

# **POLITICAL SCIENCE & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

## **Answer Writing Practice**

**Write on the "Bases of Power" in about 150 words.**

Max Weber deals power primarily in the context of society and state. Weber defines power as the probability that an actor will be

**Discuss the significant contributions of Manu as the father of Indian polity**

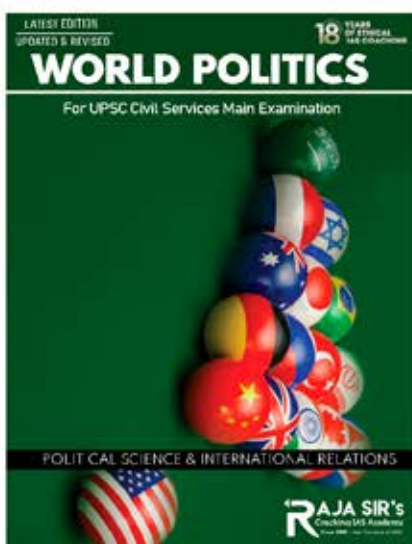
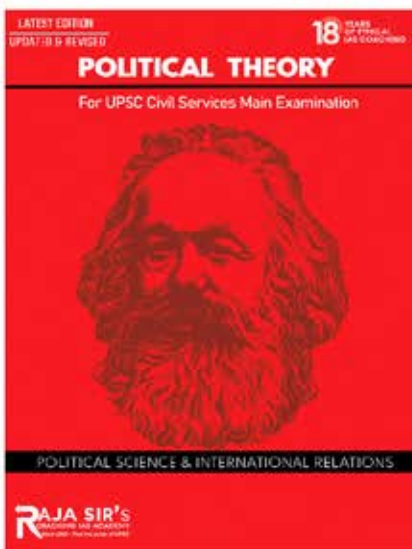
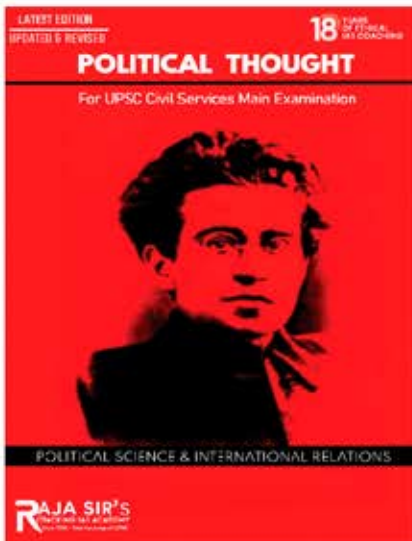
Manu was the most important figure of his times and his Manava Dharma-shastra (Laws of Manu) is the most famous of the .....

**Democracies are more peaceful in their foreign relations. Comment**

Democratic peace is the kantian proposition that democracies are more peaceful in their foreign relations. Democratic peace theory is perhaps.....

**Equality does not mean the identity of treatment or the sameness of reward. (Laski) Comment.**

According to Prof Laski "Equality does not mean identity of treatment, the sameness of reward. It means first of all absence.....



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2. Trace the origin of the concept of welfare state. Contrast the Western concept of welfare state with Gandhian concept of welfare state.
3. Right to property according to John Locke (12 Marks)
4. Equality does not mean the identity of treatment or the sameness of reward. (Laski) Comment. (15 Marks)
5. Discuss the significant contributions of Manu as the father of Indian polity. (15 Marks)
6. “Post-behaviouralism is future-oriented, seeking to propel political science in new directions, and to add rather than to deny its past heritage. It is a genuine revolution, not reaction; a becoming, not a preservation; a reform not a counter-reformation.” (David Easton) Comment. (20 Marks)
7. Do you think the term ‘Socialist’ in the Preamble of Indian Constitution has become redundant in the era of LPG Reforms?
8. In realism there is no moral dimension, so that for a realist what is successful is right and what is unsuccessful is wrong. (E.H.Carr). Comment. (15 Marks)
9. Explicate the relationship between Ronald Dworkin’s rights as trumps model and the doctrine of proportionality. (15 Marks). Discuss the doctrine of ‘rights as trump’. [2019 Mains Political Science and International Relations]
10. Write on the Systems Approach in about 150 words. (10 Marks). UPSC MAINS 2022
11. Write on the Cultural Relativism in about 150 words. (10 Marks). UPSC MAINS 2022
12. Write on the "Revolution in Permanence" in about 150 words. (10 Marks). UPSC MAINS 2022
13. Write on the "Bases of Power" in about 150 words. (10 Marks). UPSC MAINS 2022
14. Write on the "Locke's Social Contract" in about 150 words. (10 Marks). UPSC MAINS 2022

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**Democracies are more peaceful in their foreign relations. Comment (150 Words - 10 Marks)**

Democratic peace is the kantian proposition that democracies are more peaceful in their foreign relations. Democratic peace theory is perhaps the strongest contribution liberalism makes to IR theory. It asserts that democratic states are highly unlikely to go to war with one another. There is a two-part explanation for this phenomenon.

