

ශ්‍රී ලංකා විභාග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව ශ්‍රී ලංකා විභාග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව ශ්‍රී ලංකා විභාග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව ශ්‍රී ලංකා විභාග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව ශ්‍රී ලංකා විභාග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව  
 இலங்கைப் பரீட்சைத் திணைக்களம் இலங்கைப் பரීட்சைத் திணைக்களம் இலங்கைப் பரීட்சைத் திணைக்களம் இலங்கைப் பரීட்சைத் திணைக்களம் இலங்கைப் பரීட்சைத் திணைக்களம்  
 Department of Examinations, Sri Lanka Department of Examinations, Sri Lanka Department of Examinations, Sri Lanka Department of Examinations, Sri Lanka Department of Examinations, Sri Lanka  
 ශ්‍රී ලංකා විභාග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව ශ්‍රී ලංකා විභාග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව ශ්‍රී ලංකා විභාග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව ශ්‍රී ලංකා විභාග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව ශ්‍රී ලංකා විභාග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව  
 இலங்கைப் பரීட்சைத் திணைக்களம் இலங்கைப் பரීட்சைத் திணைக்களம் இலங்கைப் பரීட்சைத் திணைக்களம் இலங்கைப் பரීட்சைத் திணைக்களம் இலங்கைப் பரීட்சைத் திணைக்களம்  
 Department of Examinations, Sri Lanka Department of Examinations, Sri Lanka Department of Examinations, Sri Lanka Department of Examinations, Sri Lanka Department of Examinations, Sri Lanka

අධ්‍යයන පොදු සහතික පත්‍ර (උසස් පෙළ) විභාගය, 2021(2022)  
 கல்விப் பொதுத் தராதரப் பத்திர (உயர் தர)ப் பரீட்சை, 2021(2022)  
 General Certificate of Education (Adv. Level) Examination, 2021(2022)

දේශපාලන විද්‍යාව I  
 அரசியல் விஞ்ஞானம் I  
 Political Science I

23 E I

පැය දෙකයි  
 இரண்டு மணித்தியாலம்  
 Two hours

Index No. : .....

### Instructions:

- \* This question paper consists of two parts as A and B.
- \* Part A contains 30 multiple choice questions and Part B contains 20 short answer type questions.
- \* Answer all questions on the question paper itself.
- \* Each question carries 02 marks making a total of 100 marks.

For Examiner's use only.

Page No.	Question No.	Marks
1	1 - 3	
2	4 - 10	
3	11 - 17	
4	18 - 23	
5	24 - 30	
6	31 - 37	
7	38 - 44	
8	45 - 50	
Total		

	Signature	Code Number
1 <sup>st</sup> Examiner		
2 <sup>nd</sup> Examiner		
Additional Chief Examiner		
Arithmetic Checker		
Chief Examiner		

### Part A

- Select the correct or most appropriate answer to questions from 1 to 20.

#### 1. Politics is

- (1) limited to the affairs of public administration. (2) always concerned with social welfare.  
 (3) confined to the electoral process. (4) a social practice among citizens.  
 (5) the study of moral values of society. (.....)

#### 2. Political science

- (1) aims at obtaining political power.  
 (2) is limited to the study of public policy making process.  
 (3) is a branch of social sciences.  
 (4) discourages party politics.  
 (5) is based on common sense. (.....)

#### 3. Constitutionalism

- (1) subverts the principle of checks and balances.  
 (2) goes against the tradition of representative democracy.  
 (3) promotes corruption and abuse of power.  
 (4) enables concentration of state power in the hands of the executive and the legislature.  
 (5) protects fundamental rights and freedom of citizens. (.....)

4. Social democracy
- (1) originated during the 17<sup>th</sup> century.
  - (2) was closely connected with liberalism.
  - (3) was the political ideology of the British Conservative Party.
  - (4) combines features of both capitalism and socialism.
  - (5) believed in capitalism's ability to eradicate economic inequalities. (.....)
5. Rule of Law
- (1) justifies the authority of government bureaucracy.
  - (2) enables the government to act arbitrarily in national emergencies.
  - (3) emphasizes that government decisions should always reflect the will of the majority.
  - (4) aims at preventing the exercise of political power without accountability.
  - (5) is a legal concept of socialism. (.....)
6. The role of political parties in making public policy includes
- (1) making use of people's problems only to gain political power.
  - (2) educating citizens on the outcomes of public policies.
  - (3) restricting people's participation in the policy process.
  - (4) promoting private interests through public policy making.
  - (5) discouraging party leadership from getting involved in policy debates. (.....)
7. Recent trends in the political party system of Sri Lanka include
- (1) continuation of traditional party ideologies.
  - (2) disappearance of ethno-religious parties.
  - (3) increasing popularity of traditional left parties.
  - (4) decline of the two major traditional parties.
  - (5) decrease in internal party conflicts. (.....)
8. Among the outcomes of the system of proportional representation in Sri Lanka is
- (1) enabling minor parties to secure more representation.
  - (2) decrease in electoral violence.
  - (3) strengthening democracy by introducing the national list.
  - (4) decrease in expenses on election campaigns.
  - (5) prevention of the emergence of parties with ethnic identity. (.....)
9. The First Republican Constitution (1972) of Sri Lanka
- (1) made the public service free of control by the political executive.
  - (2) gave authority to the Cabinet of Ministers to appoint and transfer public servants.
  - (3) abolished the State Services Advisory Board.
  - (4) introduced constitutional provisions to ensure independence of the public service.
  - (5) depoliticised the recruitment process to the public service. (.....)
10. The means available in international politics to achieve the goals of national interests are;
- (1) diplomacy.
  - (2) political parties.
  - (3) multinational corporations.
  - (4) elite groups.
  - (5) social movements. (.....)

**11. Post-independence foreign policy of Sri Lanka**

- (1) ignored the importance of states in the South Asian region.
- (2) is driven by socialist ideology.
- (3) has been shaped by the ideologies and interests of regimes in power.
- (4) always disregarded the advantage of Sri Lanka's strategic location.
- (5) has been determined by the policies of the United National Party. (.....)

**12. Behavioural approach in political science**

- (1) has a history going back to the period of classical Greece.
- (2) is connected with empiricist research.
- (3) emphasizes the history of political institutions.
- (4) failed to gain support among American political scientists.
- (5) ignores the study of individual political behaviour. (.....)

**13. Government**

- (1) has a longer existence than the state.
- (2) is the central institution of political power in society.
- (3) is the key institutional agency of the state.
- (4) possesses external sovereignty of the nation.
- (5) is synonymous with the concept of state. (.....)

More Past Papers at  
**tamilguru.lk**

**14. The meaning of Indian Secularism is,**

- (1) all religions are treated as state religions.
- (2) religious neutrality of the state.
- (3) respect for ethnic identities of all citizens.
- (4) special treatment to minority religions.
- (5) government intervention to resolve doctrinal disputes among religions. (.....)

**15. Liberalism**

- (1) argues that the state exists in class societies.
- (2) aims to protect individual freedom of citizens.
- (3) promotes state intervention in trade.
- (4) is a political ideology supported by Marxists.
- (5) discourages civil society activism. (.....)

