

Try to use good attempt
required terminology wherever
be more elaborate on the
question first instead of secondary
definition

Roll no. IAS-99467

PSIR- test 8

Name: Titendra Kumar Sharma

D-2/17

Titendra

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1 (a) Rawls has tried to adjust the substantive justice in his theory of Procedural justice. In his theory, where he gives lexical priority to liberty and equality of opportunity, has given that justice to should benefit the least advantaged.

Influenced by the Kantian notion, he says that if justice according to equal distribution of social goods is not possible then men has to come into an original position which is possible when he is behind a veil of ignorance and is free from different biases and prejudices.

However, he maintain that men still has the rationality and psychological intelligence to understand who is most disadvantaged.

He calls it justice as fairness.

Susan moker skin and his Young criticise him for his male perspective and ignoring the private life i.e. family where all the bias against women generate.

5 1/2
good attempt

Novels and articles
criticise

Communitarians (Walzer, Sandel, Taylor)

criticises that Rawls does not consider an individual 'embedded' or 'encumbered' and takes him out of background.

✓ Wolzer says that there are different 'spheres of Justice' and his theory based on 'universalist' principle is flawed.

(b) Jürgen Habermas is modern 'critical thinker' who has used 'systems' and 'sub-systems' theory to advocate the legitimation-crisis.

According to him, modern capitalist democracy is full of contradictions.

While capitalist wants lesser re-distribution and hence lesser control of government, the effort for the welfare of democracy leads to

more demands of welfare. He calls it an ethical or moral crisis.

✓ He says since democracy is based on mass loyalty there is always an 'input' and 'output' crisis, where mismatch between 'demands' and policies are bound to be there.

5/12

He also says that when the government fails to legitimize its rule and attracts mass legitimacy, it keeps populist actions. He calls it an "ideal speech situation" where leader strikes the sentimental nerves of the masses. Like devaluation of gold, military tactics, or use of identities. He may also involve religion, communism or cultural demagoguery. He also says that this transition is almost inevitable and in the long run leads to "New Social Movements" to check legitimacy.

(e) Aristotle: the earliest political scientist. He said that justice is moral virtue. Unlike Plato, he has advocated a practical theory according to Aristotle a just state has to divide equally and unequally respectively. Further, he does not believe

in the concept and infallibility of the 'philosopher king'. He says anyone who has interest in taking part in 'political' activity in public sphere is fit to rule. For

this, Sabine says that Aristotle believed in evolution (organk) of the state from the group of families, which in turn are formed by individuals. ~~He says~~ Since, a

common man puts his most effort towards self or towards family, cannot participate effectively in the rule. For this, ~~the~~ Barker says that if he has considered women, ✓ children, slaves, old man not fit for the rule, as they do not have capability to rule. ✓

He however also says that once any of these acquire wisdom and is capable of taking part in 'civic affairs' should contribute in polity. ^{Focus on this}

In this sense, Hannah Arendt's 'civic Republicanism' and ~~public~~ zoon politikon is closer to the Aristotle. ↑

What about equality?

- He talks about proportional equality in his theory of justice.

(51)

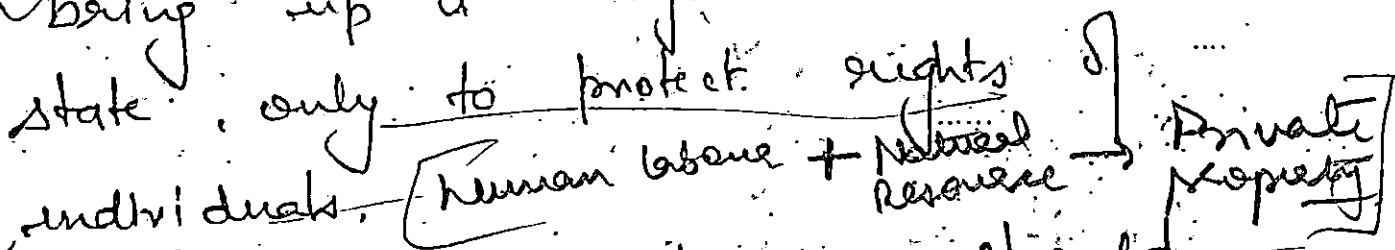
(d) John Locke is known as father of classical liberalism for he advocated the theory of natural rights to 'life, liberty and property'. He witnessed a peaceful era of Renaissance and said that man are naturally social. But, the conflict may arise over a claim of property where more than one individual has put his labor. Therefore, he ~~said~~ says that men has come into a social contract to bring up a 'night-watchman' state, only to protect rights of individuals.