1. Firstly, democratic states are characterised by internal restraints on power. Democracies have a much lower rate of conflict with one another compared to non-democracies. Hence democracies may be more inclined to seek peaceful resolution of conflicts and less likely to resort to military force.
2. Secondly, democracies tend to see each other as legitimate and unthreatening and therefore have a higher capacity for cooperation with each other than they do with non-democracies. Statistical analysis and historical case studies provide strong support for democratic peace theory.

However several issues continue to be debated.

Concerns

1. Firstly, democracy is a relatively recent development in human history. This means there are few cases of democracies having the opportunity to fight one another.
2. Secondly, we cannot be sure whether it is truly a 'democratic' peace or whether some other factors correlated with democracy are the source of peace – such as power, alliances, culture, economics and so on.
3. Thirdly while democracies are unlikely to go to war with one another, some scholarship suggests that they are likely to be aggressive toward non-democracies – such as when the United States went to war with Iraq in 2003.

Despite the debate, the possibility of a democratic peace gradually replacing a world of constant war – as described by realists – is an enduring and important facet of liberalism.

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**Trace the origin of the concept of welfare state. Contrast the Western concept of welfare state with Gandhian concept of welfare state.**

Origin of Welfare state

The term "welfare state" has its origin in the term "WHQL FARR STAAT (Welfare State). It probably looks back to "welfare budget of 1909" and owes something to German "Whol Fahr Staat" of the same period. American conservatives in United States used welfare measures in Roosevelt regime in "New Deal" and brought into operational welfare measures like National Assurance, National Insurance, and National Health Service etc. According to Robson the origin of welfare state is from these sources:

1. From French Revolution came the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity;
2. From Utilitarianism came the ideas of the greatest happiness of the greatest number;
3. From Bismark and Beveridge came the ideas of social insurance and social security;
4. From Fabian socialists came the ideas of public ownership and basic industries and essential services;
5. From John Maynard Keynes came the doctrines controlling trade cycles and avoiding mass employment;
6. From Sydney Bestrico Webb came the ideas banishing poverty, and introducing the industrial democratic role of Trade Unions and cleaning base of society.
7. From Titmus and Hobhouse and Leonard came various other ideas.

Against the background of various social problems and conditions Great Britain became the foremost pioneer of welfare state measures in its efforts to solve its practical problems. It is for this reason Maurice Bryce says "Welfare State is a practical answer to the British problems of industrial development and mass society.

The primary functions of a welfare state are :

1. i) To afford equality of opportunity;
2. ii) To afford basic standards of living; in keeping with human dignity to all;

The concept of Welfare State reached its maturity in the Twentieth Century; the State now takes care of the welfare of all the people.

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### Western .vs. Gandhian concept of welfare state

1. Gandhi's concept of social welfare was "Sarvodaya" based on a healthy give and take between the individual and society; each contributing to the other's moral, spiritual, economic and social progress, prosperity and happiness, based on the firm foundation of truth and non-violence. Examined from all angles, this concept enveloped the field of **social welfare in its entirety, unlike the modern western concept.**
2. In the western concept of social welfare there lies a sense of giver and receiver even in today's institutional and citizen-right concept. This may be due to the fact that the present concept has developed from the initial residual concept of charity. In the Gandhian concept there is no giving or receiving. As said earlier, it is a total perspective, not divided into areas, i.e. the total individual or society has to "reform and thus build up the. society on a moral concept of happiness which covers all other aspects. **The individual contributes to the society and the society helps the individual.**
3. The modern concept of social welfare developed in the West with the onset of industrialization and hence into that of citizen- right. The Gandhian concept has been built up in India, where **social welfare was woven in the fabric of its society since time immemorial.** Help to the needy was enjoined by "dharma" for the joint families, communities and kings. Gandhi went a step further and for him, rights and duties went hand-in-hand. Both parties had to co-relate, co-operate and improve the conditions; not merely wait for society to "help them.
4. In the modern concept, the welfare services consist of help in one form or another and the emphasis is on help in the form of money or material or services obtained through them. In the Gandhian concept the **emphasis is on the human aspect and the dependence to contribute to social welfare** is not on money or materials alone. This being a total perspective, the reform or the reconstruction had **to start at the grass-root level.** the village level, gradually reaching the seat of the government.

### **Right to property according to John Locke (12 Marks)**

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Right to property hold a special concept and character in Locke's contract theory.

He uses it in two sense. **In broad sense**, it includes the right to life, liberty and estate.

