

GS SCORE

Test - 01

Good articulation
& content
No major
problems

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Time Allowed: 3 hr.

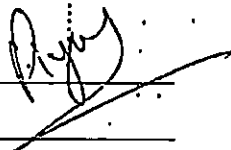
Max. Marks: 250

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.

R-23-M
D-03/08

1. Invigilator Signature



2. Invigilator Signature

Name GAURAV VATS

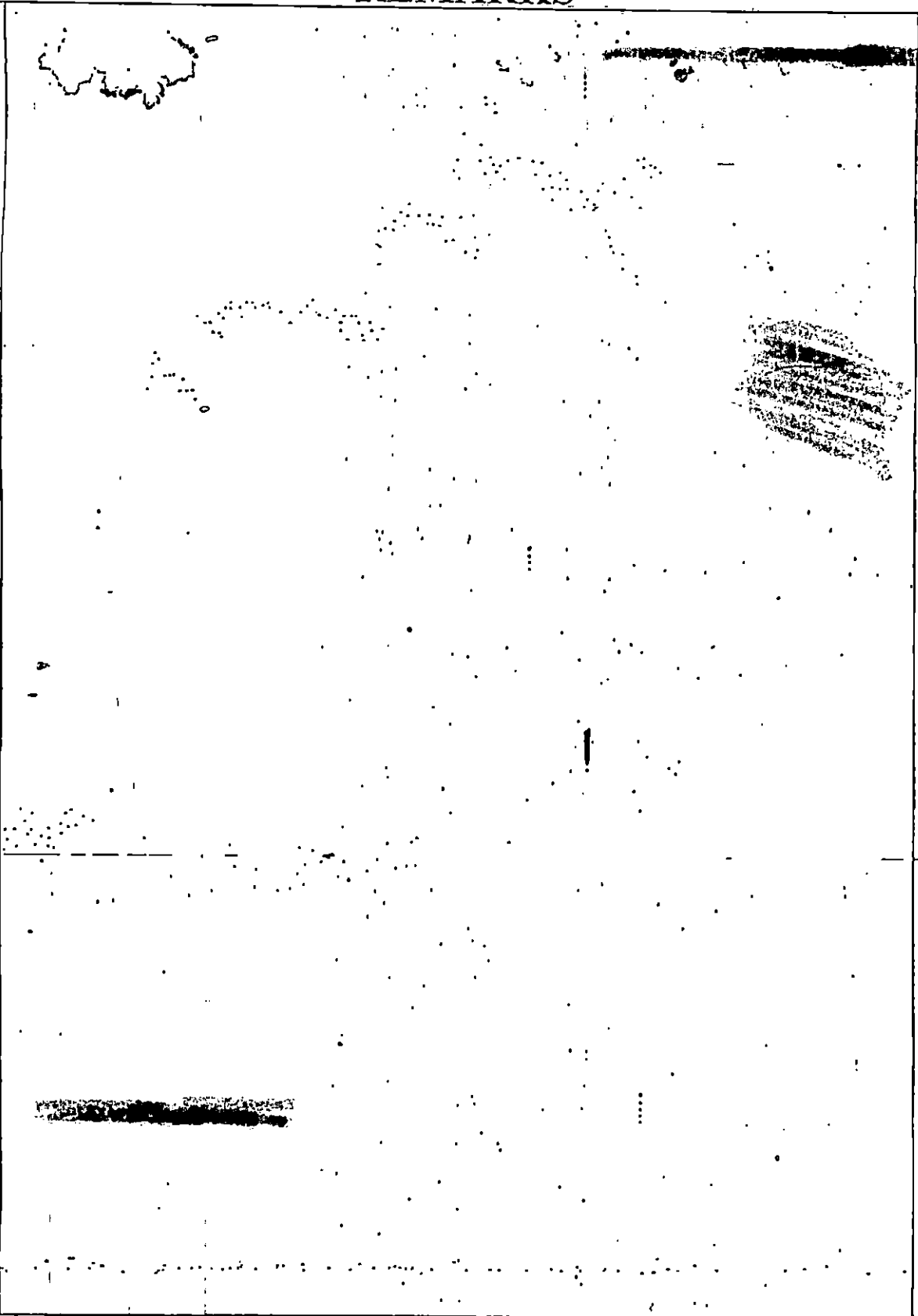
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Date - 19/07/2017

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REMARKS



SECTION A

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

(10 × 5 = 50)

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

(a) Gandhi's view on swaraj were influenced by Chandogya Upanishad, and those of Anandmo Ghosh. ~~Not accurate.~~

Although Parliamentary Swaraj was already in place by moderates & extremists like Tilak, Gokhale etc, Gandhi was different in his approach. He didnot advocate Swaraj as mere parliamentary democracy and freedom from Britain.

His ideal of Swaraj was based on his concept of Ahimsa and enlightened anarchy. According to him, Swaraj was to be established at two levels:

- At the level of Nation, i.e. parliamentary democracy and freedom from Britain.

Remarks

You barely talked about

the actual character of his conception of Parliamentary Swaraj

GS SCORE

• At the level of individual, who has been enlightened.

