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LAXMAN TIWARI

RANK - 176

POLITICAL SCIENCE



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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 LAXMAN TIWARI

Mobile No. _____

Date _____

Signature Laxman Tiwari

1. Invigilator Signature _____

2. Invigilator Signature _____

REMARKS**GIS 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

Ans (a)

Sudipto Kumar calls MN Roy a "remarkable failure". MN Roy's ideologies have changed frequently and thus he remains an inconsistent thinker.

During IIInd International, all major leaders in Marxism came together to discuss the future and strategies about ongoing movements in colonies. MN Roy being a prominent scholar participated in it. However, he developed certain differences with Lenin and thus he was expelled from Comintee.

Lenin proposed 2-way solution under which Socialist parties were expected to support domestic parties in fighting freedom movement. Lenin further proposed that once freedom is attained, Socialist/Marxist -

Remarks

- parties work to generate socialist consciousness and would bring revolution.

However, on contrary, MN Roy opposed Lenin's idea and held that in colonial states, we should not support bourgeois parties. He tried to bring revolution instead with support of labour unions and peasant parties.

Thus, with respect of differences, he was expelled and thereafter he became a critic of marxism (orthodox) and sympathised Gandhi and INC.

Aus (b)

Equality and Justice have always been the two important values in political science. Rawlin says equality is noble virtue and John Rawls says that justice is the first virtue of social system. So justice and equality are biologically interlinked.

Aristotle established a relationship between justice and equality by saying that equals should be treated equally and unequal should be treated unequally to establish a just society.

However, with advent of liberalism, it was held that equality →

Remarks

of opportunity along with liberty is mandatory to ensure a just society.

However, Marx held that the so called liberals equality is formal and procedural and is not substantive. He proposed equality of outcome to ensure justice.

- Moreover, social liberal scholars like John Rawls have tried to bring a balance between the two. Rawls in his "Theory of Justice" has proposed 3 components of justice in lexical order :-

- maximum equal liberty
- equality of opportunity
- Difference principle

So he proposed equality of opportunity and also gave difference principle to bring about level playing field by addressing disadvantaged or marginalised section.

Thus, the relation between two values remain contested.

Ans C

Karl Marx in his concept of class-struggle has proposed the idea of Alienation. According to him, alienation means being strange to oneself and one's product.

Marx has need liberal -

Remarks -

- principles responsible for such alienation. He says that the so called liberty isolate man from the society and leave in the state of oblivion.

He has scored alienation at 4 stages:-

- At the stage of production.
- From the process of production
- From the final product
- To oneself.

So, he says that even capitalists suffer from alienation but their pain is less. Therefore workers should bring revolution to turn class ~~is~~ for itself to class in itself to end alienation.

Moreover, critical school scholars like Habermas has proposed the idea of 'one dimensional man' where man has become alienated to everything except consumption. So he has proposed concept of collective denial to end alienation.

Multicultural scholars like Will Kyonika and Balkhi parikh say that in absence of recognition to the rights, cultural minorities become alienated to society. To end this, they propose recognition of self rights.

Thus, alienation has become a metanarrative in the discipline where different schools have their own interpretation.

Remarks

Ans(d) Dworkin has held that Equality is the sovereign virtue. Equality as a concept has been evolving ~~despite~~ the evolution of humankind.

Michael Walzer has given the concept of complex equality while criticising Rawls concept of equality which he considers inadequate.

Walzer says that Inequalities are bound to emerge and bringing equality in all spheres is not possible.

Therefore, he says that inequality in one sphere must not cause inequality in other spheres. Thus, he proposes to BLOCK THE EXCHANGES to prevent spillover effect.

For instance, if some is economically strong, he should not use his economic power to gain advantage in political sphere and vice-versa.

He further says that "different goods out to be distributed differently---" so principle of equality should also be different in different spheres. For instance, in primary education, we can adopt universalisation, in higher-education - merit, in health sector - Need based.

Remarks

Even social liberal scholars like Amartya Sen has held that equality can be ensured by adopting person specific action because problems of male and female cannot be the same.

Thus, walzer's complex equality represents one of the comprehensive concepts of equality.

Ans(e) Feminist scholars of all schools are having ideas to end gender-based violence, patriarchy and gendered society. post-suffragettes of liberalism, emerged socialist feminism in modern Europe. They wanted to bring equality in all sphere and not only in procedural sense i.e. - equality of opportunity rather they preferred equality of outcome.

However, Marx himself has not written about feminism, sugel, in his work "private property, family and state" has held that capitalism is responsible for degraded condition of females in the society. To end gendered violence, he proposed that women should participate in bringing revolutions to establish communism. It was believed that in communism, classes -

Remarks

would disappear, state would withdraw away and therefore women would get true freedom.

Socialist feminism binds that liberal concept of equality is false consciousness because women have no participation in state affairs, decision making etc. There is no equality of property in liberal societies. So they went to attain true equality and true freedom.

However, Radical feminists like Simone de Beauvoir & Betty Friedan, seem rather than held that both liberals and socialists have tried to subjugate women and thus they have proposed their own ideas. Thus, feminism remains an ambivalent school of thought.

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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)

Ans - Q1 State remains the core of political science which revolves around it. State is known as archetonic in nature and is source of authority in modern political setup.

Pluralist scholars like Laski and Macneil have given the theory of state while criticising monistic theory.

In monistic theory, Hobbes and Bentham say that state is the source of all laws and is the only sovereign. State rules because it commands. They give all authority to state and make it absolute sovereign.

However, Laski says that since society is federal, authority should also be federal. It means that man has multiple needs and all -

- cannot be fulfilled by the state and society also helps in this regard thus man should have some obligation towards society also.

He says that such mad search of power, as monistic schools do, results in:-

- Threat to international peace
- threat to humanity

because it near monism which emerged as Nazism & fascism

Similarly, MacIver says

that state commands because it serves. He gives the concept of service state where man has some obligation towards state because state serves.

Further, Laski says that it would in lasting benefit of the discipline if entire concept of sovereignty is expunged out.

However, it should be noted that pluralist schools do not give their own theory, they only criticise monistic views. Even Laski has held that state is a key stone in our social structure thus, ~~the~~ pluralists keep the cake and have it too.

Ans - b

Aurobindo Ghosh is known as the prophet of Indian Nationalism.

Rabindra Nath Tagore has said that world would know about India through Aurobindo. He has given a bold theory of nationalism by synthesizing the philosophies of east and west.

He was influenced by B C Chatterjee who had given the concept of patriotic nationalism