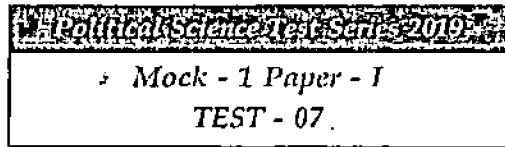


Roll no. 10470



# POLITICAL SCIENCE

Time Allowed: 3 hrs.

Max. Marks: 250

114

## Instructions to Candidate

- There are EIGHT questions. Candidate has to attempt FIVE questions in all.
- Question no. 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, THREE are to be attempted.
- Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the Admission certificate which must be stated clearly on the cover of this Question-cum-Answer (QCA) booklet in the space provided. No marks will be given for answers written in medium other than the authorized one.
- Word limit in questions, wherever specified, should be adhered to.
- Attempts of questions shall be counted in chronological order. Unless struck off, attempt of a question shall be counted even if attempted partly. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the answer book must be clearly struck off.

Content & understanding both are good. No major issues in Pol thought section. Gen in 1st section you had answered well.

1. Invigilator's Signature \_\_\_\_\_

2. Invigilator's Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Name Lipi Nagayach

Mobile No. \_\_\_\_\_

Date 20/3/19

Signature [Signature]

20/3/19

## SECTION-A

Attempt all questions:

1. Answer the following questions in about 150 words each:

(10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) Neo-Marxist debate on the nature of the State
- (b) Empirical conception of political theory
- (c) Relationship of mass society with legitimation crisis
- (d) Provide a post-marxian analysis of the phenomenon of alienation
- (e) Justice as Entitlement

9) The Neo marxist debate on the nature of state mainly ranges from calling the state as an instrument of the bourgeoisie (the instrumentalist approach, inspired by the Communist Manifesto) to considering it as a structure meant for making equilibrium (structuralist approach → 18<sup>th</sup> Bummaire of Louis Bonaparte).

The former is supported by Ralph Miliband & latter by Nicole Poulantaz. According to Ralph, the state always represents the elitist interests and he also ~~condemns~~ refuses the managerial revolution hypothesis of Burnham by saying that only the well-off have the capability to make their children

Remarks

managers, thus no equality of opportunity exists.

But for Paulantaz, state is an equilibrium maker and it can't afford to neglect the interests of the majority (i.e. workers) due to the advent of democracy in capitalist countries. This approach resembles close to that of pluralists like MacIver & Laski who consider state to be a balancer of conflicting interests.

good analysis

Also I think on how the

6

new marxist and convergence with pluralist theory of state

b) The Empirical conception of political theory focuses more on the 'scientific' part as against value-based judgement. Hence it is characterised by experiments, observation and describing 'what is', rather than prescribing 'what ought to be'. It attempts to transform political science from a social science to a natural science.

This scientific or positive temper was the

Central focus of the Behavioural Revolution by David Easton in the decades of 50s. This was due to the failure of political science to predict the events leading to two wars because it got stuck in historical & philosophical aspects.

Hence the focus was on borrowing from other disciplines like economics, sociology, psychology which already had developed few elements of 'science'.

But this empirical conception soon had to be replaced by post-behaviouralism because the nature of political science, as any other social science is to prescribe and suggest which path is the best.

S

⊕

Need to elaborate & move on IAS methodology (also IAS limitations & critiques)

c) The relationship of mass society with alienation was brought about by scholars Pollock Kornhauser, David Riesman (in his work - 'The Lonely Crowd') among others. Their work attempts to exemplify the notion of alienation as estrangement (first suggested by Hegel & then by Marx).

Mass society plays an important role in isolating the individual because there is no scope for intermediary groups to act as link between masses and govt. This results in a feeling of worthlessness, meaninglessness and powerlessness in an individual.

He begins to feel that he is incapable of solving or suggesting to political problems and processes.

As a result of this alienation, mass movements erupt which signify isolation, anger

Remarks

6

govt understanding & elaboration

need to add more  
of scholars

towards govt. by the participants and hence a legitimation crisis. The complexity of the modern mass society coupled with its fast-paced nature also adds on to the alienation.

4) The phenomenon of alienation was expounded by Marx in his 'Economic & Philosophic Manuscripts', as estrangement of the worker <sup>from</sup> his work, his colleagues and finally from himself.

