have defined Welfare both at Economic and Philosophical level. Philosophers have tended to focus on an extremely small subset of the available welfare functions. Although there are a number of advocates of alternative welfare functions (such as 'equality of well-being'), most philosophical activity has concentrated on a variant known as utilitarianism.
- **Desert based Principle:** The complaint about Welfarism is often motivated by the concern that various forms of it treat people as mere containers for well-being, rather than purposeful beings, responsible for their actions and creative in their environments. It differs primarily according to what they identify as the basis for deserving. While Aristotle proposed virtue, or moral character, to be the best desert-basis for economic distribution, contemporary desert theorists have proposed desert-bases that are more practically implemented in complex modern societies. Most contemporary desert theorists have pursued John Locke's lead in this respect. Locke argued people deserve to have those items produced by their toil and industry, the products (or the value thereof) being a fitting reward for their effort.
- **Libertarian Principle:** Advocates of libertarian distributive principles rarely see the market as a means to some desired pattern, since the principle(s) they advocate do not ostensibly propose a 'pattern' at all, but instead describe the sorts of acquisitions or exchanges which are just in their own right. The market will be just, not as a means to some pattern, but insofar as the exchanges permitted in the market satisfy the conditions of just acquisition and exchange described by the principles. For libertarians, just outcomes are those arrived at by the separate just actions of individuals; a particular distributive pattern is not required for justice. Most contemporary versions of the principles discussed so far allow some role for the market as a means of achieving the desired distributive pattern—the Difference Principle uses it as a means of helping the least advantaged; utilitarian principles commonly use it as a means of achieving the distributive pattern maximizing utility; desert-based principles rely on it to distribute goods according to desert.
- **Feminist Principle:** There is no one feminist conception of distributive justice; feminists defend positions across the political spectrum. Hence, feminists offer distinctive versions of all the theories considered so far as well as others. One way of thinking about what unifies many feminist theorists is an interest in what difference, if any, the practical experience of gender makes to the subject matter.



or study of justice; how different feminists answer this question distinguishes them from each other and from those alternative distributive principles that most inspire their thinking.

**(d) Substantive Democracy**

**Ans.** Substantive Democracy is one where Elections represent the will of the people. Its main purpose is to work for the interest of the governed. It can also be defined as the advanced version of Procedural Democracy where although the electorate cast their vote but the outcome don't always represent the will of the people. Between 1974 and 2018 the number of declared democracy has increased from 34 to 121. However, achieving substantive democracy is difficult in low-income and transitional countries where the election process may be neither free nor fair. Many transitional elections are characterized by issues such as vote rigging, irregular observance of election law, and repression or violence toward minorities and opposition parties.

**Following are certain mandatory features of Substantive Democracy:**

- Presence of Independent Electioneering Agency
- Presence of Legitimate Participants in Election
- Independent Participation of Citizens in the Election Process.
- Proper system for Transfer of Power to the winning candidate/Party.
- Support of Bureaucracy and opposition to the elected government for running the business of the state.
- Absence of Corrupt methods in the election process.

Direct Democracy can help in bringing real Substantive democracy into picture but for the while although many countries boost to be the Substantive Democracy but very few passes all the criteria.

For example Country like India which looks substantive from outside but doesn't have inner party democracy and Political process is highly corrupt so its can't be considered a perfect substantive Democracy, same is the situation of all South Asian Countries.

Among the Western World too USA has faced issues related to voter fraud and counting mistakes upto the extent of changing the whole outcome of 2000s Presidential Election similarly in 2016 election although Ms. Clinton won in absolute vote count but Mr Trump won because of the electoral college system which is criticized from last few decades.

Although some countries mostly with smaller population i.e. where the electorate is smaller like Switzerland have shown some tremendous results by the use of Direct Democracy.

**(e) "Nothing against the state, nothing over it, nothing beyond it"- Mussolini**

**Ans.** This statement of Benito Mussolini not only outlines the idea of Fascism but also explains fundamental concept of Totalitarianism. Liberal ideas like Individualism had no place in a fascist system. Fascists believe that liberal democracy is obsolete and they regard the complete mobilization of society under a totalitarian one-party state as necessary to prepare a nation for armed conflict and to respond effectively to economic difficulties. In the wake of end of First World War although Italy was listed among the winners they didn't really got benefited in any way. And out of this sense of desperation, under the leadership of Mussolini the Fascist ideas evolved which only aspired for the greater glory of the state even if it hampers the idea of Individual Liberty. In reality, over the period, Mussolini wasn't able to achieve the propagated ideas and instead started running the state with help of political elites while oppressing the Italian people. This ultra nationalistic approach pushed Italy towards Expansionist ideas which started by Invasion and recolonisation of Ethiopia in 1935-36 but ultimately ended with the worst destruction of Italian state in 1945.

## 2. (a) *Critically examine the neo-liberal theory of state.*

The fundamental concept of Neo-liberal state is its capability of resolving its issues. The neo-liberal theory goes way beyond the ideas of Classical Liberalism propagated by Adam Smith. While Smith simply demanded freedom of Market, he never negated the role of the state, he even suggested that the state has to take up those projects which Private participants are hesitant to get involved because of either slim or no profit. While the Neo-liberal theory which was although evolved during the great depression itself by F.A. Hayek who even lambasted the Keynesian theory as something which will create another bubble instead of original growth but was practiced initially by Margret Thatcher when she brought in radical reforms calling it Thatcherism followed by Reagan in the USA where they popularly called it Reaganomics. Countries like India were forced to accept its tenants by IMF and World Bank in the light of Economic Distress situation of 1991. Finally, with the formation of WTO (World Trade Organization) in 1995 it received universal acceptability.