(3) An individual has soul or spirit, which is truth or god. He/she has to follow the path of ahimsa to achieve the truth/god. And once it is done, the enlightened citizen is fit to rule himself. He has curbed and control passion and greed.

Further, Gandhi says that with such enlightened citizens in society, the need for state is no more, and the parliamentary swaraj is not a necessity. He insisted on organic circulation of power between social and cultural groups and assigned a minimal role to parliamentary swaraj.

(b) MN Roy started as an orthodox marxist, then changed to appreciate Gandhi, and finally gave his theory of Radical

Remarks

Humanism

MN Roy, in his "from Marxism to ^{the} ~~the~~ humanism", has appreciated Marxism basic ideals, but also listed out his shortcomings when applied to Indian context. He was able to give a more clear picture of ground reality of India than orthodox marxists.

Further, in his "homage to Martyrs", he appreciated the role of Congress and Gandhi. He appreciated how Gandhi was able to organize millions of Indians with ideals of non-violence.

Further, after his defeat in elections, he gave the concept of radical humanism, in which the ultimate value is freedom, along with reason and ethics. He was one of the few modern thinkers, who integrated freedom with materialism.

Remarks

He argued that both reason and ethics are needed to achieve true freedom to individual, which aims to improve his/her material life. Though he did not advocate for crude materialism like Marx, he denounced excessive spiritualism.

①
good
elaboration

However, he criticized Parliamentary democracy, and gave his concept of partyless democracy, in which decentralization of power is the central concept.

However, he has been criticized for not suggesting alternatives.

(C) Marx concept of Historical Materialism has been derived from Dialectical method of Hegel; and Materialism of Feuerbach.

Marx has stated that history has moved in stages, and production

was the first historical act.

In the primitive society, there was no private property, and everyone was equal. However, with the advent of agriculture, the first stage of production began. Private property was institutionalized and have's and have not's existed.

Further, with the invent of feudal system, the second stage of history developed, with the feudal lords exploiting serfs.

Furthermore, with the advent of capitalism as a world system, the bourgeoisie have been exploiting the proletariat class (workers), and appropriating all the profit.

Thus, Marx advocated that each stage of history has been marked by

Remarks

Analyze the role of dialectical method plays in evolution of his idea how & communism will be the last stage

6

production, and an inherent class contradiction.

Hence he advocates for proletariats to organize a revolution to establish a pure communist stage, which will be the perfect stage of history with no class contradictions.

(d) The communitarian perspective of justice emerged as a critique of liberal theory of Justice, mainly conceptualized by Rawls.

Rawls advocated that his theory of justice is universal, with individuals deciding the principles behind the veil of ignorance. They will be fair to every individual.

However, he was criticized by Michael Walzer, who in his "Spheres of Justice", has stated that there exists different spheres of society

in the world, and there can be no common principle. No social good can be exclusive to one sphere, and no sphere can be exclusive to a specific good. eg. Higher education as a value means different to different individuals based on their society. Thus, individual is not atomistic and is an embedded self.

Michael Sandel in his "Justice" (2010) has also advocated for different notions of Justice for different societies. Kymlicka, while advocating for multiculturalism, can also be considered as a communitarian critique of Rawls.

In fact, Rawls was forced to correct himself when he said that his principles are not universal, but limited to western liberal societies.

Contentious pluralism is a critique of the concept of "formal institutional"

Remarks

how more on the role of community & conception of good over right (6)

democracy" (representative democracy).

Democracy in the formal sense suffers from flaws like tyranny of majority, populism etc.

Contentious pluralism, advocated by scholars like Mouffe, calls for the different groups in society to stand up for their rights. Then the public platform will witness different interest/social groups giving voice to their concerns.

This in turn, makes the government accountable, and also increases people participation in governance. Also respect for plurality of values, culture grows.

This can also be found in Macpherson call for radical democracy.

Remarks

Why
do
democracy
continuously
need to
have a
continuation of
ideas &
expansion of
its sphere? (6)

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) The idea that Welfare State enhances liberty belongs to the school of positive liberalism, as evident in the works of Laskei, Barker, TH Green, GDN Cole etc.

Laskei has said that State is known by the rights it provides to the citizens. State ought to provide the rights of citizens, and remove hindrances in his full personality development.

He says that liberty is not

Remarks

This was said by Green

just the absence of interference from State in individual's life. Rather, liberty is the situation where a person has full freedom to choose the life of his liking. For that, the impediments to his personality growth must be removed.

Thus, State and liberty are mutually compatible, where State is enhancing & protecting liberty of a citizen.

These views are also supported by Barker, who says that State protects the rights & liberty of a citizen, enhances his multidimensional

Remarks

Views to elaborate more on views of Green & Mill

8

personality.

Similarly, T.H. Green has also stated that human being postulates liberty, liberty need rights, & rights demand state.