In modern times, a post-Marxian understanding of alienation is offered by scholars like Kornhauser, David Reisman & Melvin Cleeman. Cleeman elaborates the 5 components of alienation as :-

- \* meaninglessness
- \* normlessness
- \* self-estrangement
- \* cultural estrangement
- \* isolation

These conditions emanate from inability to prove useful or contribute meaningfully to some political change.

Normlessness has been explained by sociologist Emile Durkheim who explains this behaviour as deviating from herd mentality and hence facing the backlash & isolation.

Hence this explains that alienation is understood as both not being able to do something and doing it / attempting to do it differently.

5

e) The entitlement Theory of justice was put forth by Robert Nozick as a criticism of Rawl's theory of distributive justice.

Nozick values liberty more than equality and is apprehensive of the notion that rich must contribute to the poor's welfare via taxes, CSR etc (as redistributive justice). Instead he suggests that state has no role in 'attempting to equalise

Remarks

good elaboration  
he views  
his on his  
in his

the rich & poor, instead state must focus on the following 3 principles :-

- ① just acquisition - of wealth, property (ie. without any fraud & not excess acquisition of a ~~scarce~~ resource)
- ② just / lawful transfer - i.e. the transfer must be based on consent & not theft, fraud etc
- ③ rectification of error (if any) in failing to do fulfill the above 2 principles.

Thus Nozick believes in the Right to property and holds rich to be deserving their wealth if it is acquired lawfully.

5  
 Rawlsian critique of  
 his theory has emerged  
 as a scheme of redistribution



2. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Assess the role of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan as a reformer with examples. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Elaborate on Gandhian views on the importance of communal harmony. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Ambedkar turned upside-down the marxian concept of base-superstructure. Explain. (250 Words) (20)

9) Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was one of the greatest social reformers who emphasised upon education as a means to attain rationality & respect.

Contribution of Sir Syed :-

- © 1863 : Scientific Society (for translation of western scientific books into Urdu)
- © 1864 : English medium school at Ghazipur
- © His visit to England & the consequent observation of educational system there led to him write the Aligarh Institute Gazette and Khutbat-i-Ahmadiya
- © Tehzib-ul-Akhlaq - in an attempt to bring to light the socio-cultural evils prevalent in Islam due to orthodox & irrational interpretation of Quran.

Remarks

- ① 1875- Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, which in 1890 became the Aligarh Muslim University.
- ② He was also a supporter of women's education & hailed all practices discriminatory to women as un-Islamic.
- ③ For imparting rationality to the lives of muslim he suggested that Muslims must hold Quran in one hand & science book in other.
- ④ He supported liberal interpretation of Quran to ward off stereotypes and inhuman misinterpretations.
- ⑤ He believed in the uplifting potential of education which can improve the standard of living & eliminate poverty.

Thus Sir S.A. Khan's contribution to social & educational reforms remains immense.

Remarks

(10)

good analysis

Just elaborate on the role played by educational conference in education of women

5) Gandhiji was a staunch advocate of communal harmony and he considered Hindus and Muslims to be brothers born out of the same spiritual soil of India and sharing a moral bond.

In South Africa, he didn't discriminate against Muslims & Hindus, rather his satyagrahas saw widespread participation by Muslim merchants & indentured workers as well.

Similarly in 1920 he extended his whole-hearted support to the brothers in their Khilafat agitation and united it with non-co-operation. This was, according to him, the most opportune time to win the confidence & cooperation of Muslims. And he strongly condemned any communal outbreak (as in Kerala-Moplah rebellion, 1922).

He also suggested 3 principles which every Indian must espouse to ensure

communal harmony. These are :-

- ① belief in fundamental unity of creator & hence creations. He suggested that the basic tenets of every religion are same, as they advocate peace, truthfulness, morality, charity & love towards fellow beings. And hence he remarked that "these religion can never be misused." (values)
- ② generosity by majority community & a sense of respect towards minority culture
- ③ constructive work by both communities to fight off the evil of discrimination, inequality, illiteracy, poverty etc.

This Gandhiji wholeheartedly supported the oneness of all Indians irrespective of caste, creed, colour or religion.