Another reason for support of Neoliberal ideas in the Cold War era was its tenants being the exact opposite of that of the model of Soviet economics. For example, while Soviets planned everything according to Five-year approach, Hayek called Planning as a road to Serfdom.

Neo-Liberal theory believes that Trickle Down effect is capable to resolve the issue of poverty although the observed reality only contradicts this idea.

### **Although there are certain benefits of Neo-liberal theory:**

- Brings in much-needed capital for the influx in the economy through FDI, FPI and other channels.
- It provides level playing field to corporations because of its support for disinvestment of state holdings and discouragement of any involvement of government in running businesses.
- It supports the protection to the right to property. It opposes the concept of Eminent Domain.
- It further connects the world by supporting measures to reduce tariffs and other barriers to trade and hence pulls the whole world towards being a single market.
- In a way the Neo-liberal theory of state if applied with certain constraints which assure maintainability of minimum living standards by all, it can show mankind the way forward.

### **(b) *Analyse John Rawls justification of discrimination to achieve the goals of Justice.***

**Ans.** Rawls went a step beyond the concept of the Utilitarian approach of Bentham and supported the idea of Deliberative Democracy as Immanuel Kant. According to him, when people are kept behind a veil of ignorance (to maintain neutrality) the only method for them to make a decision is Rational deliberation and though this method one arrives at following principle of Justice in order of importance:

- Maximum Equal Liberty
- Equality of Opportunity
- Difference Principle (working in the interest of least advantage)

He used the difference principle to articulate his idea on the discrimination in society. Firstly, he defined that Natural distribution is neither just nor unjust. Mr A being born in a rich family is not doing injustice to Mr B who is born in a poor family unless the state institutions are discriminating between them. According to Rawls inequality is justified only on two conditions:

- It should be the outcome of fair equality of opportunity.
- If inequality can be utilised to take care of the interest of the Least advantaged section of society.

He claimed that rational people will understand and support this because the strength of the chain is

equal to the strength of its weakest link and to make a just society, the first right on justice is of the weakest member of the society.

Rawls by saying this supported the Welfare State and progressive taxation policy to help the weakest.

This concept of Justice explains the current Reservation policy in Indian Government institutions where the socially backward classes are given preferences in opportunities.

**(c) Equality means fair treatment rather than equal treatment. Comment.**

**Ans.** In his 1958 Essay "Justice as Fairness," Rawls says instead of comparing Equal treatment with fair treatment one should compare Equality with Equity. Equal treatment can be best explained as a situation where every person gets exactly the same thing whether s/he needs it or not. For example, Mr A has an inherited wealth often Crore and Mr B has no inherited wealth now if both are unemployed and Government starts to give both of them equal Unemployment Allowance, the value of this money for Mr A will be far less than for Mr B and therefore it will be unfair towards Mr B. On the other hand, Fairness i.e. Equity is a relative word which is different for different people in a different situation. It's best defined as a sense of fairness in the exchange of goods, services, time, and effort. Therefore in the current system where all state either follow or tries to follow the traits of Welfare States, Fairness is used as a benchmark for Equality. Whether it was South Africa which introduced Racial Quotas for Athletes in Games or Indian system of reservation at educational institution level or even U.S.A. reservation policy for Native Americans is based on this understanding of Fairness as the just means of understanding Equality.

**3. (a) What do you understand by three generations of Human Rights?**

**Ans.** Human rights recognize the dignity inherent in every person as a human being, regardless of his or her particular nationality, race, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexuality, class or any other group affiliation or characteristic. As a result, they assert the moral and legal primacy of the individual over other entities that have "rights," such as the family and the state. This modern conception of rights can be traced back to Enlightenment political philosophy and the movement, primarily in England, France, and the United States, to establish limited forms of representative government that would respect the freedom of individual citizens.

There are three overarching types of human rights norms: civil-political, socio-economic, and collective-developmental defined by Karel Vasak, these theories have primarily taken root in European law. The first two, which represent potential claims of individual persons against the state, are firmly accepted norms identified in international treaties and conventions. The final type, which represents potential claims of peoples and groups against the state, is the most debated and lacks both legal and political recognition.

- First Generation of Human Rights, also known as "Blue Rights" deal essentially with liberty and participation in political life. They are fundamentally civil and political in nature: They serve negatively to protect the individual from excesses of the state. It include: Right to life, Equality before law, Freedom of Speech, Freedom to practice religion to ones choice, electoral rights etc. Its fundamental idea can be traced back to Magnacarta (1215) and further brought into present form through American Bill of Rights (1787) and French concept of Declaration of Rights of Man and citizens (1789).
- Second Generation of Human Rights, developed after the end of Second World War, it's mostly based upon concept of Equality. Economic, Social and Cultural equality. The ideas like Social Security provided by State to the citizens were part of this type of Human Rights. Although developed countries provided these to its citizens most of the Developing countries are still in the process of catering its citizens with welfare schemes.

- Third Generation of Human Rights, also known as Green rights, the fundamental tenants of these kind of rights are still debatable but its foundational idea goes back to the Stockholm Declaration (1972) and the Rio Declaration (1992). The environmental rights, communitarian rights come under this stage and because it require participation of whole world as one to provide these rights to all, it's debated.

UNSDG2030 (UN Sustainable Development Goals) covers many of the nominal steps needed to be taken to provide this form of Human Rights.

