

# **GSSCORE**

**An Institute for Civil Services**

## **IAS TOPPER'S**

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### **AANAND PRAKASH MEENA**

**RANK - 269**

### **GS MAINS**



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## POLITICAL SCIENCE

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Time Allowed: 3 hrs.

Max. Marks: 250

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### ***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.

Name Aanand Prakash

Mobile No. \_\_\_\_\_

1. Invigilator Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

2. Invigilator Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Signature Jpm

**REMARKS**

**GS SCORE**

**SECTION A**

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

- (a) Discuss M.N. Roy's differences with the Comintern over the Colonial Question.
- (b) Bring out the relationship between Equality and Justice.
- (c) Alienation and its diverse interpretations.
- (d) Complex Equality
- (e) Socialist Feminism

The M N Roy was instrumental in spreading communism in India. He gave Radical Humanist approach in which individual rather than State should be core concern of development.

He was also elevated to the comintern which was established by Lenin. However he had his differences like.

- ⇒ He was in favour of immediate revolt by masses in India.
- ⇒ He was also of the view that masses need not be educated.

Remarks

further for the synchronization of their ideas with Communist ideology.

2) He also wanted that Revolt should take with no help from Congress.

But Commintern was exactly opposed to all this, as they wanted gradual spread of communism in India.

3) Masses to be prepared and synchronized with Communist ideology.

Help of Congress was inevitable if Communism is to have a successful beginning in India.

Thus M.N Roy had his differences on the capacity of masses for revolution.

Ans b) Equality is a sovereign virtue, According to Amartya Sen, Equality

Remarks

is not just absence of constraint but the capabilities to pursue one's dream. Justice has been the core concern in political science from Plato to Rawl's.

Differences between Equality and Justice

- ⇒ Equality is a Liberal concept whereas Justice is a Socialist concept e.g. for liberals, Equality is there in eyes of law. for Socialist, Justice should be prevail if one needs to achieve equality.
- ⇒ Equality in our Constitution is given under Article 14, 15 [Right to equality, Right against discrimination] whereas justice is in the form of positive discrimination. [Reservation policy]

Thus Equality and Justice are both Inherent in a developed and prosperous state as it will

Remarks

had to the development of their people ..

Ans d) ~~Comp~~ Equality is a sovereign virtue (Locke) whereas for Amartya Sen Equality is not just the absence of constraint but freedom from the presence of capabilities.

Equality is very much necessary in the era of social sphere where social sin like inequality, inequity, discrimination prevail over the basic human compassion.

It is in this view that complex inequality has been provided. Complex inequality

Remarks -

is basically the equality for various persons situated in different circumstances. For John Rawls, he advocate for veil of Ignorance, which can effectively tackle various pre disposed assumption and prejudices of humans so that complex equality could be achieved.

Thus equality is an important ideal for an inclusive development of society. Even in our Preamble to the Constitution we have equality as one of the goal to achieve as the People of India.

Remarks

Ques C) Karl Marx has given the concept of Alienation. Alienation is a vague term which has been defined by scholars differently.

for Karl Marx, Man gets alienated from himself in capitalist society. He advocates freedom from necessity, if one is to get out of Alienation.

2) Hannah Arendt, has defined Alienation if one is not zoon Politicon i.e one is not participating in politics of nation.

3) Fembach, held that in this world man gets alienated from God, In the institution of state, his alienation gets over.

Thus Alienation has a

wide ranging meanings. Alienations it is not good for the pluralistic society as one should be engaging himself in the discussions which can help society as well as state.

#### Q 4 Socialist feminism

Feminism is an ideology which advocates for the betterment of the female population of humans. It also fight against the discrimination faced by various female persons.

Socialist feminism advocates for the betterment of females in society to make it more inclusive and gender neutral.

Susan Moller Okin in her book the "Second Sex" calls for the

Remarks

eradication of Social names given to females. for her, God has given Sexes, society has given gender.

Betty Friedan advocate for Personal is Political. She wants Politics should be eliminated even in personal life. She advocates for the dismantlement of the myths around Patriarchal dominance in society.

Socialist feminism is very important of ideology as it not only fights against the discrimination but also strengthens Democracy.

