

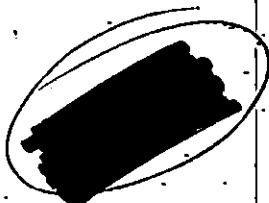
**POLITICAL SCIENCE**

Time Allowed: 1 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-and-Answer (Q&A) 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.



21/01/2017

Name Adhiraj S. RanMobile No. [REDACTED]Date 6/10/17Signature [Signature]

1. Invigilator Signature [REDACTED]
2. Invigilator Signature [REDACTED]

**SECTION A**

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

(10 x 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?

(C) Marx belongs to the materialist thinkers for whom the essence of reality is due to matter and not ideas.

He gave a materialist interpretation of history. According to Marx, this is a scientific way of looking at history, free from any philosophical or dogmatic understanding.

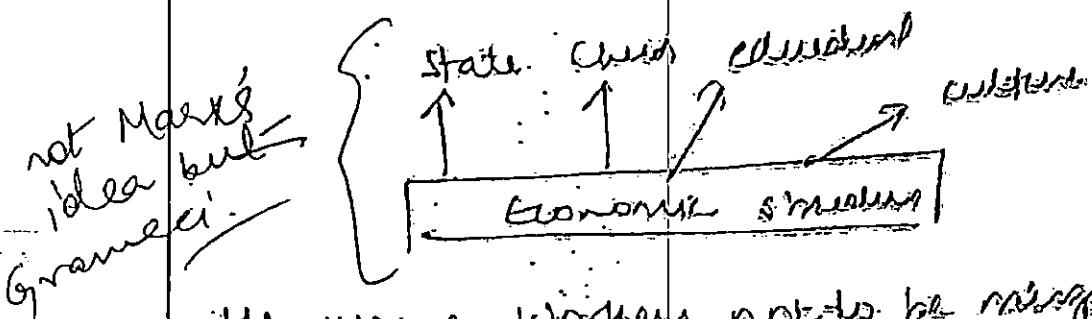
He traced back history, and found that for a man to make history, he must live. To live, one has to eat, and to eat one has to produce. Thus, ~~for~~ production society was formed.

Hence he gave this production and economic needs as a structure of society.

Remarks

He scientifically proved that **ECONOMIC STRUCTURE** is basic structure of society.

All other structures are a mere **superstructure** of base. This forms **base-superstructure model**.



He warns workers not to be misguided by ideas, beliefs, rights which he called as false consciousness. His history of marxism shows history of class struggle. Only way to end this was to ~~force~~ ~~no~~ no a revolution.

He was criticised by many writers for economic determinism.



Gramsci later went for an independent study of superstructure. Writing how it was independent of base. At this stage he went for elaborate understanding of super-

Remarks	Define prod. rotation means of prod. structure	changing stages Feudalism Capitalism Socialism Communism
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(a) Gandhi's concept of swaraj, is the Indian version of liberty. His swaraj had component at individual level and other at political level.

At individual level Gandhi's swaraj meant to establish control over one's desires, negative thoughts, actions etc. If every man could enforce swaraj at individual level then there would be no need of state and noills in society.

He was against state as state was violent, did not have a soul and used force. Rather he favoured democratic decentralization in form of village panchayats in his ideal state of Ram rajya.

Civil liberty → Parliamentary swaraj, as it was elected directly by people. He got to vote further ensured check on the govt in form of rights, minority condition etc.

Equality Remarks Sawodhya → trusteeship council

Ultimate aim of Swaraj: still remained Sarvoday, Swaraj at individual level and Ramkrishna

- (b) MN Roy was an Indian Marxist who reformed Marx's theory to give his own 'New Humanism / Radical Humanism' theory.

His contributions to Indian politics:

- ① MN Roy attended the 2nd communist international and formed the CPI in Tashkent. He brought Marxist ideology in India at mainstream level
- ② He was the first person to ask for formation of a constitution assembly
- ③ He gave a 'people's plan' as a document to guide India after independence
- ④ His radical humanism focused on emancipation of humans from clutches of religion, beliefs, irrationality. He proposed

#### Remarks

- Political Party
- how differed from Marxist?
- socio-economic agenda?
- cooperative society - centralised planning

a Renaissance era in India from Brahminical society.