**16. Switzerland**

- (1) is called a semi-federal system in the constitution.
- (2) is a relatively large country with an advanced federal system.
- (3) has a constitutional principle that facilitates shared-rule and self-rule.
- (4) does not ensure autonomy to its Cantons.
- (5) has a uni-cameral legislature. (.....)

**17. The constitution of the United States of America**

- (1) does not provide for separation of powers.
- (2) rejects republicanism.
- (3) replaced the previous unitary constitution.
- (4) provides powers for the state governments to enter into agreements with foreign states.
- (5) lists only the powers of central government. (.....)

18. The presidential form of government has the following principle:

- (1) Separate elections for the executive and the legislature.
- (2) The executive depends on the legislature for its survival.
- (3) President is not the head of state.
- (4) Simultaneous ending of terms of the legislature and the executive.
- (5) Removal of the president is a relatively easy process. (.....)

19. The Westminster model of government

- (1) is similar to the French system of government.
- (2) has provisions for electing the Head of State through popular vote.
- (3) has the legislative supremacy of parliament.
- (4) allows judicial review of legislation.
- (5) does not provide for the collective responsibility of the Cabinet of Ministers. (.....)

20. The Donoughmore Constitution of Sri Lanka

- (1) introduced the system of proportional representation.
- (2) made Governor the head of the Board of Ministers.
- (3) laid the foundation for democratic government.
- (4) promoted communal representation.
- (5) rejected voting rights for women. (.....)

- Select the answer that includes the **correct set of statements** for questions from 21 to 25.

21. The Westminster features of the Soulbury Constitution were:

- A - the Governor General was the nominal executive.
  - B - the political executive was elected by Parliament.
  - C - legislature was bicameral.
  - D - Prime Minister headed the Cabinet.
  - E - the Governor General was answerable to Parliament.
- (1) ABCD            (2) ABCE            (3) ABDE            (4) ACDE            (5) BCDE (.....)

22. The chapter on Fundamental Rights in the Second Republican Constitution (1978) of Sri Lanka

- A - guarantees civil and political rights.
  - B - provides for citizens to petition to any court regarding the violation of fundamental rights.
  - C - empowers the Supreme Court to adjudicate Fundamental Rights cases.
  - D - comes under criticism because it does not include collective and social rights.
  - E - placed limitations on fundamental rights during a state of emergency.
- (1) ABCD            (2) ABCE            (3) ABDE            (4) ACDE            (5) BCDE (.....)

23. Peace building

- A - promotes only the grassroots level peace initiatives.
  - B - can be tailored to the specific context of each country.
  - C - emphasizes sustainable peace in societies with protracted conflicts.
  - D - emphasizes the participation of citizens and civil society movements.
  - E - consists of both positive and negative peace.
- (1) ABCD            (2) ABCE            (3) ABDE            (4) ACDE            (5) BCDE (.....)

24. The legislature under the First Republican Constitution (1972) of Sri Lanka

- A - was not subjected to judicial scrutiny.  
 B - was considered the supreme instrument of state power.  
 C - deviated from the British parliamentary form.  
 D - was bicameral.  
 E - was officially called the National State Assembly.

(1) ABCD            (2) ABCE            (3) ABDE            (4) ACDE            (5) BCDE            (.....)

25. The American Federal System of government

- A - is built on the idea of the autonomy of states.  
 B - requires the approval of state legislatures for Constitutional Amendments.  
 C - does not provide concurrent powers for central and state governments.  
 D - has created a bi-cameral legislature.  
 E - views supremacy of the Constitution as a key founding principle.

(1) ABCD            (2) ABCE            (3) ABDE            (4) ACDE            (5) BCDE            (.....)

- Questions numbered 26 to 30 contain two statements each. From the table given below, select the response out of the responses (1), (2), (3), (4) and (5) that best fits the two statements and write the number of the relevant response on the dotted line given within brackets.

No.	First Statement	Second Statement
(1)	True	True
(2)	True	False
(3)	False	True
(4)	False	False
(5)	True	True and further describes the first statement

	First Statement	Second Statement	
26.	Under the 1978 constitution, only the President has the power to grant pardon to a convicted person.	Before exercising the power to grant pardon, the President should consult the Supreme Court for advise.	(.....)
27.	Under the 1978 constitution, members of parliament are elected on the basis of electoral districts.	Fundamental rights in Sri Lanka are subjected to restrictions by law in the interests of racial and religious harmony as well as the national economy.	(.....)
28.	According to the 20 <sup>th</sup> Amendment to the 1978 Constitution, the Parliamentary Council has five members.	Under the 20 <sup>th</sup> Amendment to the 1978 Constitution, there are no civil society representatives among members of the Parliamentary Council.	(.....)
29.	Under the 1978 constitution, the power to prorogue Parliament is with the Speaker of Parliament.	Upon the dissolution of Parliament, President is not mandated to fix a date for the next parliamentary election.	(.....)
30.	Under the 13th Amendment to the 1978 constitution, the Governor of a province is appointed by the Chief Minister of the Provincial Council.	The Chief Minister has the power to nominate members to the Board of Ministers of the Provincial Council.	(.....)

**Part B**

31. The comparative approach to the study of politics has three traditions. Name **two** of them.

(1) .....

(2) .....

32. There are several party systems in the world. Name **two** of them.

(1) .....

(2) .....

33. In the political and social theory, the concept of civil society has been used to give four meanings. Name **two** of them.

(1) .....

(2) .....

34. The idea that the state is the highest human organization in society has two strands of meaning in political theory that are identified with the names of two thinkers. What are the **two** stands?

(1) .....

(2) .....

35. (1) Name the approach to the study of politics that questions the exclusion of women from politics.

.....

(2) What is the approach to the study of politics which states that politics is determined by economic and class factors?

.....

36. (1) What is the democratic principle which is part of the rule of law that emphasizes the idea that law should be applied to all individuals equally?

.....

(2) What is the principle used in democracies to prevent the concentration of governmental power in one institution?

.....

37. (1) What is the constitutional model of the system of government in India?

.....

(2) What is the constitutional model of the system of government in France?

.....

38. In Max Weber's theory of bureaucracy, there are three systems of authority. Name **two** of them.

(1) .....

(2) .....

39. (1) When did the government of Mahajana Eksath Peramuna (MEP) come into power in Sri Lanka?

.....

(2) In which year the 20<sup>th</sup> Amendment to Sri Lanka's 1978 Constitution was introduced?

.....

40. Name the **two** members of the commission which proposed reforms to Sri Lankan system of government and judicial administration in 1833.

(1) .....

(2) .....

41. The system of devolution of power under the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the 1978 Constitution of Sri Lanka has three lists of power. Name **two** of them.

(1) .....

(2) .....

42. Name the **two** aspects of the sovereignty of state.

(1) .....

(2) .....

43. The Parliament established by the Soulbury Constitution of 1947 consisted of three institutions. One was the House of Representatives. What were the other **two** ?

(1) .....

(2) .....

44. (1) The origin of the modern nation-state system is traced to a Peace Treaty signed in Europe during the 17<sup>th</sup> Century. Name the Treaty.

.....

(2) Name the approach to foreign policy which advocated that small nations should maintain neutrality towards big powers.

.....



45. (1) What is the concept that describes the world system which is divided into two power blocks ?