**In the narrow sense**, it is used only for the right to possess and retain one's estate.

Locke says that the individuals enter into the contract and institute the state only in order to preserve their property. Property here is used in the broad sense. He has discussed that in the state of nature there were three deficiencies in the law of nature. Due to uncertainties and confusion of law of nature, lack of uniform administering agency and the lack of impartial judge, the protection of the three rights of the individuals was at stake. Hence they made a contract and created a state. The political community or commonwealth or state created by such a contract tried to remove the three inconveniences and to protect the rights of individuals. Thus according to Locke property precedes society, state and government. The institution of political society is generated in order to preserve and get secure the rights of individual. The society and government exist with the sole object to protect and preserve the natural right of life, liberty and state. These rights were born with individual and hence the society and state cannot claim it.

Life, liberty and property of the individuals can be secured in the civil society if these three conditions are fulfilled: First, the standard interpretation of the law of nature. Secondly, an impartial authority to apply this interpretation as between the individuals. Thirdly the employment of the force of the community to executing the judgment of this authority. In other words, the rights can be protected only if the three organs of the government are created legislature, the executive and the judiciary. So in order to protect their rights better, the individuals enter into contract.

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**Equality does not mean the identity of treatment or the sameness of reward.**

**(Laski) Comment. (15 Marks)**

- According to Prof Laski “Equality does not mean identity of treatment, the sameness of reward. It means first of all absence of social privilege, on the second it means that adequate opportunities are laid upon to all”.
- Equality is treated as something that relates to distributive principle because of which rights, treatments, and opportunities are distributed amongst the beneficiaries in a fair manner. Fairness does not mean all to be treated equally in all circumstances. In fact, it very well means unequal treatment for those who are unequal. Essentially it relates to the principle of justice because it requires fair distributive principle.
- All men are never equal. Nature has endowed different men with different capacities. One individual is bom with the genius of the poet, another with that of the musician, a third with that of an engineer. The vast majority do not possess special aptitude of any kind. Men are not bom equal.
- All that is necessary to ensure the principle of equality is that special privileges of all kinds should be abolished. The State should grant equal civil and political rights to all people, making no discrimination on the ground of race, sex, caste, religion or income. All persons should be regarded as equal before the eyes of law.
- Like liberty, equality has also a positive connotation. Not only all special privileges should be abolished, but all men should be given adequate opportunities to develop their abilities. This does not mean that all should get equal opportunities or that the State should make equal arrangements for everybody. All that is necessary to ensure equality is that the State should provide suitable opportunities for everybody.
- If a citizen feels that he has the making of a good doctor in him, nothing stands in the way of his joining a good medical institution. He should be enabled to develop his abilities with the help of the State. The principle of equality is satisfied when the State provides its citizens with adequate opportunities for developing their abilities.

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- Thus, the State should pass such laws that everyone in the State should be given full chances of development.

**Discuss the significant contributions of Manu as the father of Indian polity. (15 Marks)**

Manu was the most important figure of his times and his Manava Dharma-shastra (Laws of Manu) is the most famous of the texts. It is also called the Manu smriti . It is in the form of the dharma exposed by Brahma to Manu, the first man, and passed on through Bhrigu, one of the ten great sages. Manu is considered as the father of Indian polity due to the following reasons:

- Manu was profoundly influenced by Hindu traditions and philosophy in writing the Manusmriti .
- He presented, in his smriti a picture of the socio- economic, cultural and religion environment prevailing in the ancient India.
- He focused on the institution of kingship.
- Based on Hindu religion traditions he presented a rigid social framework of chatrurvarna system consisting of Brahmana Kshatriya , vyasya and shudra. This hierarchy of social castes and their relations formed the integral theme of his political philosophy.
- Manu exhibited a deep concern for the protection of ethical autonomy of the society.
- Manu had not attempted the political phenomenon as a distinct identify by the had discussed it in the context of wider social purposes connected with religion and morality.
- Manu has not presented a theory of state but provided an account of government and its functions.
- Manu laid stress on the division of power and discrimination of functions.
- Manus smriti deals with judicial administration, the evidence the procedure of court different types of courts etc.



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**“Post-behaviouralism is future-oriented, seeking to propel political science in new directions, and to add rather than to deny its past heritage. It is a genuine revolution, not reaction; a becoming, not a preservation; a reform not a counter-reformation.” (David Easton) Comment. (20 Marks)**

Behaviouralism dominated in the study of political Science for a decade. However, the behaviouralists drifted away from the path they had chosen for themselves. They got absorbed in finding out new techniques and methods for its study. In the process they lost the real subject matter. They got divided into two groups – the Theoretical behaviouralists and the positive behaviouralists. While the former laid emphasis purely on theory building, the latter concerned themselves with finding out new methods for the study of political phenomena. Consequently, certain behaviouralists got disillusioned with behaviouralism towards the close of sixties. The main attack upon behaviouralism came from David Easton who was one of the leading behaviouralists. According to him, there is a “post – behavioural revolution” underway which is born out of deep dissatisfaction with the attempt to covert political study into a discipline modeled on the methodology of the natural sciences. In their efforts at research and application of scientific method, the behaviouraists had gone far away from the realities of social behavior. In this way, political science again lost touch with the current and contemporary issues.

