



An Institute for Civil Services

IAS TOPPER'S

TEST COPY

ASHISH CHERIAN SAMUEL

RANK - 121

GS MAINS POLITICAL SCIENCE

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Time Allowed: 3 hrs.

Max. Marks: 250

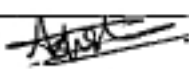
Instructions to Candidate

- 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.

Name Ashish Cherian Samuel

Mobile No. _____

Date _____

Signature 

1. Invigilator Signature _____

2. Invigilator Signature _____

REMARKS

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SECTION A

1. Answer the following questions: (150 Words Each) (10 × 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

a) MN Roy was a pioneer in the Indian communist movement as well as the international communist movement. He was a founding member of the Communist party of Mexico. He initially partnered with Lenin to bring communism to colonial states like India. However later he split from Comintern and Lenin over the Colonial question.

Lenin was of the opinion that the nationalist movement in colonies should be supported in their struggle against the imperialists. As the masses are not yet ready for a communist revolution, priority should be given to attaining freedom. After independence, the nation can be drawn towards communism internally.

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However Roy argued that masses are ready for revolution inspite of not being fully industrialised. He saw nationalist movement as a bourgeois movement of landed class and elites. He was of the opinion that supporting nationalists was against the principles of marxism and got disillusioned by the Comintern and left.

- b) Equality and justice are central pillars of a political society. If equality is a sovereign virtue (Dworkin), Justice is the first principle on which is society is to be instituted (Rawls). However the two are much debated concepts and have a complicated relationship between the two.

Aristotle was the first to study the relation between justice. According to him revolution in a state or "Polis" occurs due to perceived or real injustices. Inequality is the prime cause of injustice. However he had a limited definition of equality, being a

conservative thinker in a slave society.

Modern liberal thinkers expanded the idea of justice by linking it with equality. Rawls argued justice is the fair equality of opportunity. Dworkin stated justice is the equality of resources. Amartya Sen argued justice is the equality of capability based on freedom, while Martha Nussbaum says it is equality of capability based on human dignity.

Marxists believe a just society is where there is equality of outcomes and men cannot exploit each other. Classical liberals and neoliberals limit equality to equality of opportunity. Nozick and Hayek believe social justice is a mirage, therefore liberty shouldn't be sacrificed for equality. Feminist thinkers argue that society is built on power relations and justice is not possible without real gender equality.

Thus the relationship between equality and justice is ever evolving and expanding.

c) Alienation is a core concept of young Marx in his 'Economic and philosophical manuscripts'. It refers to the estrangement felt by a person towards his work, society and to himself, because the capitalist means of production does not satisfy his real human nature.

stages of alienation:

Initially a worker feels alienated from his work as he's just a cog in the huge machinery of industrial production. He is not giving the final shape to his product and is not the owner of his labour. Thus his creative nature is left unfulfilled.

Due to his long working hours, he can't spend time with his family or friends. Thus he feels alienated from society, as his social nature is left unfulfilled.

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As a result of the ~~to~~ above, he eventually feels alienated from himself and loses his human nature:

The concept of alienation has been expanded and given various interpretations by later scholars. Hannah Arendt talks about 'world alienation' and 'earth alienation' as a result of economic sphere (oikos) taking over political sphere (polis). This is the cause of rise of totalitarianism.

Critical school thinkers like Marcuse ('one-dimensional man') and Adorno fused Freudian psychology and concept of alienation and concluded that modern capitalism has resulted in a technological totalitarianism.

d) The concept of complex equality was given by communitarian scholar Michael Walzer which emphasises on the need of using different 'spheres of justice' for distribution of goods rather than a 'one size fits all' approach.

He argued that since man is an embedded part of his community and culture, he cannot be treated as an atomised individual. His identity is encumbered in his social identity, therefore a simplistic universal equality cannot be applied.

Every individual is part of different spheres like economic, social, professional etc and his status in one sphere should not affect distribution of goods in another sphere. For example, lack of social respect cannot be compensated with economic well being. Every good has to be distributed separately in each sphere based on different criteria ~~as~~ determined by

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its different contexts. This theory of complex equality is often used to study the class-caste conflicts in the Indian scenario.