.....

(2) Name the concept that describes the world system under a single world power.

.....

46. There are two ways to prevent conflicts. What are they?

(1) .....

(2) .....

47. The study of public policy takes two forms. Name them.

(1) .....

(2) .....

48. (1) What is the concept used in the social contract theory to describe the condition in which human beings lived without a state.

.....

(2) Name the political philosopher who inaugurated the political theory of liberalism.

.....

49. (1) What is the twentieth century political ideology that emphasized the cult of the state?

.....

(2) Name the book in political theory written by Thomas Hobbes.

.....

50. As an ideology, nationalism can be understood under three approaches. Name **two** of them.

(1) .....

(2) .....

\*\*\*





ශ්‍රී ලංකා විභාග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව ශ්‍රී ලංකා විභාග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව ශ්‍රී ලංකා විභාග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව ශ්‍රී ලංකා විභාග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව ශ්‍රී ලංකා විභාග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව  
 இலங்கைப் பரீட்சைத் திணைக்களம் இலங்கைப் பரීட்சைத் திணைக்களம் இலங்கைப் பரීட்சைத் திணைக்களம் இலங்கைப் பரීட்சைத் திணைக்களம் இலங்கைப் பரීட்சைத் திணைக்களம்  
 Department of Examinations, Sri Lanka Department of Examinations, Sri Lanka Department of Examinations, Sri Lanka Department of Examinations, Sri Lanka Department of Examinations, Sri Lanka  
 ශ්‍රී ලංකා විභාග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව ශ්‍රී ලංකා විභාග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව ශ්‍රී ලංකා විභාග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව ශ්‍රී ලංකා විභාග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව ශ්‍රී ලංකා විභාග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව  
 இலங்கைப் பரීட்சைத் திணைக்களம் இலங்கைப் பரීட்சைத் திணைக்களம் இலங்கைப் பரීட்சைத் திணைக்களம் இலங்கைப் பரීட்சைத் திணைக்களம் இலங்கைப் பரීட்சைத் திணைக்களம்  
 Department of Examinations, Sri Lanka Department of Examinations, Sri Lanka Department of Examinations, Sri Lanka Department of Examinations, Sri Lanka Department of Examinations, Sri Lanka

අධ්‍යයන පොදු සහතික පත්‍ර (උසස් පෙළ) විභාගය, 2021(2022)  
 கல்விப் பொதுத் தராதரப் பத்திர (உயர் தர)ப் பரீட்சை, 2021(2022)  
 General Certificate of Education (Adv. Level) Examination, 2021(2022)

දේශපාලන විද්‍යාව II  
 அரசியல் விஞ்ஞானம் II  
 Political Science II

23 E II

පැය තුනයි  
 மூன்று மணித்தியாலம்  
 Three hours

අමතර කියවීමේ කාලය - මිනිත්තු 10 යි  
 மேலதிக வாசிப்பு நேரம் - 10 நிமிடங்கள்  
 Additional Reading Time - 10 minutes

Use additional reading time to go through the question paper, select the questions you will answer and decide which of them you will prioritise.

### Instructions:

- \* This paper consists of three parts.
- \* Answer five questions, selecting at least one question from part I, two questions from part II and one question from part III.

### Part I

1. Describe the sociological approach to the study of politics. (20 marks)
2. (i) Define the concept of 'political ideology'. (05 marks)  
 (ii) Describe 'Socialism' as a political ideology. (15 marks)
3. (i) Define the concept of 'State'. (05 marks)  
 (ii) Explain the role of the state in society. (10 marks)  
 (iii) How does government differ from the state? (05 marks)

### Part II

4. (i) Discuss briefly the economic transformation occurred in Sri Lanka under the British colonial rule. (10 marks)  
 (ii) Describe social aspects of the transformation occurred in Sri Lanka under the the British colonial rule. (10 marks)
5. (i) Briefly describe the minority protection provisions of the Soulbury Constitution? (10 marks)  
 (ii) Discuss briefly whether the provisions you mentioned in above (i) served their objectives. (10 marks)
6. Show the changes introduced to the powers of President under the following amendments to the 1978 constitution of Sri Lanka.
  - (i) the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment (10 marks)
  - (ii) the 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment. (10 marks)

7. (i) Define the concept of 'conflict'. (05 marks)  
(ii) Describe, giving examples, how conflicts are classified. (10 marks)  
(iii) Briefly explain the concept of negotiation as a means to conflict resolution. (05 marks)

**Part III**

8. Describe main features of the Gaullist system of government in France? (20 marks)
9. (i) Define 'public policy'. (05 marks)  
(ii) Explain the role of the political executive and permanent executive in the public policy process. (15 marks)
10. Write short notes on any **two** of the following topics:  
(i) Factors that influence Sri Lanka's foreign policy  
(ii) Main features of democratic government  
(iii) State actors in international politics  
(iv) Main features of the Indian system of government  
(v) Functions of political parties (10 × 2 = 20 marks)

\* \* \*

More Past Papers at  
**tamilguru.lk**

Department of Examinations – Sri Lanka  
අ.පො.ස.(උ.පෙළ)විභාගය/G.C.E. (A/L)- 2021 (2022)

විෂය අංකය  
Subject No.

23

විෂය  
Subject

Political Science

ලකුණු දීමේ පටිපාටිය/Marking Scheme  
I පත්‍රය/Paper I, Part A

ප්‍රශ්න අංකය Question No.	පිළිතුරු අංකය Answer No.	ප්‍රශ්න අංකය Question No.	පිළිතුරු අංකය Answer No.	ප්‍රශ්න අංකය Question No.	පිළිතුරු අංකය Answer No.
01.	4	11.	3	21.	1
02.	3	12.	2	22.	4
03.	5	13.	3	23.	5
04.	4	14.	2	24.	2
05.	4	15.	2	25.	3
06.	2	16.	3	26.	2
07.	4	17.	5	27.	1
08.	1	18.	1	28.	5
09.	2	19.	3	29.	4
10.	1	20.	3	30.	3

විශේෂ උපදෙස්/Special Instructions:

විකි පිළිතුරකට ලකුණු 02 බැගින්/ 01 Mark for each question

මුළු ලකුණු/Total Marks  $2 \times 30 = 60$

**Part B**

31. The comparative approach to the study of politics has three traditions. Name **two** of them.
- (1) .....
- (2) .....
32. There are several party systems in the world. Name **two** of them.
- (1) .....
- (2) .....
33. In the political and social theory, the concept of civil society has been used to give four meanings. Name **two** of them.
- (1) .....
- (2) .....
34. The idea that the state is the highest human organization in society has two strands of meaning in political theory that are identified with the names of two thinkers. What are the **two** stands?
- (1) .....
- (2) .....
35. (1) Name the approach to the study of politics that questions the exclusion of women from politics.
- .....
- (2) What is the approach to the study of politics which states that politics is determined by economic and class factors?
- .....
36. (1) What is the democratic principle which is part of the rule of law that emphasizes the idea that law should be applied to all individuals equally?
- .....
- (2) What is the principle used in democracies to prevent the concentration of governmental power in one institution?
- .....
37. (1) What is the constitutional model of the system of government in India?
- .....
- (2) What is the constitutional model of the system of government in France?
- .....