Finally it time is perfect for the world community to define the fourth generation of Human Rights based upon the recent development in the field of artificial intelligence, which is more aptly defined in form of fourth Industrial revolution, with the basic goal of providing every Human being reach to latest technical instrument to assure his/her growth in most sustainable way.

**(b) Critically examine Macpherson's view on Democracy.**

**Ans.** C. B. Macpherson was a Canadian Political Scientist who was a very influential during the Cold War. He wanted to understand liberal democracy with a historical view, so he linked it back in time and argued that our attitude could be traced back to Thomas Hobbes and John Locke. He gave the theory of "possessive individualism", in which an individual is conceived as the sole proprietor of his or her skills and owes nothing to society for them. These skills (and those of others) are a commodity to be bought and sold on the open market, and in such a society is demonstrated a selfish and unending thirst for consumption which is considered the crucial core of human nature. Much of his writings are concerned about how we can rescue liberal democracy from the distortion by possessive individualism.

He believed that our liberal democracy was built upon market assumptions of individuals as possessive orientated creatures always seeking to maximize satisfaction. True Democracy should try "to provide the conditions for the full and free development of the essential human capacities of all the members of the society". Instead liberal democracy had taken the attributes of possessive individualism; it was defined so it could fit into capitalist market, which produced a culture where even human capacities were treated as commodities. He said "It was the liberal state that was democratized, and in the process, democracy was liberalized". This new system had more freedom and opportunities, and "so the new freedom was held to be a net gain". It came to be a justification of the liberal democracy simply because it was seemed to be an improvement. But in fact the only form of power, or decision, liberal democracy seemed to give to the people was the "choosing and authorizing [of] governments". Wood said It is clear that Macpherson put great emphasis on these matters, maybe too much, maybe he had "fallen under the spell of liberalism".

Macpherson used the power-transfer argument, again, for socialism while explaining Welfare State. He argued that "it is now possible, as it was not possible in the heyday of capitalism, to conceive a system in which high productivity does not require the transfer of powers from non-owners. He further emphasised the uncertainty, for "we do not know and cannot demonstrate whether or not a socialist society necessarily contains some other diminution of each man's power".

The main problem with him was always that he had no real theory of improving neither Welfare state based on Socialist ideas nor the Western Democratic system, he only stated what should be changed, and briefly explored the issue about human capacities.

**(c) Explain the relationship between Power, Authority and Legitimacy.**

**Ans.** Power is the ability of a person to face or influence others to do what they would otherwise not have done. It is usually accompanied by the threat of sanctions. Power in any political system is in the



hands of few people who use it either to reward or punish the people as they deem fit. Generally, in politics and social science, power is the ability to influence the behaviour of people.

When it comes to authority, Herbert A. Simon defines authority as being in power i.e. The role of Power becomes most effective when Power does not remain a source of coercion. In-fact after getting legitimized it becomes Authority, it then can be attributed to either a person, institution or even the state through Government.

If legitimacy is interpreted descriptively, it refers to people's beliefs about political authority and, sometimes, political obligations. Max Weber put forward a very influential account of legitimacy that excludes any recourse to normative criteria. According to Weber, a political regime is legitimate means if its participants have certain beliefs or faith ("Legitimitätsglaube") in regard to "the basis of every system of authority, and correspondingly of every kind of willingness to obey, is a belief, a belief by virtue of which persons exercising authority are lent prestige"

In contrast to Weber's descriptive concept, the normative concept of political legitimacy refers to some benchmark of acceptability or justification of political power or authority and possibly obligation. On the broadest view, legitimacy both explains why the use of political power by a particular body a state, a government, or a democratic collective, for example is permissible and why there is a pro tanto moral duty to obey its commands.

There is no question, that without Power it will be very difficult to implement the official decision as well as rules, but only by the fear of punishment or by the coercion authority may not prove successful as far as long term benefits are concerned. In fact such a step becomes tyranny and works as a catalyst for the rebellion.

Certain example to further give perspective about the idea of relationship between Power, Authority and Legitimacy: The United Progressive Alliance (UPA) between 2004-2014, the then Prime Minister Manmohan Singh had Legitimacy but didn't had power and as a result never commanded authority whereas in case of Non-democratic Military rulers of Pakistan whether it was Ayub Khan, Zia Ul Haq or Pervez Musharraf although they never had legitimacy but through power they commanded authority and ultimately they lost the power in dampening manner.

Therefore, the able use of Power always gets support from legitimacy. Most of the society follows the rules on the basis of legitimacy therefore using Power does not become necessary all the time. No one will follow the rule or a regulation if the legitimacy of that rule is ruined irrespective of the Power of Authority.

#### **4. (a) John Locke is the father of Liberalism. Explain.**

**Ans.** The British philosopher (and physician) John Locke (1632-1704) was one of the progenitors of Liberalism. The belief that humans are born with certain rights, and that governments cannot interfere with these. "Liberal" is related to "liberty" or freedom; Locke was one of the main thinkers whose ideas influenced the founding of the United States. Classical Liberalism is considered as the philosophy of Bourgeoisie class liberal state i.e. constitutional state or limited state.

##### **Locke's main contribution to Liberalism is:**

- The theory of Natural Rights, which is the basis of fundamental rights which later on included in American Constitution in form of Bill of Rights.
- He came up with the concept of Separation of Power, through this he provided the very basis for present system of government in most of the countries.

- He mentioned about Democracy, Majoritarianism, Peaceful constitutional changes and Principle of Toleration.