However, they were criticized by negative liberals such as Thomas Paine, Nozick, that the state becomes overburdened and inefficient.

b) Roazick Nozick belongs to the school of Negative Liberalism (Neo-liberalism). In his work on "property rights", he says that liberty is the absence of state interference. Thus he postulates the negative notion of liberty ~~as~~, protected by minimal state. Further, in his theory of property,

Remarks

Anarchy
state &
utopia

he says that one's property is the result of one's hard work.

He owes nothing to society and he will get more inspiration to work harder for his own welfare.

Thus, state has to role for welfare & intervention, and it should just be concerned with law & order.

Further, criticizing Rawls' difference principle, he says that society is not responsible for someone's disadvantage, and consequently ~~the~~ state should not interfere.

Furthermore, he advocates that

rights are merely claims against the state, and completely rejected the notion of positive rights. He rejects any state interference.

Thus, he says that minimum state is inspiring as well as right.

His words find resonance in words of Hayek & Thomas Paine. The latter said that a drunkard in a gutter is not to be pulled out by state.

However, Nozick has been criticized by positive liberals, as well as commentators for individualistic perspective, and also Neo-Marxists, for ignoring inequalities in Capitalist world (Western world.)

Remarks

What are the basic themes in his views?
Why does he

criticize appropriate action & programme for action

10

(c) Ambedkar's notion of emancipation of deprived sections is rooted in his belief of destruction of Hinduism & its Caste system. It can be found in ~~its~~ his works like "Annihilation of Caste" and "Who were Shudras".

Ambedkar believed that the moment religion imposes rules, it ceases to be a religion. And ~~Brahminism~~ Hinduism has validated Caste ~~dist~~ discrimination & untouchability. It is not even an opiate to the masses, as it deprives them of their god. Such a religion is

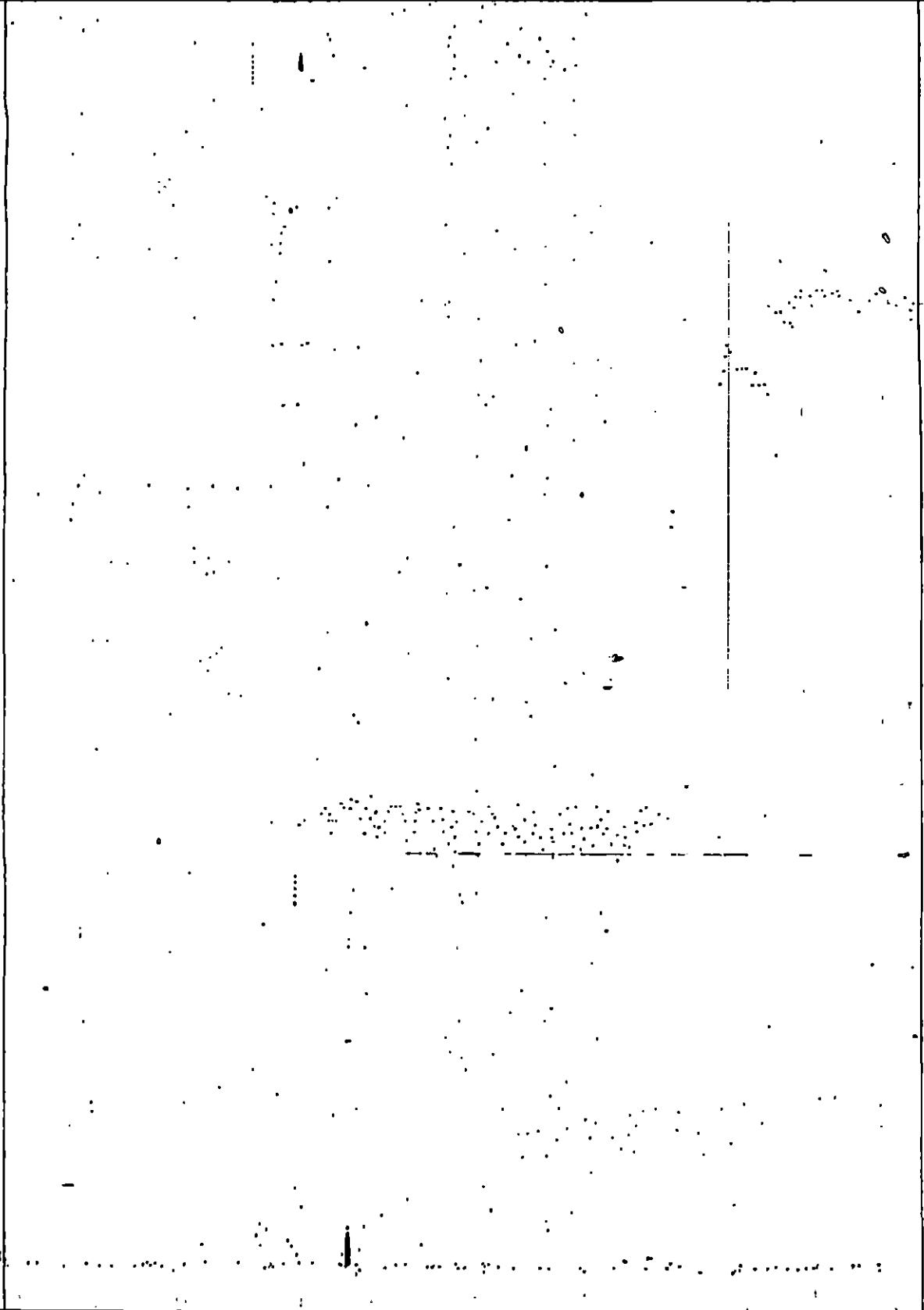
Remarks

madness and should be destroyed to free & and reform Indian society.

