

GS SCORE

Test - 01

*Good knowledge
& Articulation
No major
issues*



POLITICAL SCIENCE

Time Allowed: 3 hr.

Max. Marks: 250

Instructions to Candidate

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

1. Invigilator Signature

2. Invigilator Signature

[Handwritten signature]

Name SHUBHENDRA KUMAR

Mobile No. [Redacted]

Date 01/08/2017

Signature [Handwritten signature]

~~01/08/2017~~

*R-12
R-16
CB-15
C-16*

REMARKS

GS SCORE

| | |
|--|--|
| | |
|--|--|

Roll No. _____

GS SCORE

SECTION A

1. Answer the following questions: (150 Words Each)

(10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) Gandhian Views on Parliamentary Swaraj
- (b) Contributions of M. N. Roy to Modern Indian Politics
- (c) Historic Materialism by Marx
- (d) Communitarian perspective of justice
- (e) How 'contentious pluralism' does helps a democracy to reinvent itself?

Gandhian View on Parliamentary Swaraj came from the very belief that real swaraj will only come by the acquisition of autonomy capacity by masses to resist the authority when it becomes a bully.

National political independence along with parliamentary swaraj and swaraj as self realisation through service to others will develop a sense of trusteeship and will only bring swaraj in true sense.

Gandhi preferred parliamentary swaraj to be a village based democratic decentralised set up with personal and civil liberties as a central theme. Gandhi considered state as a coercion of individuals a soulless machine for enforcing rules and

Remarks

4

regulations and without a sense of moral responsibility and human sensitivity, Hence, it needs to be replaced with a parliamentary Swaraj developed upon the following four foundations →

- 1 → Universal adult franchise
 - 2 → Personal and civil liberties
 - 3 → Minority rights
 - 4 → Primary commitment to the justice of poor and exploited.
- Need to elaborate more on these.

(b)

Contribution of M.N. Roy to Modern Indian Politics & Constituent Assembly

The idea of having an Indian constitution was first put forward by M.N. Roy, a pioneer of Communist as well as a humanist movement in India in 1934.

Judha Kavi Raj, mentions M.N. Roy as a 'remarkable failure' and one of the most unfortunate leader and political philosopher.

M.N. Roy's ideational journey saw a transition in his ideas. He started as

Remarks

As a revolutionary, he met communism, critically commented Gandhi's ideas and views, later became his admirer and joined INC but towards the end of his life, he became a radical humanist propagator. the philosophy of new humanism.

His questioning an individualist element in communism has made him expelled from Communist International in 1929 and after a short period of marriage and divorce with INC, he visioned a new India with genuine democracy and radical humanism on philosophical basis.

Speak more about his overall significance & contribution

MN Roy

Ideational transition (1900 to 1907)

Phy of radical humanism

Support/criticism of Marxism

Criticism/subj. of Gandhi

(5) Historical Materialism by Marx: →

While dialectical materialism represents the philosophical basis of Marxism, historical materialism represents its scientific basis. It implies that in any given

Remarks

Given epoch the economic relations of society - the means whereby men and women undertake production, distribution and exchange of material goods for the satisfaction of their needs - play an important role in shaping their social, political, intellectual and ethical relationships.

HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

| <u>Historical epoch</u> | <u>Social formation</u> | <u>Contradictory class</u> |
|--|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| Ancient times - household based small scale production | Slave owning society | Master & slave |
| Medieval times ↳ Large scale agriculture | Feudal society | Lord & serf |
| Modern times | Capitalist | bourgeoisie & proletariat |
| Future - I | socialist | workers in power |
| Future - II | Communist society | classless society |

Throughout the history, the old contradictory class

Remarks

Qoborale
more the
Lesson
be kind
shift from
one stage
to another
step

GS SCORE

(6) are replaced by new contending class, but the class conflict continues on a new plane in between haves and have nots. This has been the case till the rise of capitalism which shall be overthrown by a socialist revolution leading to the eventual emergence of classless society.

(d) Communitarian perspective of Justice

Important political scientists → MacIntyre
(liberal contract)
→ Michael sandel
→ Charles Taylor
→ Michael walzer

Communitarians hold that an individual finds self fulfillment by accepting the prevalent social rules, practices and situations within the community, and not in isolation from his fellow beings.