[See page seven

38. In Max Weber's theory of bureaucracy, there are three systems of authority. Name **two** of them.

(1) .....

(2) .....

39. (1) When did the government of Mahajana Eksath Peramuna (MEP) come into power in Sri Lanka?

.....

(2) In which year the 20<sup>th</sup> Amendment to Sri Lanka's 1978 Constitution was introduced?

.....

40. Name the **two** members of the commission which proposed reforms to Sri Lankan system of government and judicial administration in 1833.

(1) .....

(2) .....

41. The system of devolution of power under the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the 1978 Constitution of Sri Lanka has three lists of power. Name **two** of them.

(1) .....

(2) .....

42. Name the **two** aspects of the sovereignty of state.

(1) .....

(2) .....

43. The Parliament established by the Soulbury Constitution of 1947 consisted of three institutions. One was the House of Representatives. What were the other **two** ?

(1) .....

(2) .....

44. (1) The origin of the modern nation-state system is traced to a Peace Treaty signed in Europe during the 17<sup>th</sup> Century. Name the Treaty.

.....

(2) Name the approach to foreign policy which advocated that small nations should maintain neutrality towards big powers.

.....

45. (1) What is the concept that describes the world system which is divided into two power blocks ?

.....

(2) Name the concept that describes the world system under a single world power.

.....

46. There are two ways to prevent conflicts. What are they?

(1) .....

(2) .....

47. The study of public policy takes two forms. Name them.

(1) .....

(2) .....

48. (1) What is the concept used in the social contract theory to describe the condition in which human beings lived without a state.

.....

(2) Name the political philosopher who inaugurated the political theory of liberalism.

.....

49. (1) What is the twentieth century political ideology that emphasized the cult of the state?

.....

(2) Name the book in political theory written by Thomas Hobbes.

.....

50. As an ideology, nationalism can be understood under three approaches. Name **two** of them.

(1) .....

(2) .....

\*\*\*

---

**Part B**

31.
  - (1) Classical comparative approach
  - (2) Twentieth Century comparative approach
  - (3) Contemporary comparative approach
  
32.
  - (i) Single party system
  - (ii) Two – party system
  - (iii) Dominant one – party system
  - (iv) Dominant two – party system
  - (v) Multi – party system
  
33.
  - (i) Classical liberal meaning
  - (ii) Classical Marxist meaning
  - (iii) Associational Democracy meaning
  - (iv) Neo – Marxist Gramscian meaning
  
34.
  - (1) Aristotelian meaning / Aristotle
  - (2) Weberian Meaning / Max weber
  
35.
  - (i) Feminist approach / Feminist
  - (ii) Marxist Approach / Political Economy approach / Historical Materialism / Socialist approach
  
36.
  - (1) Equality before the law / Law applies equally to the ruler and the ruled
  - (2) Separation of powers
  
37.
  - (1) Quasi – federal
  
38.
  - (i) Traditional
  - (ii) Charismatic
  - (iii) Legal – rational

- 
39. (i) 1956  
(ii) 2020
40. (1) William Colebrooke , Colebrook  
(2) Charles Cameron, Cameron
41. (i) Provincial List  
(ii) Concurrent List  
(iii) Central government / Reserved list
42. (i) Internal Sovereignty  
(ii) External Sovereignty
43. (i) Governor – General / Queen / Crown  
(ii) Senate / Upper House
44. (i) Westphalia Agreement  
(ii) Non - Aligned policy
45. (i) Bi – Polar world  
(ii) Uni – polar world
46. (1) Simple prevention  
(2) Deep Prevention
47. (i) Study of policy  
(ii) Study in policy
48. (i) State of nature  
(ii) John Locke, Locke
49. (i) Nazism / Fascism
- 50 (i) Primordial approach  
(ii) Modernist approach  
(iii) Instrumentalist approach



සියලු ම හිමිකම් ඇවිරිණි / முழுப் பதிப்புரிமையுடையது / All Rights Reserved

ශ්‍රී ලංකා විභාග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව ශ්‍රී ලංකා විභාග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව ශ්‍රී ලංකා විභාග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව ශ්‍රී ලංකා විභාග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව ශ්‍රී ලංකා විභාග දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව  
 இலங்கைப் பரீட்சைத் திணைக்களம் இலங்கைப் பரීட்சைத் திணைக்களம் இலங்கைப் பரීட்சைத் திணைக்களம் இலங்கைப் பரීட்சைத் திணைக்களம் இலங்கைப் பரීட்சைத் திணைக்களம்  
 Department of Examinations, Sri Lanka Department of Examinations, Sri Lanka Department of Examinations, Sri Lanka Department of Examinations, Sri Lanka Department of Examinations, Sri Lanka

අධ්‍යයන පොදු සහතික පත්‍ර (උසස් පෙළ) විභාගය, 2021(2022)  
 கல்விப் பொதுத் தராதரப் பத்திர (உயர் தர)ப் பரீட்சை, 2021(2022)  
 General Certificate of Education (Adv. Level) Examination, 2021(2022)

දේශපාලන විද්‍යාව II  
 அரசியல் விஞ்ஞானம் II  
 Political Science II

23 E II

පැය තුනයි  
 மூன்று மணித்தியாலம்  
 Three hours

අමතර කියවීමේ කාලය - මිනිත්තු 10 යි  
 மேலதிக வாசிப்பு நேரம் - 10 நிமிடங்கள்  
 Additional Reading Time - 10 minutes

Use additional reading time to go through the question paper, select the questions you will answer and decide which of them you will prioritise.

### Instructions:

- \* This paper consists of **three** parts.
- \* Answer **five** questions, selecting at least **one** question from part I, **two** questions from part II and **one** question from part III.

### Part I

1. Describe the sociological approach to the study of politics. (20 marks)
2. (i) Define the concept of 'political ideology'. (05 marks)  
 (ii) Describe 'Socialism' as a political ideology. (15 marks)
3. (i) Define the concept of 'State'. (05 marks)  
 (ii) Explain the role of the state in society. (10 marks)  
 (iii) How does government differ from the state? (05 marks)

### Part II

4. (i) Discuss briefly the **economic** transformation occurred in Sri Lanka under the British colonial rule. (10 marks)  
 (ii) Describe **social** aspects of the transformation occurred in Sri Lanka under the the British colonial rule. (10 marks)
5. (i) Briefly describe the minority protection provisions of the Soulbury Constitution? (10 marks)  
 (ii) Discuss briefly whether the provisions you mentioned in above (i) served their objectives. (10 marks)
6. Show the changes introduced to the powers of President under the following amendments to the 1978 constitution of Sri Lanka.
  - (i) the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment (10 marks)
  - (ii) the 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment. (10 marks)

7. (i) Define the concept of 'conflict'. (05 marks)  
(ii) Describe, giving examples, how conflicts are classified. (10 marks)  
(iii) Briefly explain the concept of negotiation as a means to conflict resolution. (05 marks)

**Part III**

8. Describe main features of the Gaullist system of government in France? (20 marks)
9. (i) Define 'public policy'. (05 marks)  
(ii) Explain the role of the political executive and permanent executive in the public policy process. (15 marks)
10. Write short notes on any **two** of the following topics:  
(i) Factors that influence Sri Lanka's foreign policy  
(ii) Main features of democratic government  
(iii) State actors in international politics  
(iv) Main features of the Indian system of government  
(v) Functions of political parties (10 × 2 = 20 marks)

\* \* \*

---

## Paper II

### Part I

1. Describe the sociological approach to the study politics.

#### Introduction

- There are several approaches to study politics. . Among them sociological approach is an important one.
- Since political science and sociology are two closely related academic disciplines, they continue to maintain a close affinity.
- The sub-field Political Sociology is linked to both political science and sociology.