- e) Feminism is a school of different thoughts, all of which share some basic concerns like patriarchy and empowerment of women. Socialist feminism is the school that studies the interface of class and gender and the relationship between economic and gender exploitation.

Engels in his 'Family, property and state' argues that private property is the cause of patriarchy, as it forms the basis of patrilineal families.

Iris marion Young and Catherine Pateman talks about how capitalism and MNCs push women to pink collar jobs and gender discrimination in labour force.

The intersection of class and gender further amplifies the exploitation of women as private and public spheres are considered separate even by the state. This led to the call by Carole Hanisch that 'Personal is political' and the economic exploitation of women is a part of patriarchy.

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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)

Q) Liberty can be classified as positive and negative based on the state's role in attaining liberty. Negative liberty argues that liberty is the absence of external impediments to motion, hence state shouldn't intervene. Positive liberty says liberty is the capacity to act, hence state's positive intervention is necessary.

Hobbes was the first thinker to espouse negative liberty when he said "Liberty is where the law is silent." Hobbesian state is an absolutist Leviathan who has complete authority over its subjects except their right to self preservation. Hence the citizen has complete liberty on

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in a sphere as long as the state has not made any law to limit it. The state is the source of all rights and natural rights are mere counsels of prudence.

Isaiah Berlin clearly distinguished between positive and negative notions of liberty and called the former a myth. According to him a patient unable to walk or a human being incapable of flying in the sky are still free to do so and their liberty is not infringed. Hence he ~~is~~ argues that state intervention is not needed for liberty, as claimed by positive liberals like TH Green and LT Hobhouse.

b) Machiavelli is considered by many as the first modern thinker to break away from the shackles of feudalism and religious dogma prevalent in the medieval dark ages.

Contributions :

- There has been many realist rulers and leaders in the past, but Machiavelli was the first to give philosophical justification for realism.
- His 'The prince' is considered a masterpiece in the art of statecraft which broke away from the classical idealism.
- He freed the prince from the morality of a common man imposed by religion. He believed the ruler should have a separate code of ethics which is determined by 'Raison d'état'.
- He is the father of European secularism by freeing the state from the authority of the church. He advocated the prince to use religion as a means rather than the end.
- He based his theories on empirical methods by observing history and human psychology rather than idealist norms.
- In 'Discourses on Livy' he advocates republicanism for an ideal state and monarchy for a corrupt state. This notion of Republicanism was later developed by Rousseau and others.

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Thus, even though he did not give a clear theory about sovereignty, he ended the 'rule of two swords' of the medieval era; ~~that~~ and laid the foundations of modern political thought.

c) Socialism refers to the political ideology which advocates common ownership of resources by a society which is managed by a state. Modern socialist thought has its foundations around the French Revolution, led by some thinkers like Charles Fourier, Louis Blanc, Robert Owen, St Simon etc, who came to be known as pre-marxian socialists.

Unlike the marxist idea, pre-marxian socialism was not to be brought by a violent revolution. It was influenced by

idealist thought which viewed state as an institution of virtue rather than oppression. Pre-marxian socialism was based on living in communes, where individuals are highly interdependent for their daily lives. Production of resources was centralised and collectivised, as suggested by Louis Blanc — "From each according to their capacity, to each according to their need."

Pre-marxian socialism was ~~big~~ largely unsuccessful because of its idealism, but some aspects of it was used to justify the totalitarian reign of terror by Maximilian Robespierre after French Revolution.

Marx largely disagreed with the program of early socialist. He believed they lacked in theory and failed in practice. According to him, his theory was scientific, unlike earlier socialism which lacked scientific rigour.

Marx studied the evolution of history through the prism of ownership of means of production and class struggle and concluded that socialism is the next stage of history which will be ultimately replaced by communism when the state withers away.

Hence, socialism is an intermediate stage when there is dictatorship of proletariat and the state is controlled by workers to bring communism. Marxian socialism involves tyranny of majority (proletariat) over minority (bourgeois), whereas pre Marxian socialism believed in harmonious coexistence of all classes. Thus Marxist socialism differed from early socialism due to its ~~base~~ theoretical basis on ^{historical} materialism ~~and~~

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4. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Explain the term "Liberal Democracy" and also assess its major critiques.
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Analyse how Gramscian 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)

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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'.

a) Hobbes started with individualist principles but ends up with an absolutist Leviathan state. However Locke stays an individualist throughout his theory and designs a limited state that will protect the natural rights of the individual. Thus he's called as an individualist out and out.