Michael walzer in his celebrated work Spheres of Justice has emphasized that the quest for a universal theory of justice

Remarks

was misguided, because it was futile to look for any principle of justice outside the community - particularly its history and culture. The requirement of justice could only be identified in the context of a particular community - its practices and institutions. A universal distributive theory of justice is neither possible nor justifiable given these differences.

Apart from Michael Walzer's approach of society and social meanings, much of the communitarian perspective lies around the communitarian critique of liberal perspectives of justice. Though communitarian suggestions are sufficient for a just society, they failed to provide an adoptable way to achieve justice for community as a whole beyond economic justice.

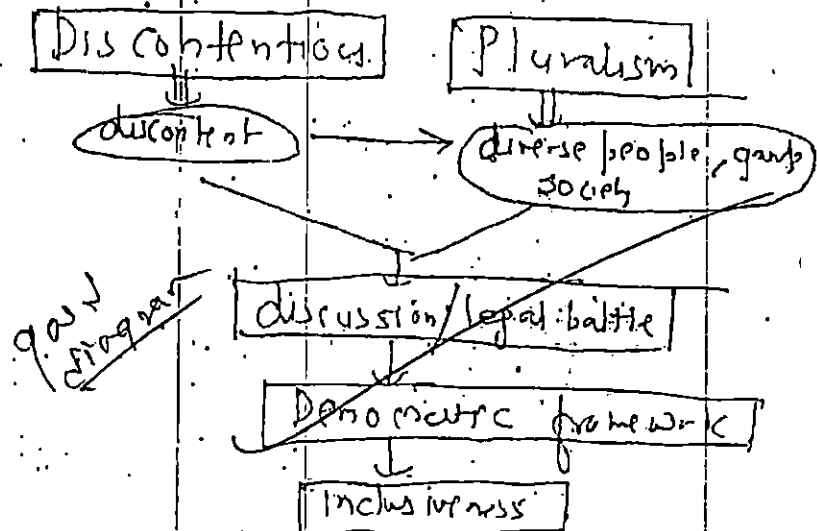
(e) How contentious pluralism does help a democracy to reinvent itself. →