Further, he says that caste gets its validation from the varna system itself. While arguing with Gandhi, he says that varna is textual view and caste is its contextual view. So, the destruction of varna system is the only means for reform.

Furthermore, he says that Shastras and Vedas were written by primitive man, and were not reinterpreted in the face of changed Indian society. So, the destruction of Shastras and Vedas were the only

Remarks



Remarks

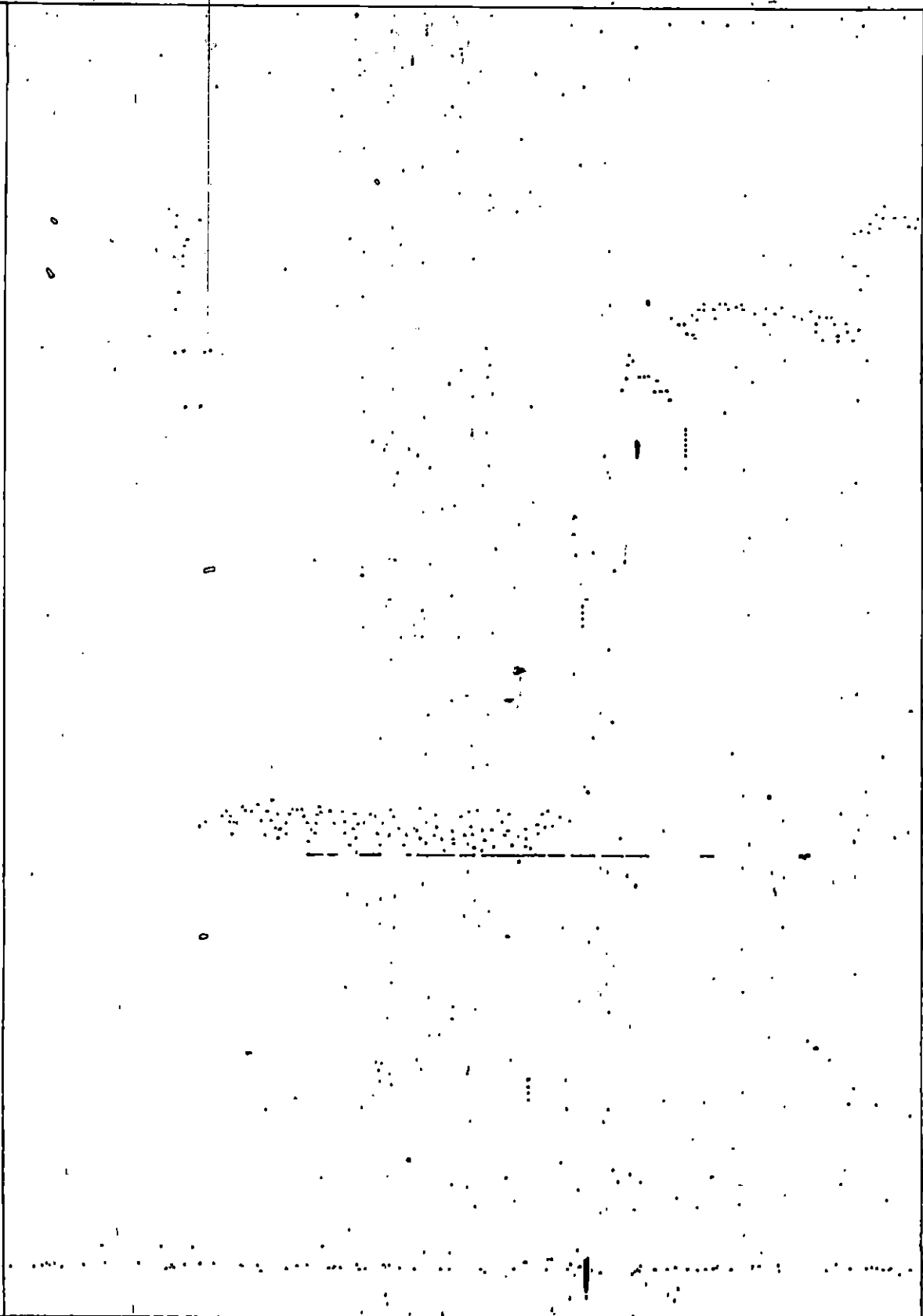
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Remarks