David Easton, as such, speaks of the following as important features of post-behaviouralism:

1. Importance to substance over technique: post-behaviouralists say, it may be good to have sophisticated tools of investigation, but the more important point is the purpose for which these tools are being applied. Unless scientific research is relevant and meaningful for contemporary social problems, it is not worth being undertaken.
2. Emphasis on social change and not social preservation.
3. Greater focus on Reality. Political science should address the needs of mankind by identifying the future social problems and by suggesting solutions to such problems.

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4. Recognition of the existing values: According to post-behaviouralists, unless values are regarded as the propelling force behind knowledge there is a danger that knowledge would lose purposes. If knowledge is to be used for right goals, values have to be restored to the central position. Human values need protection.
5. It is Action-oriented: Knowledge must be put to work. "To know", as Easton points out "is to bear the responsibility for acting, and to act is to engage in restoring society". The post-behaviouralists as such, ask for action-science in place of contemplative-science.

According to post-behaviouralists, once it is recognized that the intellectuals have a positive role to play in society, and that this role is to try to determine proper goals for society and make society move in the direction of these goals, it becomes inevitable to politicize the profession-all professional associations as well as universities thus become not only inseparable but highly desirable.

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**Do you think the term ‘Socialist’ in the Preamble of Indian Constitution has become redundant in the era of LPG Reforms?**

There is a view that the use of word ‘socialist’ has become redundant in the context of the liberalization of Indian economy after 1992. There is also a view that the word ‘socialist’ in the Preamble to our constitution requires to be defined. These views are put forward because the reforms under the New Economic Policy provided for the minimal role of the state and bring forth the concept of ‘free market’.

An increased role of market and private players in providing the goods and services to the people is advocated. The concept of ‘minimum government and maximum governance’ is being put forward. The government is expected to give way to the private players in supplying goods and services with assured ‘value for money’, wherever it is possible. The role of the government is only to regulate and ensure that services are promptly provided, create appropriate economic climate, for example, maintaining fair competition, preventing cartelization, etc. This is known as ‘rollback of state’ giving way to the market.

In the liberalized market the Public Sector Undertakings (PSUs) enjoy more autonomy and are expected to make profits like the private. The budgetary support to the PSUs is no more available. The PSUs are to compete in the market with the private players and their monopoly is done away with. Furthermore, the concept of ‘weakening of the welfare state’ given by Margaret Thatcher advocates doing away with the subsidies and reduce the government expenditure.

However, the above views are not acceptable in the context of Indian constitution because these views attribute a state-centric interpretation to the word ‘socialist’. Whereas the constitution views socialism as a value for building a social order based on justice. In that social order socialism is prescribed as value, a social moral.

The concept of socialism is centred on the objective of providing right to access and not state centrism. Therefore, the steps taken by the government in respect of LPG (Liberalization, Privatization, Globalization) have to be viewed from this standpoint. The LPG only enhances the role of the private sector and does not result in complete pulling out the state. The state has:

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- Pulled out only from such areas where its presence is not necessary or where the private sector can perform better than the state.
- Pulled out in order to avoid exposing the public money to an unnecessary risk by way of partaking them with the non-strategic sectors.
- Liberalized to provide better qualities of services to the people.
- Liberalized to ensure the 'value for their money'.

By this, the state has permitted the private sector in order to shoulder the responsibilities and the risks so that the welfare objectives are achieved. In any case, the state has not absolved itself of the responsibility to regulate the market. Hence, the meaning of socialism is nowhere compromised.

Furthermore, the concept of democratic socialism provides for a mixed economy which does not exclude the presence of private participants. In the context of liberalization, the scope of mixed economy is widened only with the view to promote the welfare, by way of providing better quality of services, value for money to the people and conserving the state's resources—finance, human and time that could be meaningfully spent on such sectors as social and economic so as to promote the welfare goals. Hence, the term socialist is very much relevant, its meaning remains intact and not required to be defined.