H

shorten the intro

elaborate here

Maxwell Centre



Locke advocates that men should have unlimited liberty to acquire property according to amount of labor he has put in. Later liberals and neo-liberals (Hayek, Nozick, Friedman etc), have capitalised on his theory to build their libertarian concepts about 'minimal state' and 'roll back of states'.

Maxwellson says that

Ernst Berken have criticized Locke as a parasitic individualist and

has called his theory of property as the source of all evils and inequality.

Locke has also criticized that the acquired property is not put for public use.

(c) Hannah Arendt is known as a thinker without borders. She is a shows critique of modernity.

totalitarianism and mass society.

She has experienced the fascist state. She argued that the reason for the source of totalitarianism was that we

individuals have only been involved in animal labor or homo faber.

There was very less work on politics.

She advocated that the true action is the action in public which calls viva activa and individual

truly becomes a 'zoon politikon' she had said that it is in public only that the real power

Good

is generated. She calls for 'action in concert'.

She also says that it is in the public that 'action' takes place and gives birth to new ideas re. 'stability'.

Therefore, for her, the real 'action' is 'politics' which is possible when individuals comes out of the labor works like sustaining his biological needs and 'sustaining the Earth'.

Her 'civic republicanism' is close to the theory of state by Aristotle.

good attempt

2. (a) Jawahar Lal Nehru (Discovery of India)
called Kautilya as Indian Machiavelli. However,
Max Weber called Kautilya more Machiavelli
than Machiavelli.

There are similarities between the both as:
Both are advising their respective king
and prince, and are in way of the
prevailing circumstances. Both have written
detailed statecraft about administration

(and use of force. Both ask their
pupil to be ~~very~~ cautious of their
advisors and always be like lion
as well as fox. Both believe the

situation of Machiavelli or Matsanyaya ^{words}
can be overcome by a powerful
king. Therefore, power is central
to both. ^{use of concepts}
^{state merits}
^{to improve}

However, we can't compare both. Dr.
~~Minakshi~~ U. N. Ghoshal says the time
and ~~and~~ state and situation differed, so
can't be compared on same parameters.
Machiavelli belongs to the era of
Renaissance and gateway of modernity,
where when Church was started to
be questioned. Hence, there was complete
separation of state and religion. Hence,

Machiavelli's writings are secular, Kautilya on the other hand focussed on the 'dharma' and has the influence of religion i.e. lesser 'Secular'.

Machiavelli called his prince to be supreme and law himself, whereas Kautilya bound king by 'dharma' and duty towards the subject. He said 'The happiness of the king is in the happiness of subject; ~~Unless~~ Until the last man in kingdom is ailing or hungry, king can't sit contented.'

Good attempt

Machiavelli talked about duality of king and is concerned only most about the preservation of the state.

Kautilya asked king to preserve the state and look for welfare of people.

Moreover, Kautilya's statecraft was holistic as he suggested acquisition of lost territory, consolidation and further expansion of empire. He has given detailed advices on foreign relations also (Mandala theory).

Amich with well boundary with

Machiavelli nature of state was mechanistic i.e. 'out of modernity', whereas Kautilya's believed in organic evolution of state and contract between God and people (Dharma-kirti) (P)

2. (b) Gaudhian concept of Swaraj was based on two ideas i.e. inner swaraj and outer swaraj.

He believed outer swaraj or democratic/parliamentary swaraj is possible when Indians can have the power of self rule or political freedom.

He believed a true parliamentary democracy swaraj; there should be available the civil liberties for the citizen; special rights for minorities, universal adult franchise and minimum representation by state.

In his advocacy, he was wary of western civilisation anomalies and scope for majoritarian evolution of state. Therefore, he ~~set~~ specifically asked for features like rights of minorities.

Like Ambedkar, he believed to test whether a state or democracy is working properly, can be judged by the condition of minority. His concept of 'Sardaraya' was an integral part of his swaraj.

He further believed that only outer
discipline is not enough. Inner social
discipline is required, which is possible through
control of desire. He advocated
the concept of trusteeship for welfare
of all. He envisioned a village
republic, where there is production
for masses not mass production.