Locke is an individualist in normative and methodological ^{aspect} states. He believes the individual has enlightened rationality in state of nature and can be empathetic for others. Therefore men come together and through two contracts create

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the civil society and the state respectively.

He doesn't surrender the natural rights to the state but only transfers the right to legislate, execute and arbitrate laws for the fulfilment of his natural rights.

He also gives the individual to revolt against the state that fails to protect his rights. But since he's ^a rational being the revolution must be only political and not violent.

Thus as Vaughan says, the individual is consistently at the centre of Locke's political program.

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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)

a) Lenin expanded the marxist philosophy to make it more pragmatic to the conditions of Czarist-Russia. To bring Communist revolution in a feudal society largely pre-industrial, he coined the idea of "Party as vanguard of the proletariat".

According to Marx, revolution will happen when the class consciousness in itself of the proletariat transforms into class consciousness for itself. This will happen as the bourgeois exploitation reaches its peak. It will not need any external guidance as the class antagonism is enough to bring revolution.

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However in early 20th century, Russia was not yet industrialised, hence the capitalist class was not fully developed. Lenin believed that revolution need not wait till capitalism shows its ugly face.

Thus he argued that a ~~politic~~ Communist party can act as a vanguard - a friend, guide and philosopher - for the proletariat to arouse their class consciousness.

This party will operate in secret and mobilise the workers to ready them for a Communist revolution in which they will take over the state.

However orthodox marxists like Rosa Luxemburg criticised him for not waiting for marx's prediction to fulfill itself.

b) Hobbes in his masterpiece 'Leviathan' argued for an absolute state that has total authority over its subjects, except on their lives. John Locke in his Treatises of civil government conceived a limited and liberal state that protects the natural rights of its citizens. Thus it was commonly believed that Hobbes was the main antagonist of Locke.

However, as Lasslett asserts, it was Filmer and not ~~Locke~~^{Hobbes} who was challenged by Locke. Filmer was a Royalist who in his work 'Patriarcha' defended the ~~the~~ divine theory of the monarch to rule the state. Locke in his First treatise of civil government challenged divine theory by rational arguments like:

- ① Did God want Adam to pass on his right to his descendants?
- ② How to identify real heirs from the descendants of Adam.
- ③ State is not like a family with a head on whom all members depend completely.

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Thus Locke continued the rationalist tradition of social contract initiated by Hobbes. According to Macpherson, "rather than contradicting Hobbes, Locke restated Hobbesian ideas in a more palatable form." Both Hobbes and Locke were individualists and utilitarians and their theories share lot of similarities.

However Locke differed radically from both Filmer and Hobbes. He rejected Filmer's divine theory as irrational and against individual liberty.

He also held a different view of state of nature and human nature vs. a-vis Hobbes.

Locke's human nature was enlightened and rational. His state of nature was blissful and prepolitical, but not pre social. Humans entered into contract to create a limited state to manage and enjoy their natural rights.

On the other hand, Hobbesian human nature has only limited reason - about the pleasure and pain of himself and not others. Humans are in a constant war of all with all in search of power to fulfill their desires. As a result life in state of nature is "poor, nasty, brutish and short".

To preserve their life, they create an absolute state and transferred all their natural rights to it, except Right to life.

C) Alienation is the core concept of Young Marx in his philosophical manuscripts. It refers to the total estrangement a worker feels towards his work, society and himself. This is caused by the soulless capitalist mode of production as it does not fulfill the creative and social needs of man.

In the second half of 20th century, the neo-marxist school expanded on the concept of alienation and linked it with mass culture. The Frankfurt / critical school thinkers like Herbert Marcuse, Horkheimer, Adorno etc analysed the reason for the failure to establish communism despite the huge growth of capitalism. They found that the adjustments and accommodations made by capitalism is the reason.

Herbert Marcuse, in his book 'One dimensional man' talks about how the new capitalism has

limited man to just one dimension - the economics. Capitalism constantly feeds the economic needs of man and shuts down all the other needs. As a result, the worker fails to attain the consciousness about his exploitation.