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**In realism there is no moral dimension, so that for a realist what is successful is right and what is unsuccessful is wrong. (E.H.Carr). Comment. (15 Marks)**

- In his polemical work, *The Twenty Years' Crisis*, first published in July 1939, Edward Hallett Carr **attacks the Wilsonian idealist position**, which he describes as “utopianism.” For Idealists, war is an aberration in the course of normal life and the way to prevent it is to educate people for peace, and to build systems of collective security such as the League of Nations or today’s United Nations. Carr challenges idealism by questioning its claim to moral universalism and its idea of the harmony of interests. He declares that “morality can only be relative, not universal”, and states that the doctrine of the harmony of interests is invoked by privileged groups “to justify and maintain their dominant position”.
- Carr employs the concept of the **relativity of thought**, which he traces to Marx, to show that standards by which policies are judged are the products of circumstances and interests. Interests of a given party always determine what this party regards as moral principles, and hence, these principles are not universal. Policies are not, as the idealists would have it, based on some universal norms, independent of interests of the parties involved.
- Carr **refutes the liberals' belief** that international concord could be achieved by the widest possible application of their views of peace, harmony of interest, collective security and free trade. These are nothing but the ideologies of the dominant group concerned with maintaining their own predominance by asserting the identity of its own interest with those of the community.
- The idealist concept of the **harmony of interests** is based on the notion that human beings can rationally recognize that they have some interests in common, and that cooperation is therefore possible. Carr contrasts this idea with the reality of **conflict of interests**. According to him, the world is torn apart by the particular interests of different individuals and groups. In such a conflictual environment, order is based on power, not on morality. Further, morality itself is the product of power.

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- Realists on the other hand, believed the ***pursuit of national power*** was a natural drive which states neglected at their peril. Nation states which eschewed the pursuit of power on principle simply endangered their own security. For Carr, the pursuit of power by individual states took the form of promoting national interest a term later to be more broadly defined as the foreign policy goals of every nation. For Carr, as for all realists, conflict between states was inevitable in an international system without an overarching authority regulating relations between them. For Carr ethics was a function of politics and morality was the product of power.
- Carr says that the state is not 'expected to indulge in altruism at the cost of any serious sacrifice of its interests'. E.H. Carr's 'Classical' Realism, says that the desire for power and accumulate more power is rooted in the human nature. States are continuously engaged in a struggle to increase their capabilities without restraint.

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**Explicate the relationship between Ronald Dworkin's rights as trumps model and the doctrine of proportionality. (15 Marks). Discuss the doctrine of 'rights as trump'. [2019 Mains Political Science and International Relations]]**

- The Doctrine of Proportionality formulates a set of conditions that, when jointly satisfied, indicate that the limitation of a constitutional right is justified. The doctrine justifies a limitation when
  1. there is a rational connection between the means that the law employs and the objective that it pursues,
  2. the law pursues its objective in a manner that minimally impairs the right, and
  3. the values of a free and democratic society are realized more fully by the limitation than the right itself.
- At each stage of this justificatory sequence, government bears the onus of justifying the limitation of a constitutional right. ***In the case of Om Kumar v. Union of India, the Supreme Court of India adopted this proportionality concept.*** The Supreme Court has also noted that Indian courts have been using this approach in circumstances of legislation that violates fundamental rights provided in Article 19(1) of the constitution since 1950.
- ***Ronald Dworkin's rights as trumps model argues against government regulation of morals (Doctrine of Proportionality).*** It states that that fundamental rights have an elevated status with respect to a range of collective goals asserted in the name of the public interest, including utility, popular preference, non-prohibitive cost, and administrative convenience. The temptation to balance fundamental rights against collective goals must be resisted.
- ***Collective goals might violate rights, but there can be no conflict between them.*** According to Dworkin, individual rights should prevail over government initiated laws promoting the collective good because such laws violate every person's right to equality.
- Dworkin argued that the concept of right against the government becomes most useful particularly when the society is divided on racial lines into majority and

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minority. The right to freedom of speech and religious freedom belong to this category. Therefore, they are **strong rights**. He asserts that these rights should be permitted and they should not be interfered or banned. These freedoms are to be allowed even if the welfare of the collectivity is infringed. On the contrary, he also presupposes a large area of rights where the state can make legislations curtailing those rights to achieve common welfare. They can be called **weak rights**.

- **For example**, restraining the movement on the roads for safety and smooth traffic movement does not mean restraining the rights, on the other hand, putting a restriction on publication or restraining the freedom of speech will infringe the rights even if it enhances general welfare. Thus, even though in both cases rights are involved, curtailment of one is justified, whereas the other is not.
- **Habermas criticised "rights as trumps model" on the proposition that** even if we assume that the human dignity usually prevails over other rights, it should not be considered absolute. There can be some unavoidable circumstances, where the right to dignity will be at least partially defeated.