He was thus a critique of modernity.

His village sarva meant Ramrajya
where everyone participates in the
civil affairs as well as the
economy.

Here his views diverged from Ambedkar's
who considered villages to be the
'sink of ignorance' and 'source of
all evils'.

Further, Gandhian idea of administration
and economy can be found in
Part IV (DPSP) and Part
IX & X (local administration) of the
Indian constitution.

What about critic to western civilization?
- western modernity technology - that replaced
heavy & capitalistic technology
- degradation of environment?

20) According to B.K. Pankh, Indian political thoughts have a heavy influence of society. There is no clear demarcation of state and religion. He calls them apologetic and uncritical.

He further argues there is bit of both democratic ~~and~~ (Buddhism) and un-democratic (Dharmashastras).

He noted semi-republic tradition of Buddhist Sanghas as a precursor to democracy.

~~Robert Uggat~~ says

Dr. M. N. Srinivasan says state of nature of Ancient India. Thought was like Hobbesian i.e. Matsaryaya but the contract was not social but divine. Manu, she compares with Leviathan, was sent by the God as King, with all absolute powers to preserve the state.

Robert Uggat says the society was stratified and citizenship and political participation was limited like ~~Plato's~~ Aristotle's theory of state.

Further, the concept of Dharma was above the king, the king had to perform duties according to the Dharma.

Critics have pointed out that there was lack of Universal Categorisation missing, unlike west (Greek, Roman) and hence a clear political thought could not emerge.

Multiple meaning for same concept like Dharma, Danda, Niti etc.

Religion and society was intertwined in thoughts.

Most of thoughts, (Arthashastra & Shantiparna) are based on dialogues and are just the advices to the king.

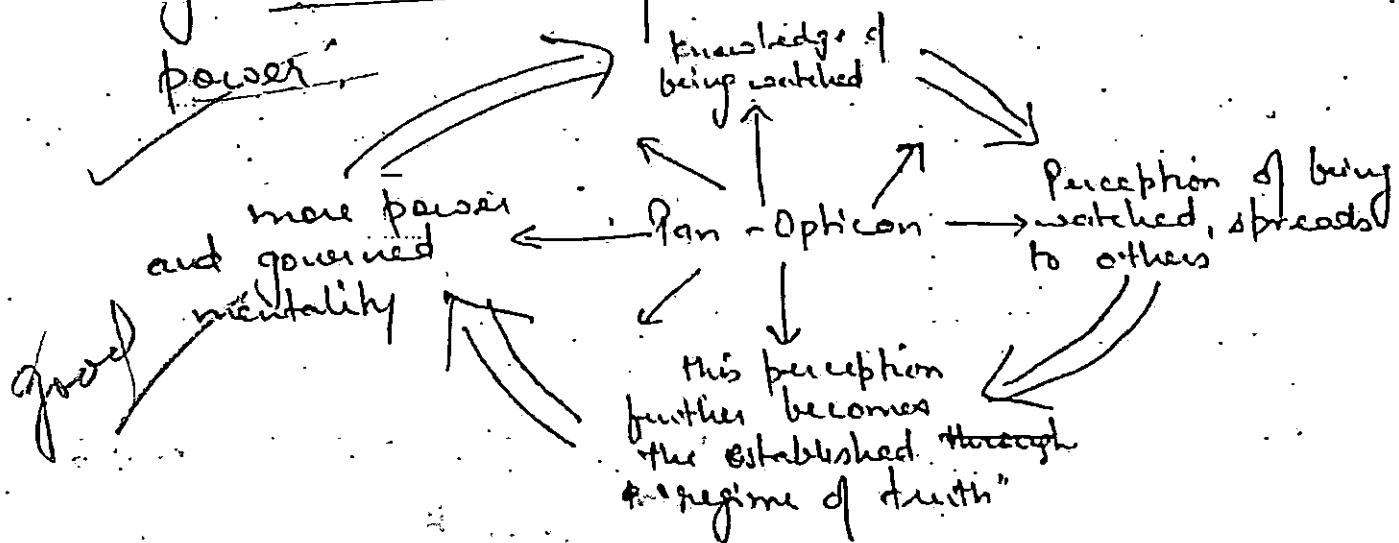
Practical social issues like Equality, justice, unlike Plato, Aristotle were not discussed.

Further, sources are not authenticable.