#### Content

- Political science inquiry has been enriched by the methods of sociology.
- 19th century social theorists such as August Comte, Karl Marx and Max Weber were pioneers of this approach.
- The Frankfurt School of Social Research during the mid-20th century conducted research on themes relevant to the Sociological approach.
- Method of modern political science are Influenced by anthropology and sociology.
- Sociological inquiry seeks to understand social structures, social organization, social units, relations between human beings and society, social stratification and social transformation.
- Sociological approach is very useful for political scientists to gain a broader understanding on following themes: Political parties and their social bases, electoral behaviors of voters, social conflict that have an impact on politics, social and class bases of political power, and class and caste conflict.
- Sociological approach to politics finds answers to questions such as why do citizens participate in politics? Which social or. Class groups actually hold political power in society? How do factors such as wealth, caste, class, family, and gender shape citizens' political participation? What social interests do political parties represent?

#### Conclusion

- Students can conclude the answer by pointing out the benefits and limitations of the sociological approach.
- It enables political scientists to go to the society where politics actually occurs. Field research has come to political science inquiry through political sociology
- The limitation such as the uniqueness of political science is undermined by the fact that this approach seeks to place more emphasis on social aspects.

(2)

(i) Define the concept of political ideology

- Political ideologies have a long history, going back to the early days of political uniquely in Greece, India and china
- The concept "ideology" was first used during the 18<sup>th</sup> Century in France
- Modern political ideologies began to develop in Europe in the concept of social, and political changes in European societies.
- A political Ideology
  - (a) Influence the political process
  - (b) Impact on political action and political changes
  - (c) Has the capacity to attract many people in a society
  - (d) Is a collection of political ideas and beliefs
- Common factures of political ideologies
  - (a) Consist of mutually compatible political ideas
  - (b) Have the capacity to shape the political consciousness, beliefs and visions of social groups.
  - (c) They are able to guide for political action various social groups

Examples of such political ideologies are liberalism, socialism, nationalism, democracy, social democracy, fascism, social wefarism feminism.

(ii) Describe ' Socialism' as a political ideology

(15 marks)

**Introduction**

- The idea of socialism began to spread in Europe during early 19<sup>th</sup> century. It's basic beliefs were common ownership of property and social equality
- Modern socialism emerged during the second point of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It later became a powerful political ideology
- It presented itself as an attentive to liberalism an well an as capitalism
- The main ideas of socialism are abolition abolition of social classes and class divisions, economics and social in equality and social ownership of property
- Socialism became a powerful political idea because of maxirxism

**Content**

There were two stages in the development of the ideology socialism

- (a) development of a general idea of social ownership of property during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century
- (b) "Scientific socialism" under the influence of Marxism. led by Max and Engels

- Marx and Engles first developed their theory of socialism in the Communist Manifesto published in 1848
- The ideological content of socialism
  - i. Replacement of the system of private property by a system of common, social ownership of property
  - ii. Establishment of a classless society, after abolishing social classes
  - iii. According to socialist theory, the state represents class intents of minority of property owners in society who also own the means of production
  - iv. Socialist theory also identifies the state as a political institution that ensures the exploitation of the working people.
  - v. Socialism thus argues that since that state is an instrument of exploitation and oppression it needs to be abolished.
  - vi. It advocates economic and social equality so that all in society can live in a social and economic environment without inequalities
  - vii. During the twentieth century, socialism became an influential political ideology.
  - viii. Parallel to revolutionary socialism, there were several strands of "Third World socialism" developed during the 20<sup>th</sup> century.
    - Show the distinct nature of Socialism as a political ideology.
    - Its emphasis on the abolition of social class and the state based on class divisions in society.
    - Socialism is the only ideology that emphasizes social and economic equality.

(03) (i) Define the concept of "state"

- The state is a political institution that has evolved in different historical and social contexts.
- The nature of the state has also changed in accordance with different historical contexts
- The state is the final institutional expression of social and political power in society. It embodies structure and institutions of political power in society.
- The modern territorial state is organized around four components; (a) well-defined territorial borders, (b) National basis, (c) Government, (d) Sovereignty

(ii) Explain the role of state in society

Introduction

- State and society have a mutually dependent relationship
- State is the central institution of political power in society

**Content**

- The state consists of structures and institutions that govern society.
- The role of the state in society is broad and complex.

- The functions of the state in society are as follows
  - (a) The state is the trustee of law, social order and property in society
  - (b) It directs and manages the economy
  - (c) Social control direction and supervision is a task of the state
  - (d) A key social function of the state is maintenance of law and order in society
  - (e) Declaration of war and peace and is a key function of the state

In a discussion of the role of the state in society, the Aristotelian and Weberian theories are important

- (f) The state has monopoly of the exercise of violence in society

#### Conclusion

- The state ensures unity and continuity of society
- The role of state can be best understood when we think about what can happen to a society without a state

(iii) How does the government differ from the state?

- Although the state and government are connected, they are different entities.
- The state is a stable and a relatively permanent institution. The government changes from time to time
- In pre-democratic society, there is no distinction between the state and government.
- Government is only one institution that makes up the state
- It is the government that exercises sovereignty on behalf of the state
- Government is the institution that exercises political power on behalf of the state
- Government often represents the interests of some sections of society. In contrast the state represents common goals and will of society.



4. (i) Discuss briefly the Economic transformation occurred in Sri Lanka under the British colonial rule. (10 Marks)

Sri Lanka's economic and social transformation under the British colonial rule (1796-1948) was more far reaching than the changes occurred during the previous Portuguese and Dutch rule. There were two main reasons. The first was that the British implemented a deliberate policy of transforming the economy, society and politics under a systematic colonizing project. The second reason was the British ruled the entire island, not only the maritime provinces.

Main trends and consequences in the economic transformation:

- Introduction of the colonial capitalist economy through a system of plantation agriculture and export-oriented economy. Sri Lanka has been a society that had mainly a peasant agricultural economy and a limited commercial and export economy under the previous colonial powers.
- Laying the foundation for a modern capitalist economy, centered on the export plantation agriculture and export trade.
- Sri Lankan economy was directly linked to the European export market and also the world market as a producer of primary commodities.
- Inauguration of an export-import economy that made the Sri Lankan economy subjected to the influence of the world economy.
- Development of a labour market. The ground for this change was prepared by the abolition of feudal Rajakariya labour system by the Colebrooke Commission.
- The development of a local class of entrepreneurs who engaged in trade, labour and transport contracts, and mining and liquor trade when the plantation and commercial economies began to develop.
- Inauguration of a system of commercial banking to generate capital for the plantation economy.
- Development of a dual economy consisting of a modern export-oriented plantation, with imported wage labour sector and a traditional agrarian peasant sector.
- A shift occurred away from the mercantile laissez-faire economy to a social welfare-oriented government during the 1930s, with the profits available from the plantation
- Inauguration of peasant re-settlement schemes during the 1930s to address the land question among the rural peasants in the Sinhalese society.