**2. Attempt all questions:**

- (a) Analyse the features, significance and criticism of the Pluralistic theory of state.  
" (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Discuss in detail the concept of Nationalism by Aurobindo Ghosh. Also provide a critical examination of his contribution to Indian Political thought.  
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Classical liberalism as per Michael Oakeshott is a philosophy of crude and uncritical individualism and in fact inconsistent with social democracy. What are the major arguments you can give to support his views? (250 Words) (20 Marks)

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3. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Analyse and discuss views of Hobbes and Isaiah Berlin on negative liberty,  
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Elaborate on the contribution of Machiavelli to modern political thought.  
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Discuss the evolution of pre-Marxian socialist thought. To what extent did Marx agree or disagree with the pre-Marxian socialist ideology?  
(250 Words) (20 Marks)

Any Liberty is freedom to pursue what one likes and also freedom to have strength what one dislike.

Hobbes was an exponent of State Absolutism. In his views, state was Leviathan where individual have limited freedom.

Hobbes views on negative Liberty :

⇒ Man by nature is brutish, man adheres to social contract in order to maintain the security of his life.

⇒ According to him, Man have liberty only for the sake of his life.

Remarks

→ He gives state enormous power and held that state should prevent over individual liberty "to grant the security of everyone's life."

Thus for Hobbes, Liberty was at the back seat whereas for Security of life was at the front seat.

Isiah Berlin was also an advocate of negative liberty. According to her following Constitutes the negative liberty!

→ She was in favour of state's action to improve person's overall life.

→ She was also critic of Liberals who were against any interference in man's life.

→ She was also helpful in elevating the concept of negative liberty to a much. from

Remarks

inclusive and feministic platform.

" Hobbes Every writer is influenced by the time in which he lives.

Hobbes witnessed glosian Revolution whereas Sarah Berlin was also affected by the prevailing conditions. Thus we can say that negative liberty improved the concept of liberty and saved it from the liberals.

Ans b Machiavelli is known as the founder of realist branch of political science.

Machiavelli was a product of Renaissance period. He wanted to make Italy a great nation. In his book, "the Prince", which is a masterpiece in the field of Statecraft, he has discussed the ways to achieve his dream.

Remarks

Contribution of Machiavelli in modern political thought:

- ⇒ Secularism: The western model of Secularism has been given by Machiavelli. He was against the church's interference in politics. For him Church (Religion) and Politics (State) is a separate entity.
- ⇒ Separation of Power: He also hinted at the separation of power between various organs of state, for the development of state.
- ⇒ His advocacy of National Interest as sole interest of any nation's foreign policy. e.g: Morgenthau, father of realism was impressed by Machiavelli.
- ⇒ He also paved the way for the way for a common man to become Prince (ruler). His Prince was the one who was Brave.

Remarks

At the same time, he was criticised by many scholars for his over-emphasis on the his core thought i.e "Ends justify the means".

e.g. Gandhi held that, you can not expect rose-flower by growing a Babool tree (Hind Swaraj)

However, in reality, everyone seems to practice Machiavelli but no one accepts to practice Machiavelli. We can see the Impact of Machiavelli's thought in modern day where National Interest, Sectarianism, are the National goals.

(iii) Socialism is a hat that has lost its shape.

Socialism was a dominant

theory, whose strong proponent was Karl Marx. But due to its various varieties, it has its own place.

Evolution of Pre-Marxian Socialist thought:

2) Plato is regarded as the first Communist (Karl Popper), as he was in favour of communism of self family and wealth. For him this will tackle Corruption.

3) Aristotle, a critic of Plato dismissed the Plato's Theory of communism but was in favour of developing the conditions of slaves.

⇒ Due to Locke's theory of Individualism where everything revolves around man, Individualistic

Remarks

- roots became dehumanise and the worker's (Proletariat) condition worsened. In order to improve their condition Karl Marx in his 'communism' emphasised on theory of communism.

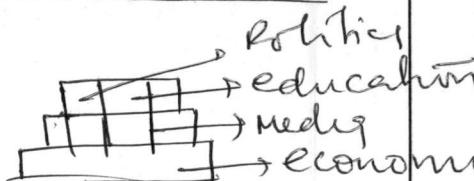
⇒ In his theory he agrees with Pre-Marxian theory on its attempt to be more humanised and development of human conditions

⇒ He also agrees that, over emphasis on individual will be anti social.

However, he also criticised Pre-Marxian theory as :-

⇒ It is unscientific, He called his theory as scientific.

⇒ He held that economic structure is the basic structure.

one who controls the  economic structure controls the state.

Remarks

⇒ He advised the Proletariate class to go for Revolt to have freedom. He called for " workers of the world unite, you have nothing to loose except chains.