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Remarks

GS SCORE



Remarks

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Remarks

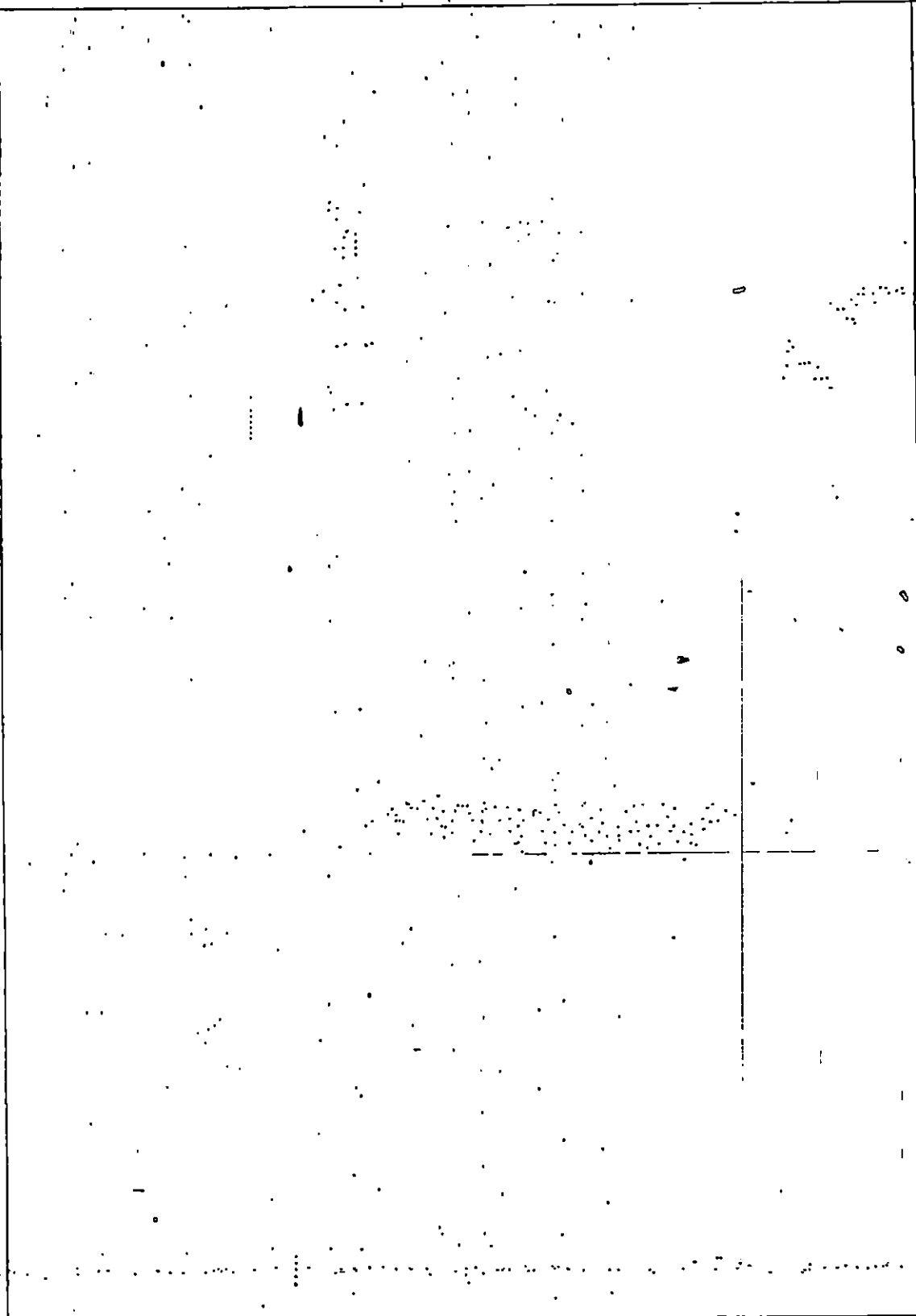
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Remarks

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Remarks



Remarks

1/21/2014

(b) The 'public-private divide' is one of the central concepts of feminism, and can be studied from various schools of feminism.

Feminists allege that the political sphere is all dominated by men, whereas family, personal relations, consisting of private sphere, is forced upon women.

Therefore, government, education institutes etc. are dominated by men, whereas women are relegated to family work, household jobs, nurturing children etc.

Liberal feminists, such as Betty Friedan, do not attack private-public divide, and instead advocate for equal rights for men & women in public.

Remarks

Analyse with actual examples how the public-private divide leads to full subjugation of women? (6)

sphere. They consider willing consent of women to remain focussed on private sphere.

Socialist feminists, such as Sheila Rowbotham, instead focussed on Capitalism & exploitation, and neglected private-public divide as a reflection of capitalist system.

Radical Feminists, such as Kate Millet, Simone De Beauvoir, has strongly attacked private public divide, and has blamed social conditioning for it. They call for raising social consciousness of women to raise their voice to attain substantive equality and freedom from patriarchy.

(c) Professor Harold Laski has advocated for equal rights for everyone in the broader context of welfare state. He

Remarks

belongs to the school of positive liberalism, and has stated that a state is known by the rights it provides to its citizens.

He refuses to acknowledge rights merely as lack of interference of state in personal lives. He advocates that rights also necessary for growth & development of a citizen, and realize its full potential.