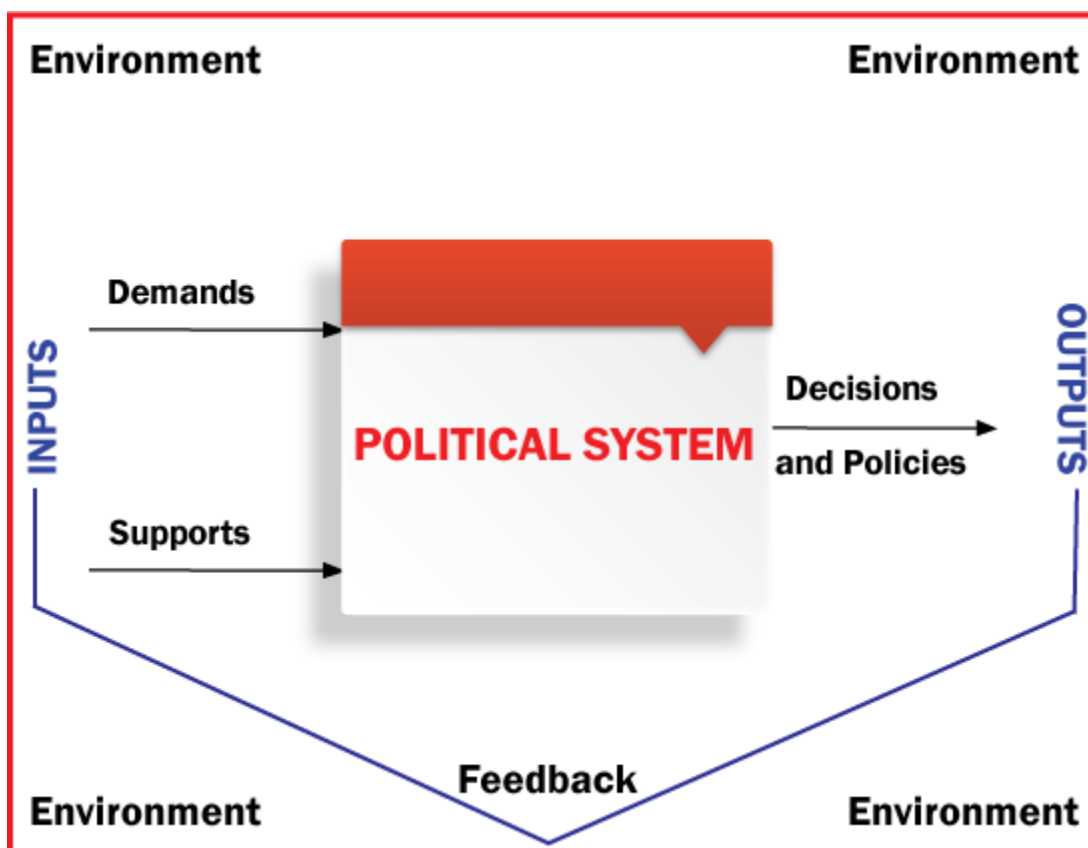


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**Write on the Systems Approach in about 150 words. (10 Marks). UPSC MAINS 2022**

David Easton, Gabriel Almond, G C Powell, Morton Kaplan, Karl Deutsch and other behaviouralists were the pioneers to adopt the Systems Theory for analyzing political phenomena and developing theories in Political Science during late 1950s and 1960s. In general, a system involves the idea of a group of objects or elements standing in some characteristic structural relationship to one another and interacting on the basis of certain characteristic processes.

According to the systems analysis the functioning of a political system suggests that what is happening in the environment affects the political system through the kinds of inputs (demands and support) or influences that flow into the system. Through its structures and processes (conversion process) the system then acts on these intakes in such a way that they are converted into outputs. These are the authoritative decisions and their implementation.



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The outputs return to the systems in the environment, or, in many cases, they may return directly to the system itself through the feedback-loop. In its elemental form a political system is just a means whereby certain kinds of inputs are converted into outputs. Outputs are the central contribution of a political system to the forces that help it cope with the various stresses originating from its environment.

Persistence of a political system, its capacity to continue the production of authoritative outputs, depends upon keeping the conversion process operating. The systems analysis of political life seeks to unravel the processes through which a political system is able to cope with the various stresses imposed upon it. And according to this analysis the political system is a goal-setting, goal-modifying, and self-transforming system.

Criticisms

- It is a very complicated and abstract theory.
- No explanation for the processes of social change given.
- Instances of socio-economic and political crises are overlooked.
- Its outlook is conservative and status quo seeking.
- No recognition of the possibility of heterogeneity or diversity in political systems.

However the systems analysis is considered as a path-breaking and trend setting attempt towards building universally applicable general theories for analyzing and interpreting political life, thus unveiling new horizons in the study of Political Science.

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**Write on the Cultural Relativism in about 150 words. (10 Marks). UPSC MAINS 2022**

- Cultural relativism defines that there is ethically, morally, and culturally no absolute truth, and that when observing another culture one must suspend all judgments because those judgments are inherently ethnocentric.