Contentious pluralism is a term to define

gives a better sense of including more community members

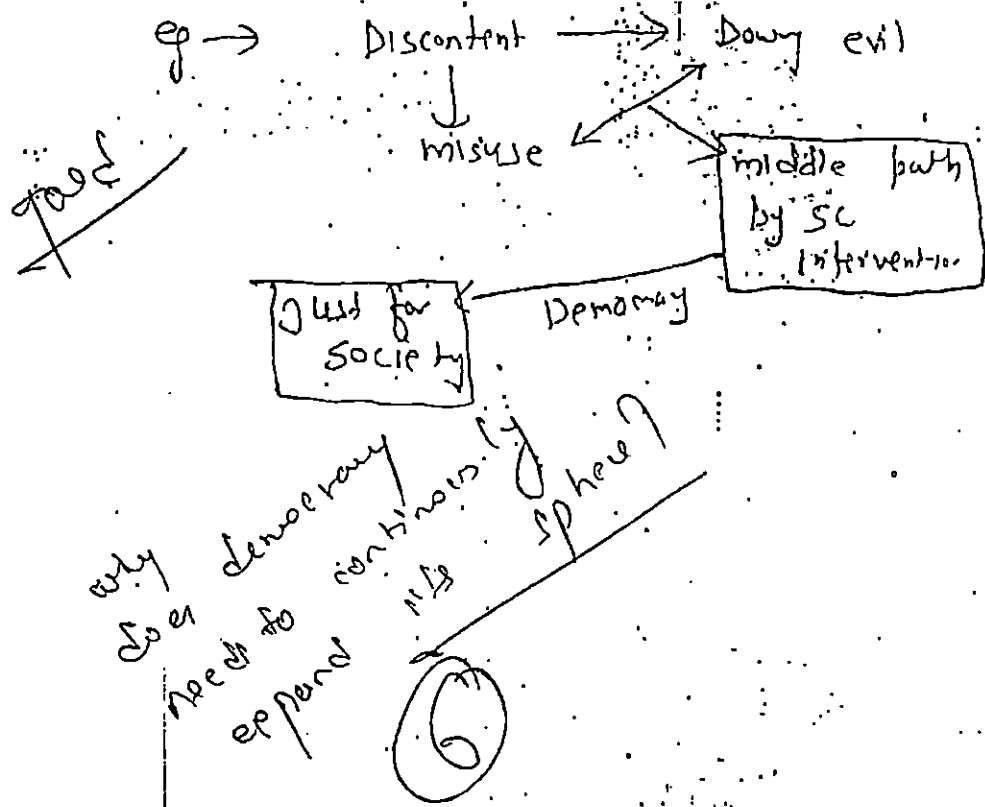


Contentions among different groups irrespective of their formation came within a democracy. Contentious plurality of any society will depend upon the diversities within a nation and divergence as well as convergence among different groups. Since democracy itself is a journey rather than a destination, continuing pluralism is the key to democracy for inclusion. If a particular group has a discontent, only democratic rule can provide a grievance and in this process, democracy becomes stronger.



Remarks

eg → IPC 498 and Dowry prohibition act provide anti dowry justice. However, the act has been misused several times and only 14.4% conviction here genuine. In this regard, Supreme court has advised for any pre-trial arrests.



Remarks

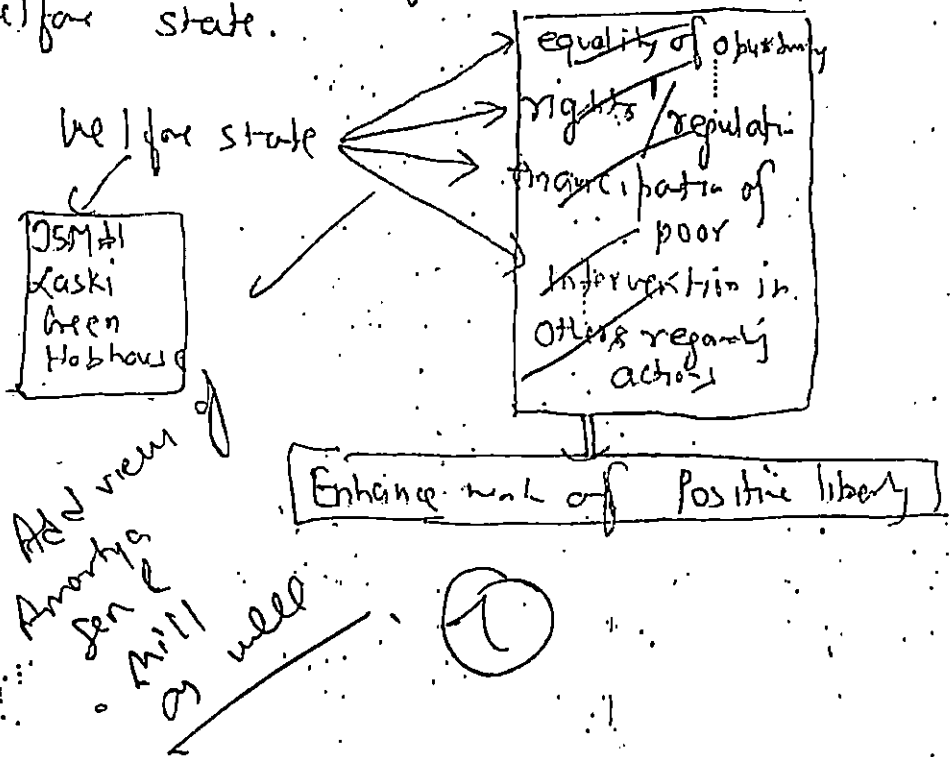
2. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Provide justification as to how the Welfare State actually enhances individual liberty on the basis of views of eminent scholars who support the notion of such a state? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Explain the statement by Robert Nozick 'The minimal state is inspiring as well as right'. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Analyse the reasons behind Ambedkar's call for complete transformation of Indian social structure and destruction of Brahmanical supremacy as the only path for emancipation of the deprived. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

a) One of the most important justifications of a welfare state is that it enhances liberty and reinterprets positive liberalism. Eminent scholars like JS Mill, TH Green, ~~Das~~ ~~Hobhouse~~ has contributed to positive liberalism and re-justification of a welfare state which not only supports it but also enhances its efficacy several times. According to TH Green, 'liberty is freedom to something to be highly prized', we mean a positive power or capacity of doing something worth doing or enjoying. The function of the welfare state is to support the existence of a welfare state. TH Green defines state's function of removing obstacles in

Remarks

man's pursuit of ideal objects is a positive function, welfare state intervenes for the full development of the individual personality. In and through the society and in this way gives a true meaning of enhanced liberty of an individual. According to Laski, state guarantees through the provision of rights and legislation, a personal and positive liberty which adds value to common life and hence becomes a welfare state.