Locke is also considered a Utilitarian, a individualist and a materialist which were later on taken into the fold of Liberal ideology. He saw the Glorious revolution of 1688 where bloodless transfer of power took place, this further supported his conviction that Man is reasonable by nature and all the issues can be resolved by debate and discussion, there is no need for brute force of state to be applied against anyone.

While talking about social contract he mentioned that People have transferred only three rights to state : to make Law, to execute law and to adjudicate law but neither they have nor they can transfer the Rights to: Life, Liberty and Property to the state. Through this idea he became the torch bearer of the Liberal school of thought.

Further by writing in support of people to act against the state if it attempts to deprive or limit their rights, he gave the ultimate right to the people in a way made them ultimate sovereign.

**(b) Discuss Ambedkar's idea on 'Annihilation of Caste'.**

**Ans.** One of the tallest leader of era of Indian Independence struggle was B.R. Ambedkar, the torch bearer of the cause of Oppressed Classes, who set an example by his own intellectual achievement that what can be achieved if one aspires to go beyond the social and cultural norms. He faced the atrocities of Brahmanicalised ideologies in his early days and when given a chance in 1936 prepared a speech talking about the steps and instruments for removing the social evil of caste system.

In his lecture (which he was not allowed to give) he out rightly blamed the Caste-Hindus (those who practice verna system) for the oppression and suggest destruction of the religion as the only way forward.

The first edition was published in 1937 and soon the idea of destruction of religion got popularised among the activists and sympathisers of Dalit cause but at the same time it was opposed vehemently by Mahatma Gandhi, who although wanted to take steps for bringing changes in life of Dalits but was totally against the idea propagated by Ambedkar which further bifurcated the Hindus into Caste Hindus and Dalits.

Congress party too opposed this because it considered Muslim league as opposing force who were already cutting into the congress membership, they didn't wanted further dispersion of its support base.

In the treatise Ambedkar mentioned few anecdotes regarding the specific instances of oppression in the Mid 1930s to bring the issue back to limelight. He also blamed leaders like Tilak and M.M. Malviya under whose leadership the Social Conference which started as sister organisation of Congress in 1883 lost its mass support. He called Congress party as bunch of Hypocrites and said "Every Congressman repeats the dogma of Mill that one country is not fit to rule another country, but find it acceptable that one class is ruling other."

Ambedkar was always in favour of bringing radical changes to uplift the oppressed classes, the mass conversion to Buddhism in 1956 led by him is just an example of it. He has seen so much pain and agony around himself that he wanted to bring change at fast pace and the steps suggested in Annihilation of Caste were also part of it.

**(c) Critically examine Machiavelli's view on Religion and politics.**

**Ans** Machiavelli, also known as father of European Secularism and Political Realism. He looked at the society as it is -corrupt and immoral and instead of trying to develop a utopia he suggested Prince ways and means through which he can resolve the problems. He advised that the Politics is not a

profession of goodness. How we live is far removed from how we ought to live. He advised that Prince should give preference to will of the people above his own beliefs because Politics is neither ethics nor religion, it's autonomous. It has its own set of morality and political actions won't be judged by normal social standards. One of his biggest observation cum suggestion to Prince which is still debated in current times is that in Politics end justifies the means.

G.A. Sabine in 'A History of Political Theory' wrote that Machiavelli is narrowly dated and narrowly located i.e. his Political observations were myopic based only upon what was going in Italy. Although most of the Machiavellian ideas are in synchrony with the the writings of Kautilya.

While talking about religion, he said that although he is not against Religion but was against the interference of Church (Roman Catholic Church) in the state's affairs.

He mentioned in his writing that he don't want the Prince to be Anti-religion or Atheist but to take a utilitarian approach towards Religion. Religion should be used by Prince as an instrument to maintain order.

## **SECTION - B**

**5. Comment on the following in about 150 words each:**

**(a) Revolt of 1857 was a 'Sepoy Mutiny' or 'First War of Independence'.**

**Ans.** V.D. Savarkar was the first one to call Revolt of 1857 as 'First War of Independence' in 1897, the idea was to provide a foundation for Indian Nationalism to grow on.

Before coming under the British Raj the region from Baluchistan to Myanmar and Kashmir to Kanyakumari was never under one empire, neither under Magadh or under Mughals, there were always some kingdoms maintaining their sovereignty, it was only under the Raj that either the states were directly under control or through regents in Princely state and for the first time the subcontinent felt similar level of oppression and hence the ground for Nationalism to grow was perfect and those who were fighting for self rule used it.

On the other hand Marxist scholars like Irfan Habib and Romila Thapar and British historian Eric Stokes has argued that the rebellion was actually a variety of movements, not one movement. They have pointed out that leave about all of subcontinent fighting against the East India Company, there were states who supported them like Punjab and the Gorkhas. The movement started from Bengal and impacted the region of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Delhi but most of the South India was not at all impacted by the revolt. There have been written proofs that the Madras port was working without any disturbance.

On the ideological level too there was no framework among the leaders-mutineers, they were fighting individual battles sometimes to win a fort or a small kingdom or even small Zamidaries.

Although there have been many other mutinies throughout the subcontinent before 1857 for example The Santhal revolt preceded the Sepoy mutiny by two years. Pazhasi Raja, a chieftain in the Malabar region of what is now Kerala, struggled against the British from 1793 till his death in 1805. Yet it is given more importance because it swayed almost entire North Indian plains and forced East India Company to transfer the power to Crown.