Therefore, state should make efforts to remove all obstacles which hinder the personality growth of a citizen.

He is supported by other positive liberals like T.H. Green, who say that human life postulates liberty, liberty need rights, and rights demand state.

Remarks

① why did he give primary economic rights over civil & political rights?

Further, Laski has also ~~center~~ advocated for rights of a citizen to fulfill his multidimensional needs from various other autonomous organizations. Therefore, he vows of for pluralistic theory of sovereignty.

He was criticized by Negative liberals like Thomas Paine, who says the state gets overburdened by welfare notion of rights.

(d) The nature of post-colonial state can be studied from the outlook of both Western scholars & Post colonial thinkers.

Scholars like Paul Brass gives an insight into the post-colonial states like in Asia, Africa & Latin America. He states that the post-

Colonial State is a ^{product of} Circumstances of colonial rule with following evidences:

- The idea of nation is not fully existing because of coercive political unification.
- The idea of democracy is not fully institutionalized because of despotic rule.
- The military and army are strongly organized because of their use in colonies.

The above features are also accepted by Pak scholar Kungu Abau, who has called post-colonial state an "overdeveloped state", along with traditional/underdeveloped society. Also, Shijji & Mandani has observed

Remarks

What role does defence of well developed civil society play in development of a over developed state? (5)

the same in African bureaucracy control.

However, Adair says that not everything is a result of colonial intervention. The traditional nature of society is also a result of hundreds of years of oriental culture.

(c) The "pluralistic perspective of power" arose as a critique of "monistic perspective of power" vested in the state, ~~and in people in democracy~~

Robert Michels has argued that there are power elites in democracy, and there is mainly a circulation of elites. This has also been agreed upon by Schumpeter and Sartori.

Lasnik has argued that power rests not only in state, but also in other organizations. "Since society is federal, authority must also be

Remarks

federal." This has also been agreed by Barker & G.D.H. Cole.

C. Wright Mills has argued that there are some organizations which yield power. In USA, these are government, military & business associations.

Further, defining the concept of polyarchy, ~~David Held~~ in his "who governs", has advocated for various groups yielding power.

However, later with Charles Lindbloom, he advocated the concept of deformed polyarchy, saying that corporate group yield more power.

However, they have been criticized for their attempt to weaken state sovereignty.

Remarks

This concept has to be placed in context of Dahl's views

(4)

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)

(a) Both participatory and deliberative democracy have evolved as a criticism to mere representative democracy.

Participatory democracy can be found in the works of scholars like Gandhi, who advocated for local self government.

It advocates that mere voting is not the duty of an individual.

Rather, it calls for formal platforms for citizen participation in governance.

In Indian context, we see that in 73rd & 74th Constitutional Amendments

Remarks

Rousseau was also a proponent of Participatory model.

However, deliberative democracy is a quality notch above the participatory democracy. It can be found in the works of Bessette, like "American govt & politics: Democracy, Deliberation". It refers that the laws of a nation are formed after due deliberation between all the stakeholders.

We see that mechanisms of participatory democracy like PRT, e-govc etc are marked improvement over representative democracy. However, they do not ensure that the formal platforms of participation are transformed into actual revolutionary chambers of awakened citizens. In India, LSGs suffer from jurisdiction, financialities & funds problem.

Remarks

However
more on the
challenges of
practical
implementation
of both
these models

①

In deliberative democracy, everyone takes willing participation in formation of laws & rules. So, this ensures substantive equality. Also, people are willing to obey laws made by themselves.

However, in a large country like India, it appears utopian. Also, it is much time consuming, and arriving at consensus would be dilatory.

(b) Liberty is the central value of Liberalism school of thought, and Equality is the central value of Marxist/Socialist school of thought.

More ^{or} less, these schools are opposite aligned, and sacrifice the others' value for the sake of their's.

Liberalism says that liberty is a value in itself, and it cannot be

Remarks

sacrificed for the sake of equality of outcomes.

It will be a travesty of justice and merit.

Further, equality beyond non-discrimination would mean sacrificing the liberty and rights of one section for the benefit of others.

Furthermore, Marxists say that if equality has to prevail, then it is imperative that restrictions should be put on individual's choices, to ensure equality of outcome. This restricts the liberty of citizens.

Furthermore, equality of welfare of everyone would not take into account that ^{not} every person desires

Remarks

the same thing. So, it will put a check on liberty of choice.

Moreover, equality of resources would also restrict the liberty of individual to choose which resource benefits him the most. Not everyone would be contented with money.

We have already witnessed after globalization, how liberty has further widened the gap b/w rich & poor, thereby creating huge inequality gap.

However, under two circumstances, they can be compatible:

- Liberal conception of liberty & equality (of merely equal opportunities).
- Positive liberals, where liberty is not defined in merely liberal sense (Karski)

Remarks

Arguments are good but you need to cite views of thinkers & chief proponents of this idea. Nozick, Rawls, Friedman et al.