Remarks

(b) The minimal state is aspiring as well as right. — Robert Nozick.

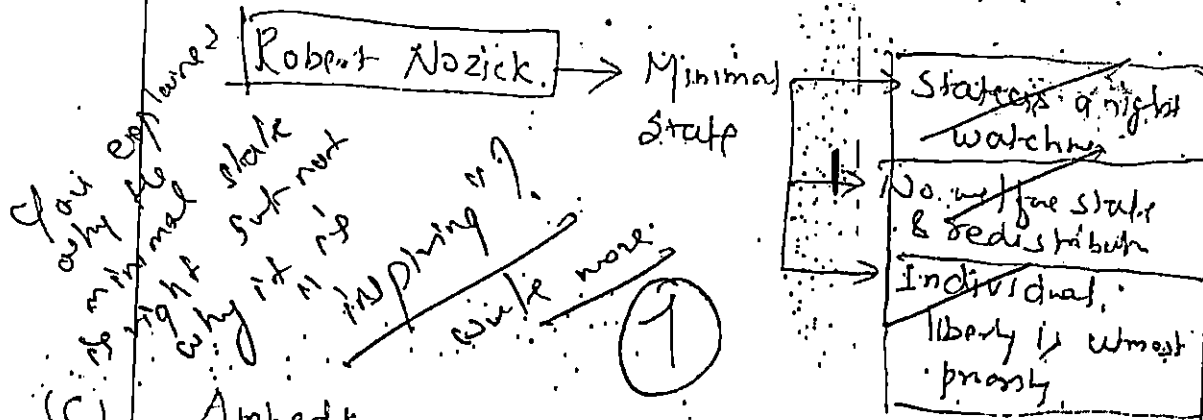
In his book Anarchy, State, and Utopia, Nozick has developed a libertarian view of minimal state in the context of individual rights.

According to Nozick, the state's function should be confined only to limited functions of protection against force, theft, fraud, enforcement of contract and so on. Any more extension of state will violate the person's right not to be forced to do certain things and as such would be unjustified.

Following the footsteps of Locke, Nozick categorically asserts that liberty must get absolute precedence over equality. He is against any redistribution of property by state because it may transgress the liberty of those who have property.

Remarks

For Nozick, state is not more than a night watchman, protecting the inviolable rights of the citizens. The welfare state accordg to him is a threat to liberty and independence of the individuals because individual is sole owner of himself and his talent.



Ambedkar call for complete transformation of Indian social structure. →

According to Ambedkar, the so called Hinduism is actually Brahmanism and Brahmins are not going to leave their privilege of Brahmanism is not.

Remarks

abolished, fraternity cannot be achieved
 We can be the people of India but
 we will never be Indian nation.

According to him, Brahmins in India
 are not like the samurai of Japan for
 whom nation and national interest was
 supreme. He was also felt that, Mahatma
 Gandhi wants untouchables to remain grateful
 to upper caste Hindus and don't develop the
 spirit of independence; caste is a reality.
 Caste is not a division of labour but
 division of labourers and very unnatural
 and inhuman.

He did not subscribe to the position
 that untouchability has its basis in race.

He saw it as a social institution
 defended by the ideology of
 Brahmanism which the deep seated
 beliefs and practices of untouchability
 prevail in India. Ambedkar thought

How has
 the
 Brahmanical
 order
 degraded &
 dehumanized
 the Dalit

Remarks

that no easy solution can be found. Removal of untouchability required the transformation of entire society wherein respect and rights towards the other person became a way of life rather than a mere constitutional mechanism. In his view, Indian Society has been formed in such a way that no one will come to the rescue of the untouchables and pseudo sympathy of few will only maintain the status quo. In this backdrop, the prime responsibility of emancipation of untouchables fell on the untouchables themselves. Such self help not only struggle and but also education and organisation. Further, a constitutional

Remarks

democracy with inhibit safeguards
will enable them to achieve their
goal of emancipation

what practical socio economic
suggestions does he
want as in order to
adopt the caste system
in order to
abolish the caste system?