(5) His idea of cosmopolitan humanism was also in line with India's ideals of  
- Vasudeva Kuttumbakam

(6) His theory of radical democracy and  
- partyless democracy

<sup>4/11</sup>  
He enriched the Indian politics by focusing on emancipation, education, pro-radical democracy and developed a shared vision for cosmopolitan humanism

(a) Communitarian perspective on justice was a result of his criticism of Rawls' idea of justice as fairness in his book "Theory of Justice".

According to Michael Sandel, self is not prior to end, but is constituted by end

Remarks

itself. Rawls had given supremacy to rights over goods.

Sandel also says that man is embedded self. The world-view of man is shaped by the society, culture he lives in. Hence his view of justice can't be separate from common good.

Communitarians also denied that Rawls's idea can be transcendental, universal.

Rather idea of justice would vary from culture to culture. Their idea is that "particular" and in consonance with ideas of community.

Michael Walzer had given the concept of pluralism in justice theory. According to Walzer there are different goods and each good's significance varies from one society to other. This means that

Rawls's primary good idea does not hold utility in all societies. Other debates? states neutrality vs non neutrality

Remarks  
 - Maclntire  
 - Foucault  
 - Sen

etic? argument?

Walzer gave different principles of distribution to be adopted for each good. Hence his idea is pluralistic justice.

In view of this communication certain Rawls modified his idea of justice and gave a political conception of justice developed by public reasoning and having an overlapping consensus.

(e)

Contentious pluralism is considered as a means to keep democracy vibrant itself.

It involves that all sections of people, mostly excluded, marginalized ones, engage in deliberations and arguments in public sphere. This will lead to bettering inclusive arguments, help form a consensus in society and deepen democracy.

Contentious pluralism is in line with the essence of democracy which involves deliberations, putting arguments and adopting the best

Remarks

Ideas. It's much more than procedural democracy which is just a game of numbers.

Jürgen Habermas has given idea of communicative action and public reasoning in public sphere where free speech ideals will exist.

Nancy Fraser also evokes idea of a public sphere for marginalized people to get their demands across.

Others include Benjamin Barber, Joshua Cohen, Amy Gutmann.

~~critic by Robert Dahl?~~  
~~group rights leading to  
 deformed polity~~

Remarks

~~(Q)~~ 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)

(Q) The idea of welfare state was proposed by the modern liberals like JS Mill, LT Hobhouse, TH Green, Harold Laski.

The classical notion of liberty was absence of any restriction which required the state to stay away from interfering in human actions. State was given the role of nightwatchmen state, minimal state, state that governs the least is best.

Beginning from JS Mill, the idea of liberty was expanded to include positive liberty. This included not just absence of restraints but also implied building capacity to do what one aspires. (TH Green)

The role of state was important in this

-Remarks

positive liberty

The role of state acc-to Th Green, was to hinder the hindrances. It had to remove impediments which were stopping a person to do what he wants. Also, the freedom and liberty which humans wanted, involved right to be acknowledged in society. Here state was required to protect rights of people.

For Laski, state is keystone of social order because it maintained equilibrium in society due to which all other associations could work peacefully.

Amartya Sen, a sociological liberal, had also put importance on state to build capacity of people.

The welfare state by positive discrimination, progressive taxation, capacity building, equality of opportunities helps ensure people enjoy

Welf

This concept of welfare state was challenged.

Remarks

by neoliberals for whom liberty was  
absence of regulation. They welfare state  
wanted roll back of state. Prominent  
neoliberals are Robert Nozick, M. Friedman,  
Isaiah Berlin, FA Hayek.

(b)

Robert Nozick is a neoliberal scholar  
who gave neoliberal critique to Rawls  
theory of justice.

In his work "Anarchy, State and Utopia"  
Nozick established that minimal states  
inspiring as well as right.

Nozick criticised the idea of progressive  
taxation as bonded labour. A person has  
complete ownership over his labour.

For him redistributive justice should not  
be done by state but by market. As  
a market fundamentalist he had full  
faith as market has efficient distribution,  
responsive and had millions of linkages

Remarks

He proposed a minimal state, whose function was the maintenance of regulationism. Only role was also ~~to~~ ~~see to~~ property is acquired in right manner, transferred in right manner and inherited in right manner.

This type of state is inspiring as people will ~~strive~~ to work ~~only if they~~ for maximum output. This will increase production and efficiency. ~~and not~~ form of taxation.

This is also right as it does not take away his produce in form of taxation and welfare.

Nozick also suggests privilisation of security agencies, and thus a semi anarchism.