Also analyse how he makes communal unity a fundamental condition for Swaraj

Remarks

(10)

c) Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was influenced by Marxist Ideology in the initial years and he wanted to examine the applicability of Marxian notions to Indian society characterised by caste inequalities. Caste was the class equivalent in Indian context. But, while class is an open-door, mobile concept but caste is rigid, determined by birth and solidified by practices like endogamy.

Thus caste as a predominant divider wasn't a consequence of economic deprivation (rather the former perpetuates the latter) rather a result of social status or position in societal hierarchy.

This can be seen as an inversion of Marxian base-superstructure model wherein economic power (control over means of production & distribution) determines political, ideological & social power.

For Ambedkar the social status by birth was the sole determinant or fundamental factor in deciding the economic aspect of life i.e. occupation & livelihood. For ex: he explains in 'Annihilation of Caste' that dalits weren't allowed to learn Sanskrit or even go to school since they were anyways expected to do menial tasks which were hereditary. Thus for him caste system was a division of labourers & not a division of labour (or specialisation<sup>as</sup> in European industrial societies). Hence caste determined economic life & subsequently other aspects.

Analyse how it was the super structure which was controlling the base.

That's why he suggested that mere economic upliftment may not help the dalits, rather a change in societal mindset was required. Thus he supported socio-economic democracy along with political & legal democracy.

Moresover Marx' understanding of religion as opium for masses, in no way could help the Indian society (or Hindu society wherein caste system has gradually become an indispensable component of Hinduism). That's why he stressed much upon Buddhism as an egalitarian, democratic & rational religion.

Thus Ambedkar stressed upon the social, religious dimensions more than the economic ones in understanding inequality & exploitation.

Need a lot more examples of divergence  
 S is the two thoughts  
 - Role of violence  
 - " " state  
 - " " Religion  
 - " " democracy

8

4. Answer the following questions:

- (a) There is a two-way change in Westphalia sovereignty of a nation-state. Do you agree that it has been eroded as well as enhanced by globalization? Comment. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Discuss marxian theory of state. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Comment on Hannah Arendt's understanding of totalitarianism. How far is modernity responsible for the rise of totalitarianism. (250 Words) (20)

Q) The westphalian notion of sovereignty talks about complete autonomy or supreme legal authority of nation states in both internal & external matters. But this has come to be questioned in the age of globalisation.

Globalisation as greater interconnectedness has enabled a faster, farther, cheaper & deeper movement of people, goods & services across territorial boundaries. This according to some hyper-globalists like Kenichi Ohama; Thomas Friedman has rendered states redundant & mere conduits or passageways for ~~transfer~~ seamless movement. This impact of sovereignty on globalisation on sovereignty can also be understood as:-

Remarks



- ① greater role of trans. national actors like MNCs & NGOs in economic, cultural, social & political spheres. The global civil society network is strengthened & several MNCs have net worth much greater than GDP of few LDCs.
- ② institutes of global governance in both financial (IMF, WB, WTO) and political spheres (UN & its specialised agencies) have significantly influenced the decision making by states. For eg → the norms like of Structural Adjustment Programme affects the monetary, fiscal policies of states.
- ③ Similarly, international laws & conventions impact the state's sovereignty.

However, David Held, holds a balanced approach that globalisation has rather transformed the nature of sovereignty & made states a facilitator rather than regulator. The power to implement & monitor the laws or rules of globalisation still rests with the states.

Remarks

b) Marxian theory of state considers state to be the managing / executive committee of the bourgeoisie. Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels in 'Communist Manifesto', expound the exploitative role of the states in acting as an instrument in the hands of the capitalists.

This is because, those who wield economic power also exercise political power. The relations of production and the control over means of production & distribution determines the composition of ruling elite.

Thus state is exploitative & extractive. The so-called virtues of nationalism, propounded by nation-states is nothing but false consciousness and is an attempt to prevent proletarian internationalism & perpetuate the exploitation of national capitalists. It attempts to divide the workers.

Remarks

Thus, after the communist revolution, Marx talked about withering away of the state as there would be no class division [only one - worker class founded on the principle of - "from each according to his ability & to each according to his need" ]. This principle would result in common property or communism & no private property meaning thereby that state won't be required to guard the wealth of any bourgeoisie class.