⑦

(c) Nehru, in his "Discovery of India", has called Kautilya as the Indian Machiavelli. This is due to various resemblances among the thoughts of two, summarized as below:

- Both are realistic schools of thoughts.
- Both wanted the king to promote people welfare as the end.
- Both have given manuals of administration to the king (Arthashastra & The Prince).
- Both have approached the foreign policy from realistic point of view, justifying invasion & aggression.

Machiavelli
 doesn't
 provide
 such
 details

Remarks

• Both have prescribed the way of both rewards and punishments to create good citizens.

However, the thoughts of both the thinkers originated from radically different sources. Whereas Machiavelli was sad at the pathetic state of Italian provinces, and wanted a strong Italian Nation State, Kautilya was the adviser of strong Mauryan State, aiming to improve the administration.

Further, Machiavelli was an modern thinker inspired from renaissance & reformation, along with science & tech, Kautilya was an ancient thinker, deriving his theory from Dharmashastra and other ancient Indian traditions.

Remarks

Therefore, they both reflect opposite spirit & ideologies as following:

- Machiavelli was purely materialistic, while Kautilya focussed on ethics.
- Machiavelli separated ethics from politics, whereas King in Kautilya was to follow Rajadharma.
- Prince is the creator of morality in Machiavelli, whereas Kautilya says that King has to obey Brahmins and Rajadharma.
- Machiavelli says prince is about morality, whereas Kautilya says King should employ false means only rarely, that too in the interest of public welfare.

Therefore, we find that there are fundamental spiritual & ideological differences.

Remarks

Very good

Almost all points mentioned

14

7. Attempt all questions:

(a) What are the general features of the Dharmashastras Tradition of Indian Political thought and how does Bhikhu Parekh bring out its various shortcomings?

(200 Words) (15 Marks)

(b) What do you understand by 'spiritual nationalism' by Aurobindo Ghosh? Why was the Congress according to him not able to gain Swaraj? (200 Words) (15 Marks)

(c) Equality of Resources as advocated by Dworkin consists of redistribution being done as continuous process rather than being a one time phenomena. Also bring out the salient features of "Equality of Capabilities" approach by Dr. Amartya Sen.

(250 Words) (20 Marks)

(a) The Dharmashastra tradition of Indian

Political thought can be found in the ancient works like Manusmriti. It mainly dealt with the laws, and the main general features are the following:

- It is didactic in nature. It prescribes the various norms to be followed by the ruler.

- Unlike Western thought, it does not recognize dichotomies between state

Remarks

and society, nature & man, spirit & matter, politics & ethics etc.

- It is ~~based~~ hierarchical in Nature.

It recognizes the chaturvarna system and has prescribed dharma for each varna. Dharma is what hold society together, and King has to ensure each varna observes its Dharma.

- Except some day republics, monarchy is the form of government.

- Punishment (danda) is employed if there is deviation from danda.

- There is no separate text on politics like 'politics' of Aristotle.

- King is bound by the Raj Dharma.

Bhikhu Parekh has brought out the

Remarks

Also elaborate on the relevance of Justice under this tradition.

9

You need to specifically mention Swincher Parikh's criticism

following shortcomings:

- It is not progressive, it advocates status quo.
- It is discriminatory and unapologetic of social system prevalent.
- It is incidental and fragmented.

V.R. Mehta says that these shortcomings pointed out by B. Parikh were the actual reasons why Western scholars did not recognize Indian Political Thought.

(b) 'Spiritual Nationalism' of Anand

Ghosh can be attributed to his concepts of swaraj, individual and 'integral reason'.

Anand said that an individual comprises of spirit (god), soul (nurturing) and body (destroyable). It is the duty of individual to move

Remarks

and nurture his soul towards god/spirit. An integral reason (reason, intuition and utility integrated) will help the individual do that.

Similar to an individual, a nation (India) also has a soul, and that has to be nurtured towards spirit/god. It is destiny that India will achieve swaraj. It comprises not only freedom from Britain, but also spiritual freedom of individuals from materialistic obsession. Every individual will be spiritually enlightened. According to Ambedkar, this way.

Remarks

god! How do
he create
nation with
mother/goddess!

the soul of the nation will merge with the spirit/god, and hence India will achieve true swaraj.

Further, in his "The Lamp of old", he says that the reason Congress is not able to gain swaraj is because the moderates are only focussing on self-governance in institutional form. They are neglecting the spiritual freedom which is more important than institutional freedom.

He has criticized the prayer, protest & petition mode of moderates and insists that if individuals are spiritually awakened, then India will attain swaraj automatically.

Remarks

What role does he envisage for the masses in the national movement?

10

(C) Dworkin has been characterized by Elizabeth Anderson in the school of luck egalitarianism. In his "Taking rights seriously", he has propounded his theory of equality of resources, while he criticized equality of welfare.

Dworkin suggests the following methods :

- Ambition sensitive ration
- Endowment insensitive insurance.

Dworkin suggests that someone penalized by brute luck has to be compensated so that everyone starts equally. To compensate option luck, he suggests insurance.