**(b) Indian Constitution is a Lawyer's Paradise - Ivor Jennings**

**Ans.** A criticism against the Indian Constitution because of its length and elaborate legal language is that it is "A Lawyers' Paradise".

Making a general comment on the Constitution, one member in the Constituent Assembly observed, "The draft tends to make people more litigious, more inclined to go to law courts, less truthful and less likely to follow the methods of truth and non-violence. If I may say so, the Draft is really a lawyers' paradise. It opens up vast avenues of litigation and will give our able and ingenious lawyers plenty of work to do".

Many members of the Constituent Assembly were "lawyer-politicians". And therefore it was maintained that because the Drafting Committee was consisted of mostly lawyers and as lawyer's minds are prone to verbiage, arguments, twisting and bending of words, they deliberately made the Constitution a long and complex document. They have made the constitution not only long, but also extremely complicated.

Looking into these arguments and studying Indian constitution in detail Ivor Jennings has described our constitution as a 'lawyer's paradise'. Jennings said that a constitution should be intelligible to common people, but they fail to clearly understand the Indian constitution which is very complex. Every article of this constitution can be interpreted by the higher judiciary, and lawyers, while interpreting, different articles, further complicate the constitution.

It is true that the Constitution is a long and complex document. The long size and the complexity was the result of many contributory factors like the variety of ethnicities which were present in the country in volatile times after Independence, and every one of them needed certain type of protection or guaranty. Another reason is also the number of constitutions which were studied. Sir B.N. Rao informed drafting committee that 39 different constitutions have been studied before framing Indian Constitution.

**(c) New Panchayat Raj is an effective instrument for Women Empowerment**

**Ans.** Participation of women in Panchayati Raj Institutions has been considered as the most effective instrument to remove their inequality, invisibility and powerlessness. The participation of women in the grassroots politics grew rapidly due to 73rd constitutional amendment, which has realized the reservation policy for women in the three tiers of the power structure. The Act gave more and more representation and power to the women in the field of political sphere.

In last quarter of a century it has been observed that although the elected representatives are Woman but the decisions are taken mostly by the male family members usually Husband or father but still government accepted it as a favourable change because atleast the women folks were the sitting in seat of power. Lately, the participation of women in Panchayati Raj Institution has increased with the spread of education, and lately seen level of modernisation mostly through technological advancement. Increased literacy among the women have also given them the power to question the status quo and assert their authority.

**Various changes on village level have been brought because of their involvement:**

- The condition of Primary schools at village level have improved because it is found that Women are more interested in the education of children usually.
- Their involvement has made Local PDS agents to act efficiently.
- They also care more about family hygiene and issues related to it are discussed in Gram Sabha Meetings which was earlier rarely done.

**Some measures to further improve the Women participation:**

- People in general and women in particular have to be made fully conscious of their rights and



responsibilities under the new system. Government should organize seminars, training camps to bring awareness regarding the utility of local self government so that the participation of women can be increased.

- Not only Women Literacy programs needs to be organised but Education program with special emphasis on Civic law needs to be organised for Women folks through DWACRA Training Programmes, the Mahila Samikhya Programms, CSWB Awareness Generation Camps, legal literacy camp, sponsored by Department of Women and Children, CAPART OB Programmes etc.
- Another important effort required for real empowerment of rural women is to bring an attitudinal change in both men and women. For this, the curriculum for the students at the primary, secondary and higher secondary levels should be modified to promote gender sensitivity among the students.

**(d) Implementation of GST and NEET is major challenge to Indian federalism.**

**Ans.** Giving rights to states to collect tax at their own level and conduct examinations according to their needs for various state level institutions is one of the basic feature of Indian federal structure which is considered quasi federal because of various constraints through which Union government/Parliament can over-ride the decisions of the state government/state legislature. Implementation of GST (Goods and Services tax) and NEET (National Eligibility cum Entrance test) is considered by a large portion of stakeholders as another step towards reducing the autonomous character of Indian Federalism and move towards Centralist approach on the other hand those who support these steps consider it to be necessary steps for administrative ease and to treat each and every region of country by same standards.

One can always discuss the pros and cons of Seventh Schedule of Constitution, which divides the Power between States and the Union into three List: Union List - Controlled directly by Centre, State List: Left to the State Government and the Concurrent List - States are allowed to handle it but all their laws/directions should be in conformity with Union Law or they'll be nulls and void. How the Union List is increasing every year and State list is reducing How various taxation tools are taken away from States command through GST and its long term impact is still looked into. Education which was left to the State is now through NEET is in a way taken over by Union.

**Following are the major Challenges because of GST:**

- Although Union will make-up for the monetary loss but States will lose wheeling power on its residents in long run.
- It erodes the very compartmentalization of Power which is given under Seventh Schedule
- In long run States will find themselves more and more dependent upon Union.
- Beyond these effects NEET will bring few more challenges, they are:
- The states haven't prepared their youth for Uniform testing methods.
- The states with better resources won't be able to serve its residents first.
- It will dent the plans of state to conserve the language and culture of the region upto certain extent.

**(e) Political Personalities are more significant than Political parties in India.**

**Ans.** Parliamentary democracy was developed with one main ambition to provide space for participation of all stakeholders in decision making and country wouldn't have to be run by whim of one individual, as done in Monarchies. But throughout the Modern World History there have been Leaders whose individual clout have been so large that there own party seemed smaller to them. Leaders like Indira Gandhi, Margret Thatcher, Narendra Modi, Winston Churchill are few to name.