Goal
Emancipation

9

Remarks

SECTION B

5. Answer the following questions: (150 Words (10 × 5 = 50))
- Basic Features of Critical theory.
 - The Public-Private Divide as per Feminist Theory.
 - Laski's theory of Rights: Main arguments.
 - The Post-Colonial state is a product of circumstances created by Colonialism. Comment.
 - Pluralist perspective on Power.

a) Basic features of critical theory

Critical theory describes the neo marxist philosophy of Frankfurt school which was developed in 1930s in germany. Critical theory maintains that, ideology is the principle obstacle to human emancipation.

Important political scientists

→ Theodor Adorno

→ Herbert Marcuse

→ Jürgen Habermas

Also Horkheimer
Walter Benjamin
Eric Fromm

Two concepts of critical theory →

→ It should be directed at the totality of society in its historical specificity.

→ It should improve understanding of

Remarks

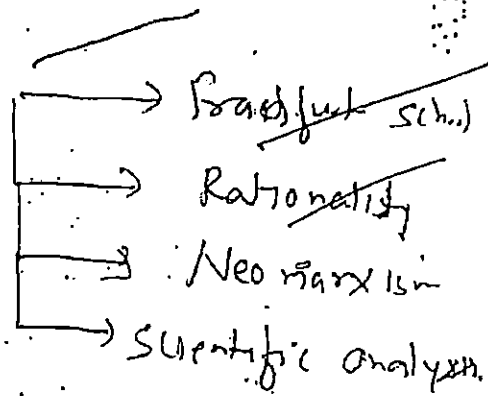
society by integrating all the major social sciences including geography, economics, sociology, history, political science etc.

Critical theory maintains that human society has not yet evolved a rational form of existence, which is still to be achieved.

All social institutions and behavioural mechanisms should be therefore analysed from the perspective of their deviation from the rational form.

in what sense bring out deficiencies of orthodox Marxism
(b) key to Critical theory
Public private divide

4



feminists agree that dominance of man over women is not confined to the public sphere; it extends to all aspects of her life including the most

Remarks

Intimate relations like sexual relations in order to secure justice to women, the sphere of purely personal relations between man and woman also has to be regulated. This idea is expressed in the slogan the personal is political by Kate Millet in her Sexual Politics (1974) ^{Carol Hanau}

As regards the role of state as instrument of power, feminists have tried to demonstrate how male power becomes embedded in different branches of state apparatus and in state policies.

Feminists have therefore sought to break down the divide between public man and private woman. Radical feminists have been keen on public private divide, however objection to the public private divide has been illustrated by liberal feminists.

Remarks

You need to express views of more eminent feminist scholars in this

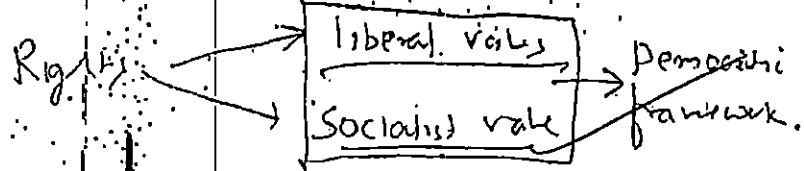
4

c) Laski's theory of rights

Harold J. Laski made an important observation on the significance of rights in his much celebrated work (A grammar of politics)

According to him, Every state is known by the rights that it maintains. Own method of judging its character lies in the contribution that it makes to the substance of man's happiness.

Taking a creative view of politics, Laski has thoroughly investigated the moral foundations of rights which postulate a synthesis of liberal and socialist values within a democratic structure.



According to Laski, without granting economic rights first, an individual cannot enjoy his political rights. Political liberty is

Remarks

meaningless without economic liberty.
 In this liberty of Modern state, he
 tried to synthesis the liberal and
 socialist values to get a blended
 rights.