Thus he wanted the Proletariat to be at the economic structure. Apart from this, various varieties of Socialism like fabianism, etc. emerged in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century.

**4. Attempt all questions:**

- (a) Explain the term "Liberal Democracy" and also assess its major critiques.  
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Analyse how Gramcian views have influenced the Marxian views on false consciousness.  
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Discuss the views of Post-modernist group inside the Feminist ideology.  
(250 Words) (20 Marks)

**Remarks**

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### *Remarks*

## SECTION B

5. Answer the following questions: (150 Words) (10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) Locke as an individualist out and out.
- (b) Platonic classes and justice in the ideal state.
- (c) Multiculturalists perspective on Human Rights.
- (d) Over himself, over his own body and mind individual is sovereign (Mill), comment.
- (e) Comparison of Aristotle and Marx in terms of 'Revolution'.

Ans: John Locke is a scholar of possessive Individualism. For him everything revolves around the individual.

John Locke has witnessed the Bloodless Revolution, thus for him, in State of Nature, man is a rational animal. He is regarded as Individualistic as:

1) For him, the sole purpose why the man comes into Social Contract is to secure his interest as State will be Nightwatchmen.

2) His statement that "man has sole rights on the fruits of his slave, horse and labour".

Remarks

⇒ He is also of the view that state should have minimal interference in individual's life (concept of Minimal state)

Apart from he has also criticised Hobbes and Filmer for giving too much power in the hands of state.

Thus it is appropriate to call Locke as "possessive Individualism" as he is regarded as father of Liberalism for him man is an island not a part of continent

(Ques b) Plato wanted to make Athens an ideal state. For this to happen he held that "Until rulers leaving the philosophy or philosophers become the Kings, there is no end to the predicament of its people".

for Plato, Man is made of 3 metals, Gold, Silver, Copper.

- He was of the view that in

Remarks

- those persons in whom gold dominante are man of reason, silver dominante are man of courage and copper dominante are man of appetite.

- Gold and silver classes are together known as Guardian class.

In his theory of Justice, he gives the concept of (i) functional specialisation and non interference.

The society in which people gets specialised in their strength and do not interfere in other people's work are prosperous.

- Plato was a nationalist. He wanted Philosopher King to <sup>rule to</sup> make Athens an ideal state. However, Karl Popper criticised him as an enemy of open society due to his theory of communism.

Any cJ Human Rights are the basic element of self dignity of human beings. Even United Nations incorporated them in it's foundation.

Will Kymlicka is of the view that Human Rights should be provided to the minorities of a nation but not to the refugees as it will create pull and push factor.

Bhikhu Pareekh is of the view that in a modern world, it is necessary take the perspective of all those who are concerned while formulating policies. He is of the view that western Civilisation ideas should not be imposed on other cultures rather holistic and inclusive universal Human Rights should be formulated.

At the same time Mahatir

Remarks

Muhammad advocates for Asean value to counter the challenge of westernization of tradition.

Multiculturalists advocate for inclusive, pluralistic and holistic human rights which are universal in nature and which will lead to natural adoption and respect for human rights.

John Stuart Mill is the champion of Freedom of Speech and expression. He also advocates for maximum liberty to an individual.

The sovereignty of an individual over all aspects of his life is crucial for liberty. In order to protect that he gives  $\Rightarrow$  Harm Principle : Unless, someone's

**Remarks**

action are harming others, the state should not hinder an individual

⇒ He wants state to hinder the hindrances and thus pave way for individual to realise his maximum liberty.

⇒ He also give the argument that if individual is given absolute liberty, he will be more productive to nation/state.

Thus J.S. Mill is regarded as greatest political scientist as he provided for the freedom of speech and expression which is the bedrock of Democracy.

Act of Revolution is synonym to a change. Change in particular political setup or Social Hierarchy or

Remarks

## Economic Structure:

Aristotle and Marx both have given their views on Revolution to signify change:

### a) Aristotle's view on Revolution

- Revolution is slow and it comes as ruler does not take steps to allay the fears of des & prosperity society persons.
- for him, Revolution is not necessary.

### Marx view on Revolution

- Revolution is necessary if Proletariat wants to change their fate.

- Revolution has to be violent.

In the words of Karl Marx "There has not been single birth without bloodshed"

- Revolution will lead to classless and stateless society (communist state)

Remarks

thus Aristotle and Marx both provided for Revolution, the main difference was that Aristotle wanted to let the propertied class know the reasons and solutions of revolution whereas - Marx wanted Revolution as a means to achieve his end of communist state.