Cultural relativists claims the following:

- Different societies have different moral codes.
- The moral code of a society determines what is right within that society; so, if a society says that a certain action is right, then that action is right, at least in that society.
- There is no objective standard that can be used to judge one society's code as better than another's. There are no moral truths that hold for all people at all times.
- The moral code of our own society has no special status; it is but one among many.
- It is arrogant for us to judge other cultures. We should always be tolerant of them.

Universalists holds that more “primitive” cultures will eventually evolve to have the same system of law and rights as Western cultures. Cultural relativists hold an opposite, but similarly rigid viewpoint, that a traditional culture is unchangeable. “Cultural relativists” believe human rights should take account of cultural differences.

**Will Kymlicka** argues that members of different cultures can share a common political organization but justice may require that some of these groups be granted distinct rights or powers. He describes this as "group-differentiated citizenship" . His argument has been characterized as an attempt to defend a "Liberal Nationalism" ." Kymlicka's approach involves "special legal or constitutional measures. above and beyond the common rights of citizenship", of which there are three basic types: "

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1. self-government rights have as their central concern "political autonomy or territorial jurisdiction."
  2. polyethnic rights provide public funding for particular cultural practices and "exemptions from laws and regulations" that disadvantage minority cultures.
  3. special representation rights is the "proportional" or "guaranteed" representation of certain groups in political deliberation.
- **Bhikhu Parekh** advocates moral diversity (manifested here as a different perception of the human being and the worth he/she represents by the fact of being human but also by the fact of being an individual) where it grows out of the cultural specificity of a given state/social unit.

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**Write on the "Revolution in Permanence" in about 150 words. (10 Marks). UPSC MAINS 2022**

- The Marxian theory basically emphasised the idea of 'Permanent Revolution'. The Marxists opined that a social revolution takes place when the existing relations of production begin to act as a fetter on the future development of forces of production. Thus, for Marx, the major political revolutions of the modern age up to this time are to be explained as the result of long-term social and economic developments in which new forms of economic exploitation come up. For him, 'a political revolution is a social revolution when it involves the conflict of social classes.'
- Thus, Marx hails the 'bourgeoisie revolution' whereby the 'feudal state is overthrown by the middle class that has grown up inside it and a new state created as the instrument of the bourgeoisie rule.' He hoped that in a democratically advanced country (like England, Holland, France and America) a socialist revolution might take place through the battle of the ballot box. In the main, however, the burden of Marxian theory is on the use of violent means. Not merely this, it also envisages that the ideas, beliefs, convictions, customs and the ways of life of the people are changed so as to make them in tune with the norms of the socialist system. In this way, a 'Cultural Revolution' is launched to brainwash the people.
- The course of revolution does not stop even here. It is a permanent affair, which calls for the final stage of a 'stateless society'. This also implies 'export of revolution', which means establishment of international socialism. The Communist Manifesto ends with these words of exhortation: 'Workers of all countries unite. You have nothing to lose but chains. You have a world to win.'
- Fifty-five years after Marx and Engels raised the call to "make the revolution permanent" in Western Europe, Trotsky re-introduced the phrase in reference to underdeveloped nations, based on events in his homeland. Leon Trotsky used it to foresee key elements of the world's first successful overturn of capitalism, the Russian Revolution of 1917, in which he was a central leader. Trotsky's concept

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of permanent revolution is firmly grounded in the Marxist fundamental that human society advances through conflicts of classes.

Criticisms

- A major criticism leveled against this theory is that, it stops after the occurrence of the 'Socialist Revolution.' Revolution basically means a change for the better. But in a socialist state, any change is a taboo. Opposition is suppressed and the people are forced to change themselves, which may not necessarily amount to a change for the better. Thus, Marx's vision can be termed as limited.
- Another weakness in this theory is that the precise relationship between revolutionary political action and Marx's general theory of socio-economic development is optimistically vague. It stands on the elaboration of class war. The theory is problematic as we find controversy among the thinkers. While Trotsky desired 'export of revolution', Stalin cried for 'Socialism in One Country'. Khrushchev, on the other hand, reiterated the principle of peaceful coexistence with the capitalist state.

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**Write on the "Bases of Power" in about 150 words. (10 Marks). UPSC MAINS 2022**

Max Weber deals power primarily in the context of society and state. Weber defines power as the probability that an actor will be able to realize his own objectives against opposition from others with whom he is in social relationship). **Weber's concepts of power and domination are closely associated. He distinguishes between these types of domination: charismatic, traditional and legal rational.**

	<b>Traditional</b>	<b>Charismatic</b>	<b>Legal-Rational</b>
<b>Source of Power</b>	Legitimized by long-standing custom	Based on a leader's personal qualities	Authority resides in the rules and laws, not the person
<b>Leadership Style</b>	Historic personality	Dynamic personality	Bureaucratic officials
<b>Example</b>	Royal Queen, England	Napoleon, Mahatma Gandhi	U.S. president, Indian Prime Minister

Primarily there are 5 bases of power.