However, V.N. Ghoshal points out that Indian political thoughts cannot be compared on similar parameters with west's, and have their own context.

1(a) Michael Foucault, a post modernist scholar, has given an un-conventional theory of power like Hannah Arendt. In his theory, he rejects the established concept of power with an individual or state.

According to Foucault - "~~Power~~ Knowledge is power" and "Power is everywhere". To explain his theory, he builds on the 'Panopticon' of Jeremy Bentham and says that the perception of "we are being watched" develops into a knowledge and spreads and become power. This leads to the 'governed mentality' and 'disciplinary' 7/2



Therefore, he believed power is everywhere and flows like the blood in the capillaries. This he said was through the established 'regimes of truth'.

This he further explains that the government uses agents of change to spread a knowledge i.e. CCTV cameras for traffic control. Once this information spreads, people will start following suites without verifying the truth. Thus, human beings become subjects.

Good He has also given the concept of Bio power which is slightly different from the disciplinary power. He says that this exercised through the policies and procedures of the government like biological activities like birth, death, marriage, which slowly people learn and follow by self.

4 (b) Post colonial literature in 1990s overtook the post modern studies to criticise the established Eucentric notions like theory of state.

11 They argue that even though colonialism ended, but ~~the~~ the imposed or self imposed model of west over countries have not worked as they are unlinked to their culture, society, history, level of development, demography etc. The failure

of governments in African and Asian countries where western form of government continued also corroborate their view.

Mahmud Mamdani (direct-indirect rule) argues that states (post colonial) are still controlled ~~states~~ indirectly by the 'Neo-Colonial' tactics.

Hanifa Alvi, commenting on weak social structure of Pakistan and Bangladesh says these have become 'over developed' state.

Leys calls the society with some progress as 'prismatic society' which bear features of both

Lucian Pye also compared political development in these countries with their

social development.

Good Kumar Mukherjee calls India as a 'soft state' which has not been able to enforce law and order properly due to imposition of unmutual western model.

Rudolf and Rudolph (In pursuit of Utopia) also focussed on state of development and called it 'traditionalisation of modernity'.

Edward Said (Orientalism) and Gayatri Spivak (Can the subaltern speak) have also enquired the lack of understanding of west about the society, culture, politics and traditions of non-western world.

4(c) Aristotle was the earliest theorist to study different constitutions and draw comparison among different forms of government.

✓ Aristotle believed that state is self sufficient unit and exists for the good and ideal life of people. He distinguished citizens and people according to the involvement in the polity.

✓ On the basis of citizenship, Aristotle has given two types of constitution i.e. ideal and perverted form. He believed different states according to their demography and nature of polity make their constitution.

He wrote that when a constitution is governed by one man or a king it is called kingship. When governed by few persons, then it is aristocracy.

But, when sometimes large number of people govern, it is called polity. He also said, when the intention of these rulers or governors are not good, then the perverted form of these can result in tyranny, oligarchy and Democracy.

Aristotle, like Plato, detested democracy as he himself experienced it in Athens.

where all were ignorant of their own
any qualification. He found ~~to~~ lack
of common interest, tyranny of majority
and ~~poor~~ democracy lacking wisdom
and clarity. Since everyone without
any stakes in polity takes part, it
endangers the existence of state itself.

Sabine says, Aristotle's ideal state
~~was~~ Plato's next best state. Aristotle
believed in 'Golden mean' as any
form of extreme is not good. Therefore
he advocated a mean of Aristocracy
and democracy and called it an
ideal polity to rule.

good

5(a) J & K (1948) was a princely state and was ruled by a Dogra King. On attack from ~~Patel~~ Pakistan, it was acceded to India through Instrument of Accession and Article 370 later in the Constitution. Through a presidential order ⁽¹⁹⁵⁴⁾, Article 35A was included in the Constitution which gave powers to state assembly to identify citizens and their citizenship rights.

6/11 However, an NGO has filed PIL to dissolve the Article 35A as it is against the Right to Equality U/A 14 and Right to freedom U/A 19.

~~Recent~~ ~~order~~ Applicability of the GST on

Good attempt → The J & K was also made through a presidential order 2017. Union government has given assurance of reasonable autonomy to the state and respect for the verdict of constituent Assembly.

Critics argue that dissolving Article 35A will lead to making 1954 presidential order ineffective and hence, the linking of state of J & K and India will be threatened.