However in the intermediate stage, state would be required to sustain the dictatorship of proletariat to suppress any counter revolution by bourgeoisie.

Thus state in marxism is a coercive apparatus, a part of superstructure sustained & guided by economic base.

c) Hannah Arendt, a German Jew has contributed to understanding of Totalitarianism via her most important political work - "On the origins of Totalitarianism". She has extensively studied the ideologies of communism, fascism etc via method of phenomenology (i.e. studying reality rather than theory).

Totalitarianism - a tendency to control every aspect of citizens' or subject's life in totality. Including having a control over thoughts, emotions & soul, considers violence not just a means to authoritarianism rather as an end in itself.

This violence is perpetrated via centralised bureaucratic machinery and terrorising the masses is an important component of it. It stems from racialism & disgust towards other religions rooted in irrationality.

and stereotypical understanding of 'other'. For ex: Jews were dubbed a different race (non-Aryan) simply because they follow a different religion. They were hailed responsible for the miseries (instead perpetrated) by economic depression and WWI.

The people became victims of totalitarianism because of their pre-occupation with material or economic sphere rather than a sense of civic republicanism or active participation in political sphere. This has been described in 'On human condition' as degeneration from zoon politicon to animal laboran.

This neglect of political sphere is attributed to modernity as understood in terms of lavish economic lifestyle & materialism or consumerism where the spiritual, intellectual or political pursuits are

downgraded. The fast-paced nature of modern lifestyle has resulted in little time being left for thinking what one is doing & why.

The cut throat competition & mad rat race has also compromised the ability to act in concert (i.e. power) rather unleashed violence to eliminate the fellow beings.

Such emotions are manipulated in the form of xenophobia, cons of soil ideology & anti-immigration & anti-refugee stance, as exemplified from reverse-globalisation trend of today.

## SECTION-B

Attempt all questions:

5. Answer the following questions in about 150 words each: (10 × 5 = 50)

- J&K is not the only state to have special provisions in the Constitution. Discuss.
- Examine the proposition of having one tribunal for all river-water disputes.
- Critically examine the Protection of Human Rights (Amendment) Bill 2019, which aims to empower the NHRC.
- What was the significance of SC's Kihoto, Hollohan order of 1992?
- Office of profit and RPA.

a) J&K has been made a UT with bifurcated Ladakh (as separate UT) via scrapping Art 370 (except clause 1). This was a temporary provision in our constitution in part XXI. This part also incorporates other 'special provisions' enshrined in Art. 371 to 371 H, conferring special status to 11 states.

This has been attributed to special cultural attributes, historical reasons (eg- agreements of devolution & statehood/autonomy to prevent secession as in case of Nagaland - Art 371 B via 13<sup>th</sup> CAA), economic backwardness (ex: in Vidarbha & Marathwada region of Maharashtra - Art 371 A) or religious

Remarks

specificity (Mizo customary laws etc).

These special provisions are meant to assure the federal units of their autonomy in their respective spheres and of the accommodative spirit of the constitution rather than any assimilative tendency.

It has helped preserve the unity & integrity of Indian union.

(5)

- b) The recently proposed amendments to the Inter-state river water disputes Act, 1956, suggest a two-tier mechanism for dispute resolution in a time-bound manner (max: time period of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  yrs), instead of current's long, arduous & cumbersome process.

At lower tier, a ~~District~~ Dispute resolution committee (DRC) would be established, whose decisions can be appealed in the

Remarks

good elaboration  
talk about  
370 & 371 are  
difficult for  
other provisions



permanent & single tribunal (which will replace the existing multitude of tribunals).  
The following benefits will accrue:-

- efficiency & efficacy of settling the water disputes would be enhanced
- fast-pacedness of the process: it will also fuel economic growth as stalled infra-structural projects can be renewed.
- Involvement of the experts & professionals rendering special advises on a permanent basis.
- It will also promote ~~be~~ sustainable sharing of precious water resource.

Conclusion

what is the scope of  
Judicial intervention here?

Arbitrate more on the delays  
cause d. by the present  
system

5

c) The proposed NHRC (Amendment) Bill 2019, attempts to make changes in NHRC Act 1993.