Need more points
 like they are social, economic & what purpose serve

41

d) Post Colonial state → Colonialism

An analysis of the history of colonialism, the impact of colonial domination, the forces which promoted national movements, and the consequences of the process of decolonisation has wider implication on the post colonial state. Post colonialism, the new nations are faced with the gigantic task of nation building and state building. Many of these countries has not naturally evolved organisations, but they represent the territorial and administrative divisions made by the colonial powers for their administrative convenience.

Remarks

With their large size, vast population, cultural multiplicity, the task of nation building in these state have become difficult thanks to the colonial legacy still prevalent in these state. Since the social society is still underdeveloped as a result of colonial intervention, social institutions in post colonial state still has to take a desired form. Much of third world are facing problems of civil war (sri lanka), ethnic conflicts (syria), military rule (Pakistan) owing their origin to the colonial policies and a complete reengineering and reversal is required in post colonial state for participation.

Remarks

Again, this has to be discussed under the post colonial perspective with views & comments of post colonial scholars

4

e) Pluralist perspective on power ↗

Pluralist perspective on power subscribes that power in a society is not concentrated in a single group but it is dispersed in a variety of social groups. These groups are largely autonomous and almost independent centres of decision. organisations of workers, peasants, traders, industrialists, consumers, etc. should be cited as examples of such groups in contemporary society.

Robert Dahl's model of democracy is based on polyarchy postulated that society is controlled by a set of competing interest groups, with the government as little more than an honest broker in the middle.

Remarks

It is the diversity of interest and presence of several autonomous interest groups which contributes to the pluralist perspective of Power.

Hence, subtle form of domination within various groups and their interaction within the state cannot be ignored for analysis of power in society.

What is the notion of deformed polyarchy in this context?

what role does states play here?

§

Remarks

6. Attempt all questions:

- (a) What is participatory and deliberative democracy? Examine the methods of participatory and deliberative democracy. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Provide arguments to support the statement "Liberty and equality are inherently opposed to each other". (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Although they bear several resemblances, the views of Machiavelli and Kautilya originate from radically different sources and reflect opposite spirit and ideology. Explain. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

Participatory democracy →

Participatory democracy denotes the active involvement of individuals and groups in the governmental processes effecting their lives. When citizens themselves play an active role in the process of formulation and implementation of public policies and decisions, their activity is called political participation.

Methods of Participatory democracy →

The champions of parliamentary democracy insist only on increasing citizens' participation within the existing democratic system. They do not suggest any alternative system for its implementation.

Remarks

Method of Participatory democracy

| Conventional | | Unconventional | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Citizen initiated | Govt. Initiated | Citizen initiated | Govt. Initiated |
| Contact | Organising election | Protests | National Festival |
| Interest group | Public Hearing | Civil disobedience | Parade |
| Political Campaigning | Referendum | Political Violence | Essay contests |
| Run for public office | Advisory Council | | Developers |
| Initiation | | | |
| Recall | | | |

Deliberative Democracy

Deliberative Democracy embodies an attempt to reconcile two different models of democratic thought.

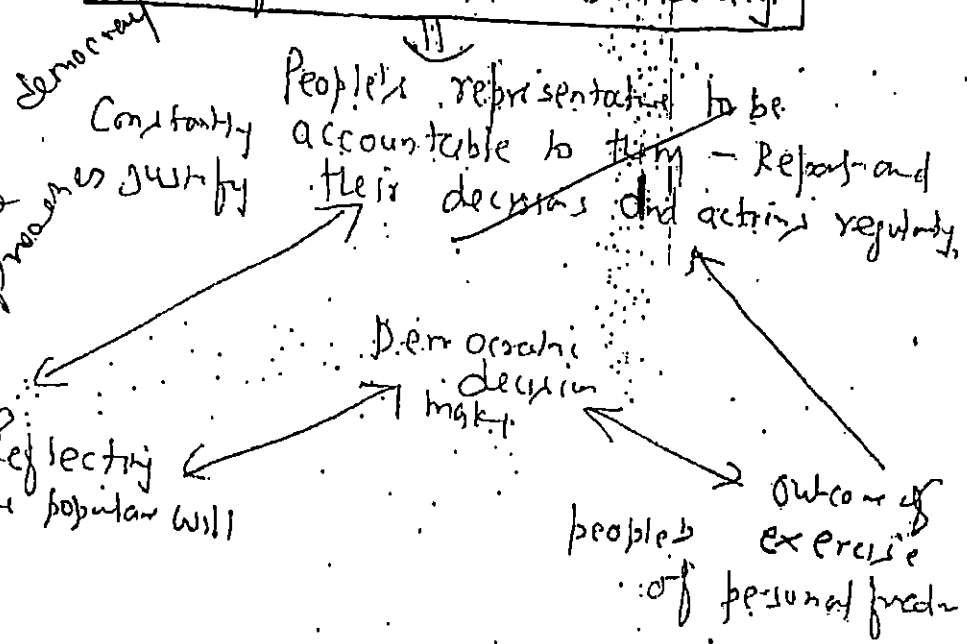
- Democracy as a popular rule
- Democracy as the bulwark of personal freedom