Capitalism has turned society into mass society with mass culture, where humans are treated as customers as well as products. Critical school theorists use Marx's concept of alienation and Freudian psychology to analyse how worker is so entrenched in capitalism that he starts enjoying his exploitation. In a mass society, even culture is produced and sold as a mere product and the economic man is totally subsumed inside it. Adorno studied the music industry and analysed how music is being turned into a soulless seismographic shocks to numb the rational capacity of the man.

Thus the mass society is further

alienating man from his true nature
and preventing his consciousness.

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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)

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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)

a) Marx introduced a new tradition in political thought by making 'class' as the fundamental unit of study. A class is an economic category of people based on his relationship ~~between~~ ^{with} the means of production.

Marx argued that the nature of reality is materialistic and brought 'historical materialism' against Hegel's 'historical idealism'. Marx studied history through the evolving nature of means of production and relation of production. He concluded that in every epoch, the society is ~~based~~ divided into two classes — the exploiting class who owns the means of production (the haves) and the exploited class.

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(the have nots). There exists a class antagonism or class war between the two classes. Thus he says the "history of all ~~to~~ hitherto epochs is a history of class struggle."

The current epoch has class war between the capitalist bourgeoisie and the worker proletariat. It will lead to socialism or the dictatorship of proletariat and finally to a classless communism where the history will end as there will be no more class war.

Thus class and class war is central to marxist ideology which was further developed by Lenin and later by neomarxists.

However critics like max weber argue that means of production and class war can't be the only reason for evolution of history and even religion is important ('Protestant ethics')

b) According to Garner "Political science begins and ends with the state". Aristotle is known as the father of political science and he studied extensively on the origin, role and the nature of state.

According to Aristotle, the state comes into being for the good of people and continues for their good life. Humans are able to satisfy their basic biological and social needs by family and village, but his self actualisation happens only when he partakes in politics, for which state is needed. Thus man is a 'zoon politikon' (political animal) by nature and he attains 'Eudaimonia' (virtuous excellence) in the presence of state. "Only a beast or god can exist without the state".

He criticised Plato's idea of philosopher king, because state is not a family, but like a family of family. Thus he

emphasise on the deliberative nature of state. The state or Polis is an institution of virtue and its role is to enable the people to achieve excellence.

He empirically studied 158 states and their constitutions and classified the forms of states into ideal/perverted and ruled by one/few/many. He concluded that polity (rule of many & ideal) as the best form of government as it is the golden mean of oligarchy and democracy. The rule of the educated middle class will bring stability to the polis.

However Aristotle's theory of state is criticised for its conservative and patriarchal nature. He limits citizenship to propertied men and denies it to women and slaves. Nevertheless his influence is so huge that Whitehead says, "the entire western political thought is but footnotes to Plato and Aristotle."

- c) Kautilya is known as a master of realist statecraft. Max Weber called him "more Machiavellian than Machiavelli himself". His Arthashastra is a treatise on multiple spheres, like administration, political economy, public order, ~~etc~~ ethics etc.

Salient features:-

- ① Kautilya lays foundation to an extensive administrative system with the king placed at centre. The saptanga theory gives due importance to all arms of administration — Rajan (king), amatyā (ministers), koshā (finance), durga (forts), janpāth (public), bala (army) and mitra (allies)

- ② He gives extensive and comprehensive advices on administration based on realist principles. He advocates the use of female spies and priests for the interest of the state.

- ③ He gives comprehensive account on the causes, types and methods to contain corruption in administration. He recommends frequent transfers, swift punishments, rewarding honesty and strict separation of power.
- ④ He advocates an expansionist policy and gives 'the mandala theory' for the expansion of Chakravarti's empire in all directions.
- ⑤ Chaturyana theory of Sama, dama, danda, bheda for foreign policy.
- ⑥ He espoused on different types of war like ~~Katiya~~ guerrilla war etc.
- ⑦ Unlike Machiavelli, Kautilya places Vijigishu beneath the laws of dharma. Hence the ruler is not amoral like the Machiavellian prince.

Thus Kautilya's Arthashastra touches all aspects of administration and is not

limited to one aspect of statecraft. Even his Saptanga theory of state is more comprehensive than the western notion of nation-state (territory, population, government and sovereignty). Therefore, Kautilya is said to have broken the false notion of the intellectual divide between East and West.

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