The positive aspects of the bill :-

- ① incorporation of chairmans of NEAC (backward classes), CPCR (protection of child rights) and High Commissioner for disabilities would widen the scope & perspective of NHRC
- ② widening of scope for appointment of chairperson of NHRC (and not just the ex-CJI, but other SC judges also would be eligible)
- ③ reduction of tenure from 5yrs/7yrs to 3yrs/7yrs will bring in efficiency.

criticisms of the bill :-

- ① no representation from civil society groups or NGOs who are playing an important role in human rights protection in India
- ② the selection committee has dispropor-

Remarks

tionate representation from ruling party.

③ There is no guarantee of transparency in appointment process

④ NHRC has not been given the teeth to bite yet & its role remains largely recommendatory.

⑤ No provision has been made to transform P<sub>H</sub> role from a mere post-office (Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer) engaged in forwarding of complaints & replies to & from govt.

Thus, many key reforms are yet to see the light of the day.

✓ ques 1 6th = 7

d) The Anti-defection law was introduced via 52<sup>nd</sup> CAA, 1985 in X schedule of constitution to prevent horse-trading, corruption etc in electoral democracy.

However the split clause of  $\frac{1}{3}$ <sup>rd</sup> party members was misused to subvert the checks

Imposed by this law. Similarly the speaker's absolute power to render final judgement on defection was also questioned, before SC in Kihoto Hellohan v. Zachilhu case (1992).

The SC <sup>suggested, ordered to</sup> replace the provision of ~~split~~ with merger (i.e. requiring  $\frac{2}{3}$ <sup>rd</sup> ~~members'~~ defection to exempt punishment or deprivation of seat). Although this addressed retail defection but gave rise to wholesale defection.

Another important aspect of judgement was giving absolute discretion to speaker (despite concerns raised w.r.t. judicial incompetence, biasness in favour of ruling dispensation) with the only exception in case of malafide action.

This has further heightened speaker's prestige as the guardian of the parliamentary decorum and ~~a~~ ethos of representative democracy in India.

Remarks

What arguments were given in favour of the demand  
 he now on the significant  
 (5)

e) 'office of profit' - has been mentioned as a ground for disqualification under Art 102(2) & Art 191(2), though it has not been explicitly defined. But over the time it has come to us via SC judgements like *Jaya Bachchan* case 2006, *Pradyut v. Bardoloi* case, suggestions by ECI & 2<sup>nd</sup> ARC etc to mean the following:-

- \* an office having monetary/pecuniary incentive
- \* appointment by the govt. & also where the govt. (executive) decides the terms & conditions & also the removal from office.
- \* a post equivalent to a minister (ex: parliamentary secretary - as in case of Delhi; where it breached the 15% limit), among others.

But the RPA (1950 & 1951) is silent on precise exposition of the terms & merely mentions ~~it~~ the procedure thereof where the President

renders the final decision on the basis of ECI's recommendations.

But in order to strengthen our electoral democracy, RPA must ~~also~~ be amended to expand with clarity the meaning of 'Office of Profit'.

5

Amber moem  
 need to legally codify  
 it. How can the states  
 respond on this issue?

8. Answer the following questions:

- (a) The functional narrative of human rights movement in post-independent times presents a story of belied promises on the one hand, and the emergence of a powerful civil society initiative to keep the flames of human rights movement alight despite all odds, on the other. Discuss. (250 Words) (20)
- (b) Discuss the major issues associated with the National Register of Citizens. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Why are fundamental rights considered essential in the Indian context? Discuss the nature of fundamental rights. (200 Words) (15)

a) The year 1948 marks a watershed moment in history of Human rights, as it heralds the universal declaration of H.R. (UDHR) - which recognised HR; in a 3 tiered manner. The 1<sup>st</sup> tier includes the civil & political rights; the 2<sup>nd</sup> → socio-economic & the 3<sup>rd</sup> → cultural & environmental rights.

The post-independent India, incorporated the notion of HR in the form of Preamble, FRs (recognising the justiciable nature of civil & political rights) & DPSPs (the socio-economic, cultural rights were hailed as fundamental in governance); as an integral component of the

Remarks

constitution.