## 6. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Explain the term "Party as Vanguard of the Proletariat". (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Comment on the assertion of Laslett that Filmer and not Hobbes was the main antagonist of Locke. In what sense does Locke differ radically from both Hobbes and Filmer? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Discuss the relationship between emergence of Mass societies and Alienation on basis of views of scholars. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

As Lenin held that communist Party in Russia is the vanguard (friend, philosopher and guide) of proletariat which would help in the logical end of communism i.e. Revolution.

Karl Marx gave the theory of communism, in which the inherent contradiction of capitalism class/society will lead to its graveyard. For this he tells that "Workers of the world, unite, you have nothing to loose except chains!"

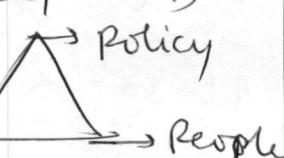
For Him Proletariat class will lead the revolution and it will be

Remarks

self realisation of the masses.

But Lenin was man of action. He was of the view that rather than waiting for the masses to achieve Revolutionary uprising, they can be made to realise through Communist Party.

### Features of communist Party

- ⇒ Farmers, workers and Landless people will be forming the core group.
  - ⇒ Cells will be established which would spread the revolutionary ideal.
  - ⇒ A bottom up approach (Pyramidal level) will lead to the realisation of grass root level aspirations.
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However, this was different from Karl Marx Communism?

- ⇒ Karl Marx was not in favour of any party. He was of

Remarks

the view that masses should revolt themselves.

→ He was ~~of~~ in favour of including only proletariat (property less) people in revolution whereas in Lenin's Communist party, farmers were also included.

Russia became the first state to realise Karl Marx communism but rather than becoming dictatorship of proletariat, it became dictatorship of communist party.

Ques b) Lock was individualistic whereas Filmer and Hobbes were in favour of state absolutism.

The inherent contradiction between the ideologies led to Lock's criticism of Filmer and Hobbes.

→ Locke's views ⇒ state should act

Remarks

as Nightwatchmen i.e. to provide security to the people.

⇒ Man has absolute right over it's Slave, horse and labour

⇒ He was in favour of possessive Individualism and held that no one ought to harm other property.

Filmer and Hobbes views:

⇒ They were in favour of more powerful state. [eg Hobbes called State as "The Leviathan"; i.e. sea monster]

⇒ They held that man comes into social contract for the security of his life.

however, if Larrett held that Filmer and not Hobbes was the main antagonist of Hobbes due to following reasons!

⇒ Hobbes book "The Leviathan" was called as "Toad" (Poison) by church and his

Remarks

Copies were burnt. Probably Locke was apprehensive of church retaliation on reading Hobbes book.

→ Blumer paved the way as Filmer's views more or less were similar to Hobbes' view.

Locke differs radically from both Filmer and Hobbes in the following manner:

→ Locke was of the view of minimal state and Nightwatchmen State, whereas Hobbes and Filmer gave absolute power to state.

→ Locke was in favour of Liberty whereas Hobbes and Filmer favoured security of life.

→ Locke was of the view that, in State of Nature, man is rational whereas for Hobbes and Filmer, man is wolfish. Thus Locke was a

Remarks

Scholar of liberal discourse who favoured possessive Individualism whereas Hobbes and Althusser gave priority to life and only a strong state could do that. Thus the contradictions led to Locke's criticising Hobbes and Althusser.

(iii) Communism advocates for the revolution by masses to end their miseries so that classless and Stateless society could be established.

various scholars has provided for the emergence of mass society:

2) Karl Marx held that the inherent contradiction of capitalism will give rise to revolution by masses. He calls "workers of the world to unite and to achieve freedom"

3) Gramsci improvised, the economy

Remarks

structure theory as basic structure and held that other structure are as important as economic structure.

He gave the concept of war of position and war of manoeuvre by the masses to establish their freedom.

⇒ Hannah Arendt held that man is not man if he doesn't have Intellectual Ideas in the political sphere for her masses will be soon politicized.

Like man society, Alienation also has differing views:

⇒ For Karl Marx, Alienation is what man experiences in capitalist society. In a mechanised way he is just another cog in the wheel, he does not enjoy the work he do. for him Alienation will be over when man will have freedom from Necessity.

→ Fembach, is of the view that, in this world Man gets alienated from God, thus in order to remove this alienation, Man is a part of state as state is from God.