Over the years Indian Electioneering have evolved on the lines of US Presidential elections where one leader is elected and Congress elections take place separately but in India it's not the case, even though Parliamentarians have to elect their leader, more emphasis is given on the person from the very beginning.

***Reason for Political Personalities becoming more significant are:***

- Citizens find it difficult to hold a bunch of people accountable and therefore search for one face.
- Psychologically Human beings prefer one to one interaction, and new communication tools like TV and Internet have provided that to citizens to connect with Individual leaders, doing same with a party is difficult.
- Even Political parties find it easy to place a Honest, Clean face in public while letting the others to use power for personal gains.
- But for a better viable democracy it's preferred to have a parliamentary system whose churning not only hold leaders accountable but acts as check on their whimsical endeavours.

**6. (a) *Whether Judicial Activism has undermined or strengthened Parliamentary Democracy in India? Discuss.***

**Ans.** Judicial Activism is defined as a scenario when Judiciary of a state starts actively taking decisions, passing down judgement based mostly upon the opinion of the judges instead of following Rule established by law, while doing this many times judges reinterpret and reorient old laws. For example the Article 19 related to Freedom of Expression have evolved over the period because of Judicial Activism, similar is the case of Doctrine of Basic Structure. Recently, the Supreme Court of India used the Doctrine of Essential Practices of a religion while looking into a case related to one religion and passed the other, experts and legal scholars like Fali Nariman and Soli Sorabji have stated that it active judgement of the Supreme Court can be used as a tool by future Lawyers to reinterpret cultural and religious practices.

At this very point Judicial Activism becomes Judicial Overreach and which is detrimental to the Parliamentary Democracy.

The other school of thought regarding this issue is of opinion that the Member Judges of the higher courts are capable enough to opine on specific matters and with changing times reinterpretation of Law is also needed. In present day India, where overall efficiency of Parliament is minimum citizens have no where else to look but Courts for retribution in situations where Legal system is left far back in history in comparison to present social norms, a recent example of this is removal of IPC Section 377 by Supreme Court.

Regarding the issue of undermining the strength of Parliamentary democracy, till the time Parliament can overrule the changes brought in by Judiciary, there is no case of undermining, an example of this is The Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Act,1986 brought after the Shahbano Judgement. But there have been instances where the court has declared the amendments null and void based upon the supremacy of either Fundamental Rights or Doctrine of Basic Structure, in such cases, there are legitimate concerns regarding the undermining issue, the NJAC (National Judicial Appointment Committee) Act was one such case.

Currently, there is a ongoing tussle between the Judiciary and Parliament for supremacy and whatever law of the land is framed is done only after a thorough churning process.

***(b) Do the Lieutenant Governors have more power than the Governors of the States? Explain.***

**Ans.** Currently India has three Lieutenant Governors for Union Territory of NCT, Puducherry and Andaman and Nicobar islands. Usually Chief Commissioners directly govern UTs with smaller population but situation is different for UTs of National Capital Territory (NCT) and Puducherry, both of them have elected government along with Lieutenant Governors and therefore many a times it's difficult to ascertain who is the actual authority and a tussle exist between the elected government and office of LG, and while this confusion persist, Lieutenant Governors (LGs) sway far more power than Governors of other states.

LGs control land, Local Government (Municipal corporations) and Police directly, which otherwise are under state list. This makes LG not only more powerful than normal Governor but also directly responsible to people. In a way its single office in Union of India where a selected and not elected person is responsible to people, although he fetches power from office of President and therefore all his/her are performed in name of President while keeping the Union government in loop.

***Reasons why the Union government tries to maintain stakes in larger Union territories:***

***for Delhi:***

- Being national capital, central government needs land for its use, also it needs control of Police (Law enforcement organizations) to maintain order as per its requirement.
- Being a capital, it has representation of each and every part of country in terms of residents and giving complete state ship could led to development of feeling of regionalism which will be detrimental.

***for Puducherry:***

- It consist of four small territories in 3 different states with one specific ethnicity contributing to majority of residents. Giving complete state ship to them will cause tension between these four parts.
- It has French ancestry which needs to be preserved and Union government can only do it properly.

***(c) Critically examine the ethnic conflict in North-east India.***

The present-day North-east consist of Eight states which at the time of independence had three states - Assam, North-East Frontier Province and the Kingdom of Sikkim, while Sikkim joined India in 1975, NEFP became Arunachal Pradesh, it was Assam which had most diverse population in terms of ethnicity, this ultimately led to various ethnic conflict and bifurcation of state based on Ethnic lines.

**Major insurgency groups:**

- The Naga insurgency, which started in the 1950s, with the aim to carve out a separate state for Ethnic Naga people, it's known as the mother of the Northeast insurgencies, is one of the oldest unresolved armed conflicts in the world. The talks between NSCN(IM) and government of India is going on while NSCN(K) has been declared a terrorist organisation.
- The Mizo insurgency, started in the mid-1960s under the banner of Mizo National Front to achieve a sovereign state for Mizos, it ended with the Mizo accord of 1986.
- The Assam Insurgency, led by ULFA (United Liberation Front of Assam) its aim was to establish Sovereign Assam. Following the 1971 War and influx migration of Bangladeshi population in Assam another ethnic conflict started led by AASU (All Assam Student Union) and later on by AGP (Assam Gan Parishad)

As already mentioned in most of the cases the starting of Ethnic conflict has one common reason, the demand of facilities for local tribes which is called for because there is a sense of oppression among the tribal people from the Union government. They find many times their cultural and ethnic

customs aren't respected by the state machinery and their residents aren't getting enough space to develop and grow on the lines of people in another part of the country.