1. *Wealth and Property*: Wealth is considered as the most important attribute of power as most of the powerful persons have control over the limited resources. The possession of property allows people to acquire anything they want and thereby making others to submit to them. For generation wealth has been one of the most important sources of power.
2. *Personality*: Personality has the ability to persuade and influence others. This source is also known as **referent power** which is discussed in length by Bertram Raven in his theory of five bases of social power. This power comes from the ability of individuals to attract others and build their loyalty. This is known as Charismatic authority in Weberian terms.
3. *Prize and Reward*: Power depends on the ability of the power wielder to confer valued material rewards, it refers to the degree to which the individual can give

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others a reward of some kind such as benefits, desired gifts, promotions or increases in pay or responsibility.

4. *Coercive force* : Coercive force can be of physical, mental or other form. People opt for submission to the coercive power possessor out of fear of punishment or fear of loss of their freedom or any other reason. The threats could be real or imaginary perception. Threats and punishment are common tools of coercion. Implying or threatening that someone will be fired, demoted, denied privileges, or given undesirable assignments.
5. *Cultural hegemony* : As stated by Italian philosopher **Antonio Gramsci**, Cultural hegemony refers to rule or power established by dominant class with help of ideology or culture. The term refers to the ability of a group of people to hold power over social institutions, and thus, to strongly influence the everyday thoughts, expectations, and behaviour of the rest of society by directing the normative ideas, values, and beliefs that become the dominant worldview of a society. Cultural hegemony functions by achieving the consent of the masses to abide social norms and the rules of law by framing the worldview of the ruling class, and the social and economic structures that go with it, as just, legitimate, and designed for the benefit of all, even though they may really only benefit the ruling class. It is distinct from rule by force, like in a military dictatorship, for achieving rule through the realm of ideas, norms, and expectations.



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**Write on the "Locke's Social Contract" in about 150 words. (10 Marks). UPSC MAINS 2022**

Locke believed that the human nature is good and social. It is obvious that they live in relative peace and harmony with their fellow beings. People were neither nasty nor uncivilized nor brutish but they lived happily and peacefully with each other. They enjoyed certain natural rights and there was no perpetual war in state of nature.

Locke observed that this state of nature suffered from certain inconveniences. Locke observed that there were three, drawbacks in the state of nature,

- (1) laws were not clearly defined
- (2) there was no common authority to enforce the natural rights and
- (3) there was no recognised and commonly accepted judge to settle disputes.

This means that there was no legislature to make laws, there was no executive to implement laws and there was no judiciary to interpret laws. Thus the three parts of government were missing in the state of nature. These drawbacks were responsible for the people getting out of the state of nature, and entering into civil society.

Men made a contract to enter into a civil society or the state. This was a social covenant. It was entered into and agreed upon by the people among themselves. .Locke calls this a Social Contract. The social contract puts an end to the state of nature. People who entered into this contract, did not surrender all the natural rights which they enjoyed in the state of nature. They surrendered only one aspect of their Rights, (i.e.) the right of interpreting and enforcing the law of nature. This surrender was made in order to protect their existing rights in a more effective manner. The contract was for limited and specific purposes. The people Surrendered the right to the community as a whole and not to one man or to an assembly of men. Locke recognises and establishes the sovereignty of the people. To him, the state existed only for the people. All these ideas differ from the ideas of Hobbes.

The first contract as we have seen is a **social contract**. Locke speaks by implication of a second contract, namely, a **governmental contract**. The government is authorised by the society to make positive laws consistent with the laws of nature. The second contract was subordinate to the first contract. This is because the government was only

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a Judiciary power. It should act for a certain end. Original exercise of authority or power was also limited to achieve The society in its corporate capacity establishes the govern those ends.

The second contract is not expressly stated by Locke. This was only implied by him. Locke observed that the legislative power becomes the supreme power in the commonwealth. This is based on the consent of the people. This power should be exercised only to promote "the peace, saety and public good of the people." Locke considers the government as a trust. The law of nature must not be violated by the government. The rules of the government are expected to be in accordance with the law of nature. The judges must dispense justice according to the standing laws. Locke also observed that the government had no right to deprive the individual of his property without his consent. No taxes can be levied without the consent of the people or their representatives, except in emergencies. The community thus perpetually retains the supreme power The sovereign of Locke is thus given a limited authority. The people were given the right of revolution. They can overthrow a government which does not exist for the good of the people.