4. (ii) Describe the social aspects of the transformation occurred in Sri Lanka under British colonial rule. (10 Marks)

---

The social transformation under the British colonial rule was a direct outcome of the economic transformation and the establishment of a colonial capitalist economy.

- Weakening of the feudal social system and its caste structure.
- Emergence of a new capitalist class/social structure, parallel to the existing feudal social structure.
- Development of local class of capitalists, a working class, and a middle class as new social classes under colonial capitalism.
- A new process of urbanization occurred in cities connected to the plantation economy and export-import trade and domestic trade.
- Urbanization led to the emergence of urban social groups exposed to the Western culture and new cultural habits. The influence of Western culture spread particularly among these urban social groups.
- Development of a colonial civil society began during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. It consisted of activist citizen groups who openly expressed their opposition and dissent against colonial social, economic and cultural domination in Sinhalese and Tamil societies. These civil society groups were active in the cultural nationalist resistance to colonial domination.

### **Conclusion**

- Social change under the British colonial rule was an outcome of economic and political transformation it inaugurated.
- Establishment of colonial capitalism was a main catalyst for social change under colonialism.
- The spread of European culture also contributed to that process.
- While the elite classes of local society benefitted from the economic and social transformation under colonial rule, the vast majority of the ordinary people did not.

### **5. (i) Briefly describe the minority protection provisions of the Soulbury Constitution.**

*(10 Marks)*

- The Soulbury Constitution included several minority protection provisions in order to protect the rights of the ethnic and religious minorities, against the possible denial of these rights by the rule of the ethnic majority in Sri Lanka.
- **Clause 29 (1)** : This was the most important minority protection measure in the Soulbury Constitution. Its aim was to protect the ethnic and religious minorities from discriminatory legislation.



- **Multi-Member parliamentary constituencies:** This was introduced to ensure representation to unrepresented minority communities in the majority-dominant districts or areas.
- **Nominated MPs:** There was a provision for six nominated MPs to the House of Representatives. Its objective was to give representation to small minorities who would not get representatives in parliament.
- **The Senate:** The Soulbury Commission sought to give representation in the Senate to minority communities who do not get any representation in the House of Representatives.

These were constitutional provisions to protect the minority rights under the post-independence government.

**5. (ii) Discuss briefly whether these provisions you mentioned in above (i) served their objectives. (10 Marks)**

The experience shows that these provisions failed to protect the minority rights as expected.

- Clause 29 (1) of the constitution failed to protect the minorities from discriminatory legislation, since its legal status was not clear. The majority dominated parliament could easily ignore the legislative limitations it imposed on parliament's legislative powers.
- One objective of establishing a senate was the protection of minority rights. However, because of the Senates' limited powers, it was not effective to ensure the protection of minority rights.
- Even when members from minority communities were nominated to the Senate, they gave priority to the interests of their Party and their loyalty Prime Minister, than the interests of the community.
- The scheme for multi-member constituencies did not succeed its objective of protecting minority rights due to two reasons: (i) even when the minority candidates contested the elections, all voters of the community did not vote for him to win. (ii) In instances where more than one candidate from the minorities contested in a multimember constituency, it prevented representation to that community. For example, at the 1952 and 1956 parliamentary elections, not a single Tamil MP was elected from Balangoda and Badulla electorates.
- The intention of the nominated MPs was to ensure parliamentary representation to small minorities such as Europeans, Muslims and Burghers. This worked only at the 1947 and 1952 parliamentary elections. Later, this provision was used by Prime Ministers to give nomination to unrepresented oppressed caste communities in the Sinhalese society. Even after being nominated to represent the minority ethnic

communities, such MPs supported the government, rather than the interests of their community.

- The specific objective of the Public Service commission was not the protection of minority rights. However, it was one institution that helped to protect the minority interests.

### Conclusion

The Soulbury Constitution has some good intentions to protect the minority rights in post-independence Sri Lanka. However, since the ethnic competition had continued to dominate Sri Lankan's politics even after independence, these provisions were not successful.

The final outcome was the further sharpening of ethnic competition and the failure of the constitutional scheme to ensure peaceful ethnic relations in the island.

### 6. Show the changes introduced to the powers of President under the following amendments to the 1978 Constitution:

- (i) the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment (10 Marks)  
 (ii) The 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment. (10 Marks)

(i) 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment

- The stated objective of the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment was to ensure political stability by giving more powers to the President in order to ensure rapid economic development after the war between the government and the LTTE ended.
- Following are the changes introduced through the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment:
  - (i) Removal of the two term limit for the President to hold office.
  - (ii) Removal of the system of checks and balances introduced by the 17<sup>th</sup> Amendment on President's powers to make appointments to Independent Commissions. While the president was given the authority to make appointments to these commissions, they were also brought under the Presidential influence
  - (iii) Giving powers to the President to remove members of the Independent Commissions from office.
  - (iv) The 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment limited powers of the new Parliamentary Council, which replaced the Constitutional Council, to give only non-binding advice to the President to make appointments to the independent commissions and the higher judiciary. This also enabled the President to make appointments to the higher judiciary as well as the independent commissions according to his discretion.

- (v) The 18th Amendment also strengthened powers of the President in appointing the Attorney General, Auditor General, Ombudsman, Secretary General of Parliament and members of the Judicial Service Commission.

### **Conclusion**

- The overall impact of the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment was the expansion and strengthening of the powers of the President. This made the President under the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment even more powerful than the President under the original 1978 Constitution.
- The strengthening of the executive powers of the President had a negative impact on the independence of the judiciary, the public service and the Commissions that were to be independent from political influence.

## **(ii) 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment**

### **Introduction**

This was the most democratic amendment introduced to the 1978 constitution. It brought back to the constitution some major features of the parliamentary-cabinet system of government while reforming the 'executive presidential system' which had come under much public criticism.

The main aspects of the Presidential powers under the 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment were:

- (i). Subjecting the powers of the President to a system of checks and balances.
- (ii). Restoration of main features of the Parliamentary-cabinet system of government, somewhat similar to the previous Westminster model.
- (iii). As a result, some of the executive powers held by the President were transferred to the Prime Minister.
- (iv). Re-establishment of the Constitutional Council and limiting the discretionary powers of the President in making appointments to the Independent Commissions.
- (v). Limiting of the discretionary powers of the President in appointing ministers and state ministers. The number of ministers to the cabinet were also limited to 30. The number of state ministers were also limited to 40.
- (vi). The President's discretionary powers to appoint cabinet ministers and state ministers were taken away. Although the President was still the appointing
- (vii). President still retained the powers to decide the composition of the cabinet and assign subjects to ministers, the removal of ministers had to be done on the Prime Minister's advise.

(viii). President's power to dissolve the cabinet of ministers was taken away. That power was transferred to parliament.

(ix). President's powers to dissolve parliament were also curtailed. That power could be exercised only during the last six months of the parliament's term.