~~but by communists and feminists~~ Such type of states were formed in 1970s, 1980s in form of Thatcherism, Reaganism. However they have come under attack from socialists, social liberals as these states have increased inequalities to increase.

#### Remarks

- pl. to property monopoly over use of
- against states positive discrimination
- opposed

(C)

Dr BR Ambedkar is considered as brilliant figure among all dalit scholars. According to Ambedkar social democracy and equality was precondition for political democracy.

He considered society as more oppressive evil than state. Indian social structure was divided into caste system.

Indian social structure consisted of Brahminism which was divided into caste systems. This caste system led to division of labour and promoted untouchability. As a result of Hindu society and India was fragmented into warring castes and segmented communities.

The Brahminism ensured their supremacy by propagating endogamy, untouchability and depriving the dalits of rights and means of emancipation. The caste system was rigid, hereditary and closed.

Ambedkar wanted Annihilation of Caste for complete transformation of Indian social structure.

Remarks

He proposed ending Hinduism or leaving Hinduism as only means to end untouchability.

However, he was cognizant of fact that Brahminism would not allow reform of Hinduism to maintain supremacy.

All reforms by Bhaktipujya, social reforms in case of untouchability were failure.

He gave the other way of conversion to Buddhism as it was egalitarian religion unlike Hinduism which he termed 'maddness'.

He was even aware of patriarchy in Indian social structure and tried to bring in Hindu Code Bill, which was rejected too. This made him leave politics.

Ambalakai had favoured peaceful constitutional reforms like ensuring rights of minorit minorities, dalits; education as a liberating force, democratic socialism for socio-economic equality, Reservations etc - for bringing the revolution.

Remarks - Social reforms to proceed economic

- challenge the source of caste system  
religious text

One dignity of labour

One man / Not

4. Attempt all questions.

- (a) Mill's defense of rights of women was in line with his general views on equality and liberty? Discuss. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) What are the social and ideological foundations of Marxism? In what aspects does it show similarity to Communism? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) While classical Marxism can hardly replace liberalism as the dominant ideology due to its own faults but it will continue to serve as a check on excesses of the Capitalist system. Discuss. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

(a) John Mill is considered to be a traditional thinker who is moving towards positive liberalism.

The idea of reconciliation of equality and liberty was refuted by classical liberals. But Mill and other positive liberals do not find liberty and equality as contradictory principles.

Mill was a proponent of free speech and expression and wanted it to be provided to all people. Not allowing freedom of speech was seen to be condition of infallibility. According to him, even if there is <sup>one</sup> person whose views are against society's views, he must be tolerated and allowed to speak, as he may

Remarks

Speak the truth. Silencing him could lead to this truth not coming out.

Thus he propagated freedom of speech to all, even women.

In case of societies where there was rule of law, developed notion of liberty, equality, tolerance etc, he promoted equality in political life with all people getting equal votes. He favoured universal suffrage to women too.

~~In case of Barbaric societies where ideals of civil & social, rule of law etc weren't entrenched in society, he still upheld equality, notion formal sense, but at basic level.~~

~~He went for graded, plural voting in such societies after giving equal votes to all first.~~

Thus he reconciled idea of liberty and equality. His defence of women's rights was also due to this

~~Remarks Mention some specific women centric rights on equality.~~

- marriage systems
- slavery
- personal relationships

(b) Fascism is marked as political opposition  
 propaganda - more pluralistic or ideology.  
 It was prevalent in the final times  
 of interwar period in Italy, Germany, Spain,  
 Japan.

### Social foundations

Fascism created a difference in the elites  
 and masses. This divided the society and  
 made them subordinate to rule of elites.  
 Elites were addressed by a Superman (Nietzsche  
 later). They created various myths to  
rule over the people.

Racial superiority was justified by Gobineau's  
 ideas and gave legitimacy to purification,  
 ethnic cleansing, imperialism.

The people had only elites and no rights.  
 Ultranationalism was created where people  
 ready to die for the nation and leader.

### Ideological foundations

Fascism is based on hodge-podge of ideas

### Remarks

Role of hegemony ▷ coercion

His ideological foundations are found in:

- ① Plato's idea of ~~totalitarian state~~ philosopher king
- ② Machiavelli's separation of ethics and politics
- ③ Rousseau's general will
- ④ Hegel's idea of state as march of God on Earth
- ⑤ Sorel's importance of myths to keep nation alive, appeal to emotions
- ⑥ Nietzsche's idea of Superman
- ⑦ Herder's cultural nationalities
- ⑧ Gobineau's racial superiority

Similarity to communism?