Remarks

further, due to natural talents, or other factors, inequalities may arise in the future. Therefore, the process of distribution cannot be a one-time affair; and has to be done ^{Main idea} continuously. Dworkin suggests progressive taxation as the suitable method.

However, he was criticized by Elizabeth Anderson for overlooking those penalized by option luck.

He was also criticized by Amartya Sen, who said that until people have developed capabilities, there is no way they can utilize those resources to the full potential, thus giving his "Equality of capabilities".

Sen says that capabilities are different because of parametric variations like family income distribution, personal differences, society differences, economic differences etc.

Therefore, state should take care to provide health, education, freedom of speech & exp, voting rights etc, to enhance individual's capability.

This will in turn give him attainment equality to enjoy substantive freedom in choosing his way of life.

Otherwise, with deficient capabilities he would just be able to achieve shortfall equality, with insufficient freedom.

However, Bharti Prasad Mehta criticized Sen for putting too much burden on state.

Remarks

134

14

good

Elaborate more on how Dworkin & Sen both

entire

starting

good theory of equality?

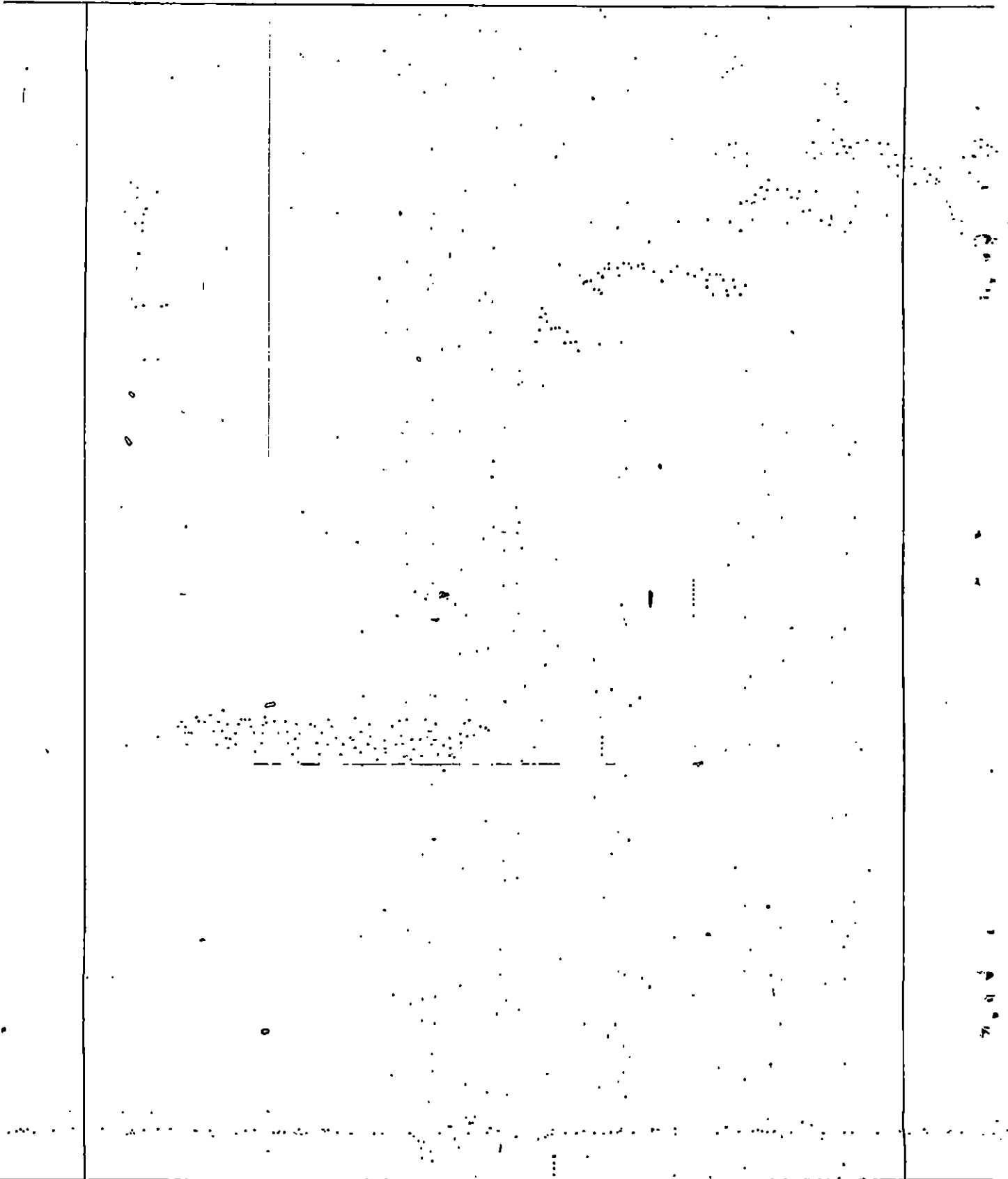
8. Attempt all questions:

- (a) "Gender is one of the many identities of an individual" and acceptance of the fact is actually 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)

Remarks

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Remarks



Remarks

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Remarks

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