However, from the point of view of the

national integration, dissolving Article 35A is important. As it is a verified fact, that without openness, true development cannot take place in any economy. The economy of J&K is relatively less integrated and less developed.

Therefore, integration is important from the point of view of internal security also, as it will lead to employment of large number of unemployed youth, who are falling in the hands of non-state actors.

5(b) Idea of Indian democracy is still evolving, as it is a contentious democracy, where groups that are left unrepresented stand for their rightful claims. Milan Vaishnav calls there is still lot to be done to make India much more than just an electoral democracy.

Interest groups in India have contributed

and continue to contribute in various ways. They put forward the collective opinion for public discourse and thus affect the shaping of government programs and public policies.

They contribute to the richness of deliberative democracy.

write with examples here only major theorists

Government employees Union recently asked the government to review its policies from their perspective. Several trade union rallied around government during GST discussion for their favors. Similarly, ~~the~~ Railway and Bank Unions also stand for their ~~stand~~ interest. Article 19 provides for the formation of associations.

However, there are certain limitations and drawbacks of Interest groups in India. Critics, as per Lee pwan thesis, have argued India is too democratic for development. Often these groups lead to delay in policy implementation and hence policy paralysis. These also result in public inconvenience and also revenue loss.

Indian Indian interest groups are more or less organised around Trade and economic union. With increasing globalisation, ~~there~~ and social media, there good ground for the rise of diverse interest groups ranging from Environmental, feminist, Civil rights etc.

5(c) Constituent assembly of India comprised members from diverse sections of society and hence, a deliberative constitution, with transformative intent was designed. It provided for the equal rights for all as well as positive discrimination for the disadvantaged. It provided minorities with their cultural spaces in article 29 and 30.

(5/12)

further, considering religious diversity, it provided for freedom as well as equal state intervention in the affairs.

Indian constitution also acknowledges the evolving nature of society and polity, therefore scope and flexibility is also provided.

Good attempt

Separation of power and enough checks have lead to vibrant democracy with an active judiciary, accountable executive and parliament.

Mention some const. makes

Bheku Parekh comments India as a Judicial democracy for an active role played by it in socio-economic development.

lg. Anusheel Nayak, Gaudhar

further, constitution also provide for the development and protection of the tribals and minorities.

Act? Schedule?

Newly added part IX and part X, (73rd & 74th C.A.A) has forwarded the idea of participative democracy.

Part IV (DPSP) has proved to be the guidance for state in implementation of welfare legislation for all the section of society.

art? Act? Constitution also provides for the protection of environment, which is vital for survival of all especially the poor.

therefore, Constitution has and keeps playing a huge role in the Indian Constitution.

(d) Dipankar Gupta (Ethnicity and Politics) comments that every Indian has more than one identity, which or the other, play an important role in the Indian politics.

5 Ethnicity in Indian politics has seen three different trend (Sangeer Banah) Secessionist → tribals of Nagaland have never accepted Indian nationhood and have regularly demanded a separate state of Nagalim.

Secondly, Tribals of states under

IV and VI schedule have demanded an autonomy within the Indian state. The Bodo Tribal Council, Karbi Anglong, Garo Council etc:

Thirdly, Tribals of other states have simply demanded more development without any demand for autonomy. They have asked better implementation of existing government policy and programs like TRIFED, PESA, Reservation in government structure.

Therefore, Ethnic issues, like the current Gorkhaland autonomy

how has these issues been taken into political aspect?

movement & by GJM has been there since 1986. Moreover, ethnic politics is not limited to Indian boundaries but extends to Nepal (Gorkhas), Tamil (Sri Lanka 1986-88: LTTE), Myanmar (Nagas).

They also play role in developmental politics as was seen during recent accord between NSCM (IM) and Indian Government.

S(e) In the recent Shayara Bano case (Triple Talac) judgement, the S.C.

has corrected itself from past judgements in cases like M.P. Singh Vs Subhashi Chandra case 1954,

2

Khanak Singh Vs U.P. 1962, Naz Foundation (Art. 377) case. Apart from that it changed its stand in Maneka Gandhi case from its

earlier verdict in Champakam Derasanjan case. It held that all rights have to be read together as there is a doctrine of Harmonious legislation in rights.

Therefore Judicial Review has provided court with the scope for self correction.