However certain shortcomings w.r.t. govt's commitment to HR regime were manifested in :-

- ① restrictions imposed on F.Rs (to keep intact the unity & integrity of the country)
- ② provision of preventive detention
- ③ non-justiciable nature of DPSPs
- ④ Emergency Era (1975) - witnessed cases like Adm. Jabalpur wherein FRs were severely compromised.
- ⑤ Even the formation of NHRC (in 1993 on the eve of 45<sup>th</sup> anniversary of UDHR), seemed a half-hearted measure because the commission was criticised as a toothless tiger, bastion of retired public servants, post-office for receiving & forwarding complaints (by Justice Krishna Iyer).

However, the emergence of powerful civil society network, contributed to positively

Remarks



to HR movement in following manner

- ① efforts by Sundarlal Bahuguna (Chipko Andolan); Meda Patkar (Narmada Bachao Andolan) & other environmentalists to incorporate the masses in HR demands
- ② efforts by B.D. Sharma to raise the livelihood concerns of tribals of Bastar (It provided an alternative to violent route of Naxalism)
- ③ Efforts by M.C. Mehta to agitate for incorporation of R. to pollution free environment as integral component of Art 21.
- ④ Introduction of concept of PIL (public interest litigation)
- ⑤ legal & political advancements by organisations like ADR (Association for democratic reforms) & Pucl (people's union for civil liberties)
- ⑥ RTI agitation by Kisan-Mazdoor Shakti Sangathani, etc.

Remarks

elaborate more on the evolution of HR rights regime

elaborate on how the state has fulfilled its duty of protecting

(9)

Thus the contribution of NGOs, enlightened individuals & community organisations remains indelible to HR movement.

- (b) The NRC - a list of all legitimate & legal citizens of India in Assam; as a procedure is ~~sup~~ under supervision of SC to fulfil the conditions of Assam Accord (1986) & to curb the internal security menace of illegal immigration which is threatening the demography & stability of N.E. (esp. Assam).

It was first prepared in 1951. However the present NRC suffers from following issues of :-

- ① exclusion - around 40 lakh individuals have been denied membership in NRC & women have been worst sufferers due to failure to establish family tree linkage
- ② burden of proof rests upon residents - Instead of the authorities which results in

overdependence upon documents (to verify the credibility date of March 24, 1971)

- ③ Issues of deportation & status of illegal migrants aren't clear → due to absence of any bilateral agreement with Bangladesh
- ④ Issue of D-voters or doubtful voters whose cases are pending in foreigners' tribunal
- ⑤ the citizenship Act 1955 provides for citizenship to children of non-Indian parents but no such provision exists for ILRC
- ⑥ the recent citizenship amendment bill, talks about citizenship status to minorities from Afghanistan, Pakistan etc which endangers the Muslims.
- ⑦ hasty procedure - may result in bureaucratic errors & hence large scale losses.

An immediate rectification of these errors coupled with permanent solution for illegal immigration (via work permits, border management etc) is warranted.

Remarks

good arguments  
 Also elaborate on opinion of author  
 inhaled by Govt  
 (Specify) Govt needs  
 a

c) The FRs (part II - Art 12 to 35) are considered to be fundamental provisions of the Constitution because :-

- ① they ensure strengthening of political democracy
- ② they are vital for multi-dimensional & all-round development of an individual
- ③ they are guaranteed by constitution & are legally enforceable
- ④ they further the noble virtues of liberty, equality, fraternity, dignity enshrined in preamble.

### Nature of F.Rs

- ① not sacrosanct - rather subjected to reasonable restrictions like public health, morality, decency, unity & integrity of nation etc to ensure balance between individual & society

Remarks

② both positive & negative - i.e. they contain enabling provisions (like abolition of untouchability, R to education etc) & provisions imposing ~~restrictions~~ on state authority.

③ justiciable or ~~legally enforceable~~

④ not permanent - as they can be amended & suspended (during emergency - except Art 20 & 21)

⑤ enforced via parliamentary provisions like  
 → Untouchability (Offence) Act 1955 for Art 17  
 → RTE (Art 21A) etc.

⑥ some are available to citizens only (Art 14, 15, 16 etc) while others are available to all individuals (21, 25 to 28, etc)

Thus FRs are the cornerstone of our constitution.

found e liberation ( context

Remarks

13

comment briefly on how  
 Judicial activism has led  
 to continued expansion of  
 & meaning