(x). Limitations were imposed on the presidential immunity. Accordingly, presidential actions became subjected to the fundamental rights jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

(xi). President has also been given new responsibilities under the 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment that were not in the original 1978 Constitution. They were ensuring national unity and reconciliation, facilitation of the independence of independent commissions, and ensuring conditions for free and fair elections and referendum.

### Conclusion

- The 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment was a part of a constitutional reform package design to reform the overall structure of the executive presidential system under the 1978 Constitution.
- Reducing the powers of the President was an important aspect of that initiative. It also sought to re-introduce major aspects of the parliamentary-cabinet system of government.
- However, in practice this reform also created unanticipated problems, leading to a constitutional crisis in 2018

#### 7. (1) Define the concept of Conflict.

- Conflict is a special relationship that exists among two or more human beings, social groups or states.
- Students can also use the definition offered by Professor Christopher Mitchell that "Conflict is a relationship between two or more parties who have incompatible goals".
- Conflicts take place at intra-personal, inter-personal, inter-group, intra-group levels. There are also inter-state and intra-state conflicts.
- Conflicts are not necessarily bad. They can have positive outcomes too. Whether a conflict is good or bad depends on its negative or positive outcomes.

#### (2) Describe that How conflicts are classified with providing examples.

- There are three ways of classifying conflict.
  - (i) Simple classification
  - (ii) Functional classification
  - (iii) Political classification
- Simple classification

- 
- (i) Inner-personal conflict:  
conflicts that occur with individuals experience inside their own mind as inner-personal conflicts.
  - (ii). Inter-personal conflict  
conflicts that occur between two or more individuals in their interactions
  - (iii). Intra-group conflict  
conflicts that occur within social groups among their members when they pursue different goals and aims.
  - (iv). Inter-group conflict  
conflict among groups for incompatible goals.
- Functional classification  
The basis of this classification is the functional outcome of the conflict in society. There are two types of functional conflict:
    - (i). Constructive conflict
      - (a) Conflicts that bring positive outcomes. Such conflicts are classified as constructive conflict.
      - (b) At the end of such conflict, parties begin to realize that they have benefitted from the conflict.
    - (ii). Destructive conflict
      - (a) In a destructive conflict, parties feel that they have lost because of the conflict.
      - (b) Therefore, parties want to renew the conflict seeking unilateral advantage and the conflict does not end.
  - Political classification  
Professor Peter Wallensteen has developed three types of conflict in political classification.
    - (i) Inter-state Conflict  
These are conflicts that arise between or among states for many reasons such as border or resource issues. Sometimes inter-state conflict can develop into inter-state war.
    - (ii). Intra-state Conflict
      - (a) These are conflicts within states and the cause of such conflict is political power.
      - (b) Ethnic conflicts, protracted armed conflict and civil wars are an example of intra-state conflict in contemporary world.
      - (c) Factors that lead to intra-state conflict are structural, socio-economic, political, cultural and ideological factors.
    - (iii). State Formation Conflict
      - (a) According to Peter Wallensteen, state formation conflicts are those conflicts between the government and a community living within the state claiming to a particular territory within that state.
      - (b) Conflicts that focus on issues of ethnic identity, regional autonomy, power sharing are state formation conflicts.
      - (c) Resolution of state formation conflicts requires reforming of the existing political structures through political accommodation.
- (3) Briefly explain the concept of negotiation

- (a) There are four means employed in conflict resolution process. One of them is negotiation. The other three are mediation, peace agreements and peace building.
- (b) Negotiation between parties is necessary to prevent conflict escalation as well as to resolve the conflict.
- (c) Roger Fisher and William Ury define negotiation that “Negotiation is a basic means of getting what you want from others. It is a back-and-forth communication designed to reach an agreement when you and the other side have some interests that are shared and others that are opposed.”
- (d) Negotiation is a process of ‘talks’ or ‘discussions’ that parties to a dispute or conflict employ in order to resolve it.
- (e) There are three types of negotiation. They are (I) Problem-solving negotiation, (II) Contending negotiation, and (iii) Yielding negotiation.

---

**PART III****Q 8. Describe the main features of the Gaullist System (20 marks)****Introduction: (3 marks)**

- The Fifth Republican Constitution is also known as Gaullist system. Because it was created by and for General Charles de Gaulle.
- It created a semi- Presidential system of government, replacing the parliamentary system existed earlier.
- The Fifth Republic introduced a highly centralized and unitary form of government.
- It sought to rectify the weaknesses of the Third and Fourth Republics such as political instability, weak executive, and the loose organization of political parties.
- Powerful President was the main creation of the new Constitution.
- This is a system different from Westminster model of government.

**Content 15 marks****President under the constitution of the Fifth Republic**

- President acts as the Head of State and symbol of national unity.
  - Supposed to stand above internal political divisions of the country and party politics (the Algerian crisis is an example).
  - President is also above parliament. Parliament, the Prime Minister, and the cabinet are below the President in terms of powers and authority.
  - He heads the Executive which is more powerful than the parliament.
  - Prime Minister and Ministers are appointed by the President.
  - Ministers cannot be members of parliament at the same time. If a member of parliament is appointed to the cabinet, s/he should resign from parliament.
  - There is separation of powers between the executive and the legislature.
  - Initially, it was proposed to elect the President by an electoral college, in order to avoid the instability that can be created by a system of direct election.
  - The referendum of 1962 decided to elect the President directly by the entire nation.
  - President also enjoys emergency powers: he can declare a state of emergency when there is a threat to the republic, national independence, and territorial integrity.
  - President is elected for a term of five years.
  - President appoints the Prime Minister and President also appoints ministers on the recommendation of the Prime Minister.
  - President can appoint even a non-member of parliament as PM.
  - Once PM is appointed by the President, he/she does not have to get a vote of confidence passed at the legislature. Nor can the legislature remove a PM or a minister by a parliamentary vote of non-confidence.
- 
- The Fifth Republican constitution introduced a dual executive and semi-presidential system.
  - The key features of the Gaullist system of government are (a) the emergence of President who is Head of the Executive as the central institution of state power, and (b) independence of President and executive from parliament.

- The Gaullist system of government was considered as one of the models to frame the 1978 constitution of Sri Lanka.
- French Presidency did not undergo a major change for a long time.

### 9. (i) Define public policy (5 marks)

There are several ways to define what 'public policy' is. By looking at some of such definitions, we can arrive at a fairly good understanding about public policy.

- Public policy is a political process and concerns with issues relevant to all citizens.
  - Public policy is a process which is not a single policy document or event as such.
  - There are several stages in policy process such as agenda setting, policy formulation, policy implementation, policy evaluation.
  - It is political authorities that make, implement and evaluate public policies.
  - The common issues that are addressed by public policy can be real ones, and even imaginary ones.
  - The form, content and implementing process of a public policy can change in accordance with the information available to policy-making authorities.
- 
- Thomas R Dye defines public policy as what the governments do, why do they do it, and what differences it makes.
  - According to Herald Lasswell, it is the expected or projected program goals, values and practices of government plan of action
  - James Andreson: defined public policy as a relatively stable and purposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern using the knowledge of public policy.

### 9 (ii): Role of political and permanent executive in policy process

#### Introduction (3 marks)

- Both political and permanent executive play a significant role in policy process in modern democracies.
- The traditional understanding was that making public policy was the job of the politician, and implementing the policy is the task of the administrators (permanent executive).
- In addition to political and permanent executive, there are two other public authorities involved in resolving public issues: the Legislature and the Judiciary, when necessary.
- Provincial and local government authorities are also involved in policy process to resolve various issues at the regional and local levels.



---

**Content: (10 marks)****Role of political executive**

- According to political theory, the political executive – the Cabinet of Ministers is the ultimate authority which makes public policy.
- The political executive is answerable to people over policy formulation through the legislature. This is the practice in parliamentary democracies.
- Even in a presidential system, the political executive has to give leadership to the policy making and implementation process.
- The political executive depends on the civil service in the task of policy implementation.
- In parliamentary democracies, it is the political executive – the Cabinet of Ministers – which decides the legislative agenda.
- Therefore, there is now the dominance of the political executive over the legislature in public policy making.

**Role of Permanent executive**

- The permanent executive is created in the modern world as an institution of the state to implement policies, and public administration. It is a permanent body of personnel called the ‘bureaucracy’, ‘civil service’.
- The permanent executive is viewed as a-political entity of specialists. When the government changes, the permanent executive does not change. Therefore, policy implementation was viewed as a non-political and technical exercise.
- The main function of the permanent executive is the implementation of government policy and it functions independently under the leadership of the Political Executive.
- According to the traditional theory of public administration, the permanent executive does not have a policy-making role.
- Yet, now there is a belief that officials are emerging above politicians in public policy because of the complexity of policy, the knowledge and expertise that officials possess, and also because of their access to information.
- Some argue that the real policy-makers today are the administrative officers. They call this bureaucratization of politics.

**Conclusion (2 marks)**

- Both political and permanent executive should maintain better coordination and cooperation in the policy process. Permanent executive should maintain political neutrality .
- There is a belief that politicians and citizens should not get involved in, or influence, public administration.
- There is also a criticism that public policies have not always been successful in resolving public issues. Unemployment problem is an example.

- Permanent executive has been playing a dominant role in policy process in modern democracies which is because of their expertise, qualification and experience in handling complex social issues and problems. The influence of elites in civil service also contributes to this pattern.

### 10 (i) Factors that influence the foreign policy Si Lanka

- **Geo- political and Strategic Factors**

- Sri Lanka 's location at a central point in the Indian ocean :
  - Sri Lanka is an island located adjacent to historical and modern naval routes
  - Sri Lanka cannot be ignored in the strategic consideration of world powers with regard to their economic, trade, political and security interests
- Sri Lanka is both a South Asian country and also located in the Indian ocean rim region.

Because of this factor, Sri Lanka is a member of SAARC to pursue a multi – lateral foreign policy and also a member of BIMSTEC and IORA which are organizations of ocean rim countries.

- Regional and International balance of power causes changes in the global balance of power and changes in the political, economic, trade and security domains in South Asia impact of Sri Lanka's foreign policy.
- Political Economy : This includes economic and development ideologies, strategies and plans of post – in – dependent regimes of Sri Lanka
- **Interest of the regime and ruling elites :** These impact on Sri Lanka 's multi – lateral and bilaternal foreign policy positions
- National interest and National power : Interests of people as a nation, political stability, economic capacity and military strength are factors that also shape the nature of Sri Lanka's foreign policy.
- **Being a small state :** Sri Lanka's smallness in terms of territory, political and economic power makes it necessary for the country to be in friendly terms with stronger powers

**(i) Narrow Meaning :** The nature of the institutions and practices of government are defined in a constitution and governance takes place accordingly

**(ii) Broad Meaning :** Defining democratic foundations of government through the inclusion of checks and balances, separation of powers, fundamental rights and role of law.

**(iii) Popular sovereignty :** Political power arises from the people, Political power is legitimized through people 's consent.

**(iv) Separation** of legislative, Executive and judicial power to prevent concentration of powers in the hands of one institution or individual

**(v) Checks and Balances :** To prevent one branch of government among the legislature the Executive, and judiciary from becoming unduly powerful by the powers of other two branches.

This creates a balance between the legislature, executive and the judiciary in the exercise of power.

**(vi) Rule of Law**

- Equality before law
- The executive and legislative of the government should be subjected to judicial scrutiny and legal limits.

**(vii) Protection of Human rights to prevent arbitrary and oppressive government**

**(viii) Limited government :** Government authority is subjected to checks and balances. Term of office of government is also limited.

**(ix) Government's accountability to the people** since the people are the source of political power.

**(x) Free and fair elections :** to enable citizen to elect their rulers in accordance with their free choice.

### **(3) State Actors in International politics**

- i. **Nation – States :** Traditionally, nation states have been the main actors in international politics . The role of non – state actors in international politics is

a recent development. However, the role of the state in international politics has not been reduced.

- ii.
- iii. **The original of the modern nation – states goes back to the Westphalia Agreement of 1648. This agreement laid down two important principles :**
  - a. States are sovereign political units. They have full autonomy for their international affairs within their territory.
  - b. Relations among states should be based on the recognition of the sovereignty and independence of each state.

- **In Inter – state organizations**

- i. In Inter – state organizations, the states are represented by governments
  - ii. Their aim is the realization of collective goals of states as well as promotion of multi – lateral cooperation.
- iii. The United Nations is the international state organization with the widest membership.
- iv. In terms of their objectives, two categories of inter – state organization can be identified:
  - a. Global – level organizations, Examples, the United Nations World Bank, World Trade Organization
  - b. Regional organizations (Europe an Union, SAARC, ASEAN)

(4) Main features of the Indian system of government

- The Indian system of government has both unitary and federal features. Therefore India has a quasi – or semi – federal system of government.
- However, the Indian Constitution does not describe the system of government either unitary, federal or semi – federal.
- However, the Indian semi federal structure is elaborated in the constitution and

of federalism" That means, some state governments have more powers than the others. Therefore , the Indian federalism has a certain flexibility, instead of the conventional federal system as in America.

- A special features of the Indian system of constitution and government is that it is a higher bridity or mix of, the Westminster and the republican models.

(V) Functions of political parties

- A political party is an organized group of people aiming at gaining political power to control the government through elections or other methods.

(ii) The Functions of political parties in a democratic system can be different from those in the authoritarian or non - democratic systems.

- Function of political parties in democratic system can be identified as follows:
  - i. Representation . It is the task of political parties to represent in government their members as well as people and their interests.
  - ii. Setting political goals for various social groups :This is done by meams of election policy statements, political education, propaganda, etc
  - iii. Interest articulation and agenda setting: Political parties listen to voters' demands needs and grievances and include them is national political and policy agendas
  - iv. Political education and mobilization ; political parties provide political education to citizens and mobilize people for political action to archive political goals. Political parties also provide leadership to such mobilizations
  - v. Organizing the government and its activities: One of the major functions of political parties is obtaining people's mandate to govern the country and then organizing the activities of the government .
  - vi. Elite formation and recruitment of new elites: political parties are the main field in which political elites in any society are formed and trained. Parties also recruit new political elites
  - vii. Providing legitimacy to the political system: Political parties perform this task by being the link between the government and the citizens.