The statement is said by Justice Bhambhani -

- he talks about how Judiciary has evolved itself over period of time extended its power that gave to it power to review

... ..

7(a) Jagendra Lodan argues that there has been a stark change in the profile of legislators since 1980s. Earlier mostly legislators were those with links with freedom struggle and leadership was socialist. Therefore, the agenda was socio-economic development through redistribution. This was not as per the desires of the prevailing landlord class. However, slowly those related to agriculture started entering Parliament, but the economic competition w.r. 'Hindu Growth rate' and 'external debts' demanded focus on industrialization and external borrowing. This further led to paradox of political representation.

5/2
However, rise of 'backward class' politics since 1980s after breaking up of JP Janata Dal in north India did not match up ~~with~~ its performance with aspirations of development. Rather, it was marred more by corruption than development.

Further, since 1990s post globalisation liberalisation, the rise in educated, economists and lawyers, focussed more on neo-liberal policies, for

their belief in no take back down develop-
ment.

But, study by Amartya Sen and Jean
Drèze suggest that inequality impact
got worse, as the fruits of develop-
ment were cornered by the very
poor.

S.M. Lipset further argues that econo-
mic marginalisation has further led
to the belief that democracy has
turned into the oligarchy.

Christophe Jefferlot on recent political
environment says that there
is today a mix of cashisation and
development rhetoric. No party can
rely on single appeal as the trust
of vote base is most uncertain
today, therefore, the identity
politics and politics of development
is the current link between the
representatives and represented.

good
factors

Vadav says -> Pol representation
lacked - interest, pol identity,
initially informed citizenry,
issue orientated,
ideology

mention
parameters on
which Indian
operates - public visibility
- media
- FP PS - caste politics

- 2nd democratic
uprise
challenged

has marked a shift from a socialist politics to a ~~not~~ liberal open economy.

The architects behind this Dr. Man Mohan and other economists believed that for keeping pace with the development and continue with schemes of social welfare, creation of wealth is necessary. Therefore,

efficient use of resource and economic growth is required.

Economists P N Bhagwati and Amrind Ranapariya see this as a positive move that the market economy

has contributed to, reduction in poverty, which has further lead to improvement in the living standards.

legislation like land acquisition act, for signing of trade agreements and use of technologies in farming have to increase in pace of development and growth rate as evident from

the figures post 1991 esp. 2005-2009,

they argue that it has lead to increased democratisation and cooperative federalism, as new states

3

States too are part of renewment process and stakeholders in foreign policy and decision making. The era of cooperative federalism and competitive federalism is set to trump coercive federalism model. The steps like NITI Aayog, Finance Commission, increasing state devolution is example of change from 'need' and 'social justice' to development and efficient growth.

Other reasons post 90s

Rise of coalition pol

Demand of newer states

Welfare based development agenda

However, critics like Deepak Nayyar sees that the voices of marginalised has furthered cornered and democracy is overtaken by the wholistic numbers. On similar lines, Ananya Sen and Jean Dreze also points out the defects and negative side of liberalisation. They see the capacity building has reduced. The expenditure in primary education and health care is reduced or is not commensurate with the pace of development, which in itself is a threat to development and democracy.

(c) Casteism is use of caste for any purpose which may be social, political, economic.

Andre Beteille sees caste as a basic unit of development.

Moin Shabir says caste has served dual purpose of mobilisation in politics and disunion in society. It has lead to democratisation of politics.

Nicolas Dirk says caste in Indian system is an aparte way of functioning in society. Caste prior to colonial era, never was the part of any conflict. Caste system had been a cohesive factor. But, British made caste the sole factor of identity in society and thus the cause of social evils.

- Michael Walzer has also commented that caste system was the Indian way of justice, which different from the west.

However, Dumont has called caste as social stratification and status determined by birth. He has given a textual understanding of caste.

M. Srinivas argued that different regions have different dominant caste based on local factors and thus

is to be understood in contextual terms.

With the profe proliferation of technology and social media, the awareness about fallout of caste has increased.

The recent incident or ~~was~~ social movements like Maratha march, Patel protest or Jat riot have pointed towards the relaxing of caste system.

These are however politically motivated movement and lack the commition and participation of New social movement.

The New social movement through agents like social media, common workplace culture etc. has the potential of changing the caste identities or at least diluting it.

focus more on the
& part elaborate on divergent
views of Dinkar & L. Senant