Both ideologies created totalitarian state which disrupted our society by guiding people's everyday actions also.

total states rely on duties, no concept of rights exist for them

communists had legitimised dictatorship of proletariat, Fascists agree on rule of Supreme Leader.

Remarks

Both ideologies skeptical of idea of democracy.  
 However, fascism & communism are fundamentally different. Fascism is a rightist communist leftist ideology. fascism rose as a counter to communism. They consider fascism as a bourgeois counter revolution.

(C)

Liberation in mid 19th century had turned out to be exploitative; inhuman due to its ideas of negative liberty and capitalism utilitarianism.

Marxism arose as a credible counter to liberal ideas. ~~It was also~~ It provided people with alternative idea against ill of capitalism.

However, Marxism (classical) despite a credible threat to liberalism has not replaced it completely. At maximum it had provided criticism of liberalism.

Remarks

Write by using certain terms ideologies how their basic concepts eventually failed - of liberal order.

It is said that classical marxism is limitations is due to its inherent faults:

- ① Classical ~~marxism~~ marxism is criticized as being ~~as~~ economically determinism. Their sole emphasis is on 'historical materialism' and the 'base' of society. Max Weber had called it monopolistic ideology ~~as they~~ They completely overlooked the superstructure and its elements.
- ② The classical marxism is treated as immutable, scientific ideology. Marx is considered as a God. This causes the marxism to remain rigid, ~~as~~ as an ideology. It has not accepted changes in society that have occurred. Its ability to be flexible and adapt as per changes makes it so dominant.
- ③ Classical marxism ignores reality of today's post capitalist society like rise of middle class, contendest majority & decline of revolutionary potential of workers.

Remarks

They do not accept the role of technology which has altered basic human nature into a 1D man.

#### (4) The rise of new

Classical markets must adapt itself to new classes, rise of identity politics, role of advertisement industry, rise of voting rights, ~~etc~~ welfare state etc to become suitable to current times.

However the classical markets continue to keep check on liberalism. Acc to liberals, liberalism is a self-subverting ideology and needs to be checked frequently.

Karl Mannheim had given ~~idea~~ of role of ideology and Utopia. While ruling ideas remain the

ideology re liberalism today, but the people under subjugation will always have

~~could~~ a 'Utopia' which guides them & inspires them  
~~reality~~ ~~to~~ ~~reach~~ ~~convention~~ ~~and their idea of~~ ~~classless society where no~~  
~~exploiters~~ would exist

#### Remarks

On Revolution ~~revolution~~ could not occur -  
 why it could not occur -  
 how Hitler at group level  
 dictatorship became powerful

## SECTION B

5. Answer the following questions: (150 Words ( $10 \times 5 = 50$ )

- (a) Basic Features of Critical theory.
- (b) The Public-Private Divide as per Feminist Theory.
- (c) Laski's theory of Rights: Main arguments.
- (d) The Post-Colonial state is a product of circumstances created by Colonialism.  
Comment.
- (e) Pluralist perspective on Power.

(a) Critical theory is related to Frankfurt School. The aim of critical theorists is to emancipate human beings from the circumstances that enslaved them.

Their ideas are inspired from works of Marx and his ideas of alienation. Prominent ones - Theodore Adorno, Marcuse, Habermas, Feuerbach, Max Horkheimer.

(1) The working classes had become consumerist, satisfied with the rights, welfare and other false consciousness that capitalist provided. They had lost their revolutionary potential.

Herbert Marcuse called this as 1 dimensional man.

(2) They were critical of post capitalist society

Remarks - Element of cultural dominance  
- base  $\leftrightarrow$  superstructure  
- Gramsci

and how it subjugated workers via technology.

(2) ~~culture of modern values~~ Critical of enlightenment and rationality which promoted man's coldness, alienation and loss of emotions

(1) Jürgen Habermas gave idea of 'legitimation crisis' that are bound to occur due to diff political and economic system ~~of capitalist welfare state's~~

They believed that revolution would come from the most exploited, still not incorporated fully into capitalist society like aborigines, tribal dolls etc.

They had given utility of social movements as a way to ensure civil society as a way to ensure revolution.

(b) Radical feminists had questioned the public - private divide that was adopted in political theory. Aristotle also had divided different spheres. Private life was kept out of state control.

Remarks

~~incomplete~~