→ Hannah Arendt, is of the view that, Alienation is not being Zoon Politikon and being Animal Labosan.

Alienation is a contested concept, Alienation is given by the scholars to further their own point of view. Alienation is what, which scholars try to influence their core supporters.

7. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Bring out the relationship of religion with politics as per M.K. Gandhi and also point out his views on caste system and the larger scheme of Social equality.

(200 Words) (15 Marks)

- (b) Discuss all the major arguments given by Mill in defence of protection of Individual liberty.

(200 Words) (15 Marks)

- (c) Discuss in detail Hannah Arendt's views on Totalitarianism.

(250 Words) (20 Marks)

Ans a) M. K Gandhi was instrumental in the freedom of India. He led National movement to achieve the freedom.

Gandhi was against the western model of secularism. He was of the view that no religion can be compatible with politics.

His views of religion with politics:

⇒ Universal values of religion like compassion, non violence, tolerance can make politics more humane

⇒ Religion should not be view from the narrow prism of ideals but

**Remarks**

should be taken as a means to achieve salvation. By having this philosophy in politics, the human or the citizens will benefit immensely.

⇒ He was against the Machiavelli's idea of "ends justify the means", for him means should be fair to achieve a fair end.

He was also against the deprivation faced by the HARIJANS/i.e. untouchables. His views on caste system

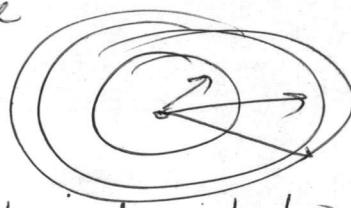
⇒ He was not against the total dismantle of caste system but advocated for the internal churning of upper class/caste's heart to achieve brotherhood with Dalit.

⇒ He established ~~for Indian Art~~ Harijan Sevak Sangh and was a firm believer in showing through deeds. e.g. He used to clean his own toilets.

Remarks -

To eradicate the plight of downtrodden he was a strong proponent of Social equality.

- ⇒ He emphasised on the Oceanic Circle of power where individual will be free to do what he likes and this will lead to bottom up empowerment of masses.
- ⇒ He held that, charity rather than industry can be helpful to poor.



Thus Gandhi was not only a freedom fighter but also a social reformer as he advocated for the harmony between Hindu and Muslim and upliftment of the Maorians.

Ques b) J.S Mill is the champion of Freedom of speech and expression.

Remarks

J.S Mill was influenced by Bentham as well as Plato. He was strong proponent of individual liberty. as :-

- ⇒ He gave the Harm Principle to set the limit on individual's liberty. He held that if person is harming others, he should be stopped.
- ⇒ He held that all Restraints and over Restraints should be removed for the absolute realisation of oneself.
- ⇒ According to him, Liberty is the core value which is important in a democracy.

To protect the liberty, he gave following arguments :-

- ⇒ People should be made aware of any harm, but if they want to

Remarks

choose that path, they should not be stopped. e.g: If a bridge is broken, a signboard is sufficient to warn those individuals who are rational.

Hence due to his absolute support to Liberty, J.S Mill is regarded as father of freedom of speech and expression.

Ayn Hannah Arendt has witnessed the Holocaust against Jewish people in Germany by Hitler.

For her, "Totalitarianism" i.e there is no other word which can describe Totalitarianism completely. She was of the view that Terrorism is the nearest term which

Remarks

- Can be compared to totalitarianism

Hannah Arendt gave the following features in a reign of totalitarianism.

⇒ Leaders spread false myth against a particular community to further their own agenda.

⇒ People who are "Animal laboron" (laboron) are not using their Intellectual capabilities due to lack of being "Zoon Politikon" (Machine in political ~~action~~ sphere)

⇒ For this, she give the example of Eichman, a Nazi soldier who when asked why he followed the order of Hitler to pursue killing of Jews, He simply said that it was his duty.

In order to tackle

Remarks

Totalitarianism, Hannah Arendt implore for the participation in politics i.e to become zoon Politicon.

Totalitarianism is anti human, anti democracy and can have destabilising effect. e.g Middle east Crisis. Totalitarianism should be tackled ideologically as well as physically.

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**8. Attempt all questions:**

- (a) The understanding of the concept of "Class" and "Class War" is central to understanding of Marxian philosophy. Discuss. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Discuss in detail the major aspects of theory of state given by Aristotle. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Discuss all of the salient features of Kautilya's work in Arthashastra which show his expertise on administration and realistic approach to public affairs. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

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