Most of these conflicts start as an act of desperation, which then evolves into a full-fledged war against the state, and with no way out for the participants, the conflict only broils further.

**7. (a) Examine the provisions of Panchayat Extension Services Act (P.E.S.A), 1996.**

The Scheduled Areas as identifies by Constitution in fifth schedule, were not covered by the 73rd Constitutional Amendment or Panchayati Raj Act of the Indian Constitution as provided in the Part IX of the Constitution, this was done in order to show respect for the local customs of tribal regions but in the fifth decade of independent India, it was observed that all the regions including the tribal ones should have Panchayat samitiis, if required, certain exceptions and modifications can be brought in to bring synergy between Local customs and law of the state, hence, PESA was brought it.

**Following are the provisions of PESA:**

- State legislation to be in conformity with customary law, social and religious practices, and customary modes of dispute resolution: It helps to bring the fifth schedule regions in fold 73rd constitutional amendment over the time.
- Hamlet level villages and Gram Sabhas: In normal PRA, many Hamlet together makes a Gram Sabha, but in Schedule five areas it is difficult because of low population density and hence PESA provides for every Hamlet to form Gram Sabha, further deepening the Democratic decentralization.
- Every Gram Sabha shall be competent to safeguard and preserve the traditions and customs of the people including Community resources and Local methods of dispute resolution: PESA further strengthen the customary practices by providing legal legitimacy to the methodology of the tribal communities with very few checks.
- Approval of Projects related or effecting the region only after permission from respective Gram Sabhas.
- Gram Sabhas are also given rights over Minor forest produce: This assures the communities of their source of livelihood.
- PESA further provides reservation for Scheduled tribes in Gram Panchayats.
- PESA gives rights to commuities to regulate Village markets, management of minor water bodies and control over Money lending
- PESA also gives rights to regulate or prohibit intoxicants to Gram Panchayats in scheduled regions.
- The main aim behind these rights is to further strengthen the bond between scheduled communities and Union of India by assuring them the sense of respect for their customs and regulations.

**(b) Analyse the arguments in favour and against the lateral entry into higher Civil Services in India.**

Sardar Patel called the Civil Servants as the "Steel-frame" of Indian Government Machinery and there is a rigorous methodology to select people for the job which has been performed from 1926 by UPSC. But over period it has been observed that the best talent isn't really getting into the services and one reason for it is the tedious process of selection and smaller paycheck in comparison to what private sector offers to person of same caliber. The way out suggested by many is Lateral entry, which is defined with many ifs and buts but the basic idea is to allow professionals to join government at the rank of higher Civil Servants (Grade-A) on mid-career basis and also leave it in same manner. It's like taking up a contractual job.

**Arguments in favour of allowing Lateral Entry:**



- Government can be assured of getting the more options of candidates to select from, this will mostly assure them of a better lot of officials.
- The sense of competition will rise, leading to increased efficiency because of constant inflow of fresh minds into services at various levels.
- Those who'll be highly motivated for performing public service will come in mid career, so corruption will reduce.
- Professionals from different work background will bring much needed transformation in working style of government.

**Arguments against allowing Lateral Entry:**

- The rigorous selection procedure prepares one for the difficult life of a civil servant, one who comes in between can't be dependent completely.
- The increase sense of competition will increase negativity in bureaucracy which will hamper overall working.
- Those who come in between can always have hidden agenda and they can't be trusted with the high level of secrecy.
- A civil Servant is prepared from very grassroot and s/he knows the trade inside-out by experience, specialists won't be able to handle generalist issues, which in most cases comes up.
- The best way forward is to allow few Lateral entries, look at their performance, analyse it, and frame the regulation regarding it accordingly.

**(c) Discuss Asymmetrical federalism in India.**

**Ans.** Asymmetrical federalism is one where few provinces/states possess more power than others. All the countries which follow federal structure of government find their states with different level of powers even when the constitution provides equal rights to them.

For example, In U.S. State like California possess far more power than the Dakotas or Carolinas because of the economic powerhouse it is even when constitutionally all of them are equals.

In a country like India which provides representations to States in Upper house of Parliament depending upon population, the asymmetry is more visible, because Economic power is one thing, the constitution itself as matter of written law gives different level of powers to different States.

Also, through the Article 370 and Article 371, Schedule five and Schedule Six, Indian constitution provides different level of Autonomy to different states and regions. For example - A resident of Uttar Pradesh can purchase a house in Mumbai, but he can't make the same purchase in Jammu and Kashmir or Himachal Pradesh for that matter. Even the fundamental right to move around is curbed by different level of Autonomy to different states. For example - One can't go to parts of Arunachal Pradesh without a permit even when s/he is a Indian Citizen.

This asymmetrical Federalism has its benefits and ill effects both

**Benefits:**

- Provides space for region to develop its culture and safeguard its inheritance.
- The provinces can use its resources for benefits of its residents first while maintaining a connect with the Union too.

**III Effects:**

- Degrades the sense of Unity among Countrymen, sense of separatism evolves.

- All citizens aren't left equal in the eye of constitution.
- All Citizens are provided equality of Opportunities.

**8. (a) Examine the various causes of Agrarian crisis in India.**

**Ans.** Agrarian Crisis in India is consistent issue suffering Indians right from the very beginning of time, the demand and supply system is already broken and it is very very difficult to feed 1.3 billion people. Indian farmers perform the herculean task of growing the food for all but because various lacunas in the system like inefficient distribution system and hefty marginal siphoning they don't get what they deserve for their hard labour. This then leads to no further improvement in agricultural techniques and further causes them monetary losses. All these factors together causes the Agrarian Crisis.

**Following are the major Causes of present Agrarian Crisis:**

- **Over dependence on Nature for Farming:** Only 37% of Indian farmlands are provided with proper irrigation facilities, rest are dependent upon either groundwater or Monsoon.
- **Lack of advancement in Technology:** Even when rest of the world is using new advance technology for increasing the yield, Indian farmers are still stuck to same methodologies which were used in Medieval times, with almost no real help from government farmers are left to their own devices to resolve there problems regarding increasing the yield.
- **Lack of Agri-literacy:** The farmers don't really have knowledge of best practices available and the various government schemes to inform them aren't very much helpful.
- **Improper trading mechanism:** The farmers don't really get even half of what the his products sold off to the final consumers and this causes resentment towards the whole profession among farmers.
- **Excessive Corruption:** Various government schemes right from Government Mandis to rebated loans get effected by the corrupt officials and never really helps the farmers in the way they are planned to.
- **Unempathetic approach of state:** States machinery don't plan schemes for real issues of the distressed farmers and comes up every time with generic solutions to the specific problems. the latest example of this are Farm loan waivers, instead of looking for ways to increase the annual yield of the farmlands which will make farmers self sufficient, Loan waivers will provide a instant fix without rooting out the problem.
- **Farmer Suicides:** It takes places because of Agrarian crisis but further aggravates the issue because in most of the cases, the one who commits suicide is the main breadwinner for the family and his/her passing away leaves rest of the family without any future prospects.

What government needs is more participation of farmers in designing the schemes itself, that too at local level i.e. the Panchayat level, Indian farmers on a whole are too diverse to have same set of issues and therefore their resolutions can't be by generic schemes implemented in top down approach.

**(b) Explain the increasing role of regional political parties in the national politics.**

Right after 1989 general elections India saw a phase where Coalition politics became the way forward. In the absence of a Mass leader who could connect to everyone throughout India's length and breadth, Regional political parties became more and more powerful, the electorate which was very clear how to vote for State parties for Legislative elections and opt for a national party when it came to Parliamentary elections moved towards having complete faith in state parties at all levels. Parties like Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), All India Trinamool Congress (AITC) went on to

become national parties based upon their performance in state on Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal respectively. Other parties like Dravida Munetra kazhagam (DMK) and All India Anna Dravida Munetra Kazhagam (AIADMK) swayed enough power to gets their demands met or the Central government would loose their office as happened with A.B.Vajpayee when AIADMK took back its support from NDA. Looking at these examples one can conclude that although presently one party has complete majority in centre but this is the era of Coalition politics and no leader how so strong s/he may, can fight regional parties. One example of this is present government where even when BJP has numbers to form government alone they form it through NDA.

**Benefits of their increased role:**

- It will act as another check on central leadership and stop them from taking any hasty decision.
- It will provide more bargaining power to states, who otherwise have to depend only on Council of States for getting their demands met.
- It will also provide regional leaders to showcase their leadership qualities which can help them to come to centre.

**Ill effects of their increased role:**

- Many times state parties hold the smooth working of Union government hostage to their demand.
- Decision making process becomes slower, this hits very hard to the economy of the country, for example: the Teesta water issue - talks between state government of West Bengal and Bangladesh government even when Indian External affairs ministry is handling the issue only make the process more tedious and hamper the economic prospects of people on both side of border.

While trying to showcase themselves on national stage many times state leaders causes more damage. As has happened many times when State leaders have started talking National Security issues with neighbouring countries without informing the central leadership.

**(c) Critically analyse the Environmentalist movement in Tuticorin, Tamil Nadu.**

The protest at the Vedanta Sterlite plant which led to the killing of 13 innocent people in Police firing is an example of up to what extent people can go to demand a safe environment. The protest at Tuticorin was not the first environmental protest taking place in India and states like Odessa and Tamil Nadu have seen many such instances.

One needs to understand it is the inability of state machinery to find a sustainable way to develop the region which forced them to allow development of pollutant exhaling industries while knowing its ill effects all very well. The question arises what is more important instant source of wealth which can be availed by the opportunities as such plants or livable environment where one can prosper without worrying about the ill effects of environmental degradation.

This question has been asked again and again starting from the 1970s when an initiative was taken at the global level to establish Brundtland Commission which heralded hope for sustainable development when it submitted a report, Our Common Future in 1987. But still, private industrial units have been able to pursue their commercial interests regardless of environmental concerns thanks to the implementation of neo-liberal economic policies since the 1990s. There has been a massive expansion of private industrial activities in mineral abundant tribal areas. Yet unrest among tribals is a constant whenever governments allowed these units to undertake operations in the areas which affect them. The various regulations of Environmental protection law and various reports of Environmental impact assessments haven't really resolved these problems to a large extent.

Another issue is the people who have to face the brunt of these factories are the ones who are at the lowest strata of society and not really know how to make people sitting in a position of power to hear them.

**It is high time that government starts taking environmental issues on the ground more seriously, it could be done by taking the following steps:**

- All infrastructural development should take place only after permission in accordance with Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA).
- Government need to develop a new scale to measure the Environmental cost of economic growth and how one can repay those who are impacted the most by the degrading environment.
- Even beyond CSR, companies should take measures from their side to i) reduce the effect of pollutants at their plants and ii) to take care of those who are in direct line of effect.

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