Remarks

Democracy requires that democratic decision making should embody an element of popular rule. It promotes a model of politics where each individual is trying to persuade others to find a reasonable solution of public issues.

Name of Deliberative democracy

A balance between the various models of deliberative democracy. Know free will



7

b) Liberty and equality are inherently opposed to each other.

Some political thinkers have envisaged certain situations where the provision of equality obstructs the enjoyment of liberty.

Remarks

French philosopher - Alexis de Tocqueville
 in his celebrated work Democracy in America observed that the principle of equality, whereby all distinctions of social status are gradually eroded, and it has as a result of curtailment of individual autonomy and the loss of liberty.

Whereas the principle of liberty demands the encouragement of a variety of interests and opinions, the principle of equality tends to promote conformity of opinions and attitudes, hence the antithesis between liberty and equality.

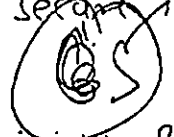
Most political thinkers were not against equality as such. They only wanted that the demand for equality in the sphere of freedom of opinion should not be pressed to such an extent that it results in the suppression of liberty.

Some writers like Isaiah Berlin, tend

Remarks

to oppose equality in the economic sphere
 in the name of safeguarding individual's
 liberty. Individual differences in skills
 and abilities under the condition of
 equality before the law result in
 inequalities of income and wealth.
 Taking liberty and equality into
 the picture, we should not divide the cake
 of freedom to ensure equal shares
 of all but according to each individual's
 potential to secure social progress.

like
 You need
 to include
 views of
 thinkers
 like
 Smith, Ricardo,
 Hayek, Mises,
 Friedman in
 this
 Also
 provide
 a brief
 contrast
 of views



Views of Machiavelli & Kautilya

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru in his book
 "Discovery of India" mentioned Kautilya as
 'Indian Machiavelli'. Some of the academic
 works dealing with comparison between these
 two have mentioned Machiavelli as moderate
 realist and Kautilya as brutal realist (Weber)
 Though there are several similarities in between

Remarks

The two like political realism, end justify the means, observational approach they reflect different if not opposite ideology for re.

→ Though both of them have used observational approach but Machiavelli principles are too much based on history while Kautilya did not use historical approach.

→ Machiavelli goes for complete separation between dharma and neeti (religion and politics). However, according to Kautilya king is to follow his Rajyadharm.

→ Machiavelli supports monarchy but not in all situations but only in corrupt societies. In societies where people are virtuous or good he bett republican for of govt. However, Kautilya is always for monarchy.

→ Machiavelli's main concern is security of the state, Kautilya is more

Remarks

Concerned with acquiring new land and expanding the territory.

→ Machiavelli believe in fortune but Kautilya believe in karma they

→ Kautilya is more bold in his prescriptions than Machiavelli and he is more detailed.

From the above points it is evident that though resemblances occurred in their thoughts they were of different origin and reflect different spirit and ideology

They also differ in terms of virtues & had an objective of public welfare

8

as a point

8. Attempt all questions.

(a) "Gender is one of the many identities of an individual" and acceptance of the fact is ~~simply~~ a prerequisite for the feminist perspective to be effective. Discuss and ~~also~~ analyse how the modern state is viewed by Feminist. (200 Words) (15 Marks)

(b) Hobbes starts with 'Individualism' and 'Liberalism' but ended with 'Totalitarianism'. Discuss. (200 Words) (15 Marks)

(c) Describe in detail the features of 'Theory of Justice' given by John Rawls' with special reference to the 'Difference Principle'. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

It is a well known fact that all politically active women do not necessarily act as feminists - they may well be representing interests and structures of power which feminist politics in India has sought to struggle with. Hence, stereotyping is one of the major obstacle as far as feminist perspective is concerned. In this regard, a new kind of rethinking of sex/gender comes for locating gender in a grid of identities - caste, class, race, religion etc. This will mean that biological classification of women does not necessarily have shared interests, life situations or

Remarks

To support this mention of Third world or Post Colonial female

goals. In this way, a political event can be described by two different feminist in a way contradictory manner and this is where the success of feminist perspective lies.

Feminist perspective of state

- State as an instrument of regulation of public sphere
- State as an instrument of power.

Feminist perspective of state is concerned with the above two crucial aspect of nature of state. Feminists agree that men control women not only in public sphere but also on all aspects of her life including the most intimate relation like sexual relations. The idea is modeled by Carole Millet in her famous slogan 'the personal is political'. Furthermore

Remarks

Carol Millet

what is to do. How attribute to the state as a tool of emancipation?

8

Feminists also have tried to demonstrate how male power becomes embedded in different branches of the state apparatus and in state policies. Women constitute as a deprived section of society in all parts of the world. The wide spread exclusion of women from state power is the core theme of feminist perspective of state.

(b)

Hobbes - Individualism - Liberalism
 — Totalitarianism

Individualist → one who gives preference to self over society.

Totalitarianism → A state in which the government controls every aspect of public & private life.

According to CB Macpherson, Hobbes is an individualist in his assumptions but an absolutist in his conclusions.

Remarks

Hobbes did not considered individualistic
 name of man as a sin rather a
 natural fact. Hobbes is an individualist
 and absolutist at the same time. However
 we should not think that there is inconsistency
 in his thoughts. It is true that he began
 as an individualist but end in State
 absolutism.

Hobbes is most logically consistent
 thinker. It is for the protection of
 individual that he agrees even to the
 absolute authority of state. Furthermore
 it was Hobbes who gave the complete
 thy of state sovereignty. He clearly
 subordinates all institutions including
 Church under the authority of state
 in protection of individualism. It was
 his individualism which gave rise to
 laissez faire thy which became a
 powerful tool in the hands of a thurs
 of utilitarianism like Bentham.

8

Remarks

In Hobbesian state, liberty exists in
 as long as the law is silent
 & the state is only to serve
 the life of the individual
 so it cannot be attributed to be
 a totalitarian state.

John Hobbes was criticised by thinkers like Vaughan; many others view his deviation not only a faithful enunciation of doctrine of sovereignty, it is also a powerful statement of the individualism.

(C) Rawls theory of Justice

According to John Rawls, Justice is the first but not the only virtue of a good society. Based on this in his much celebrated work of A Theory of Justice he has given a liberal perspective of Justice.

Rawls has evolved a unique methodology for arriving at a unanimous procedure of Justice. Rawls has envisaged an original position by abstracting the individuals from their particular social and economic circumstances. These individuals are symbolically placed behind a

Remarks

View of Ignorance Where they are supposed

to deliberate as rational agents.

According to Rawls, in such a state of uncertainty, the rational negotiators will choose the least divergent path.

In other words, each individual will place himself as a least advantage position while recommending the criteria of allocation.

Principles of distribution →

1. → Principle of equal liberty

* Equal right to most extensive liberty compatible with similar liberty of others.

* Nobody's liberty should be sacrificed for the sake of benefit of others.

2. → Principle of fair equality of opportunity

* Particularly for acquiring offices and positions

3. → Difference principle

Difference principle implies that

Remarks

any disparities from equal distribution of the primary goods can be justified only when it could prove greatest benefit to the least advantaged.

A special reward for extraordinary ability and effort to any individual can be treated as just only if it results in greatest benefit of the least privileged.

Hence, Rawls introduces the idea of the chain connection which implies that in order to strengthen a chain, we should start with strengthening its weakest link and then repeat the process by identifying the weakest link on each occasion.

In such a straight forward question, need to mention the famous quotes specially Communitarian feminist.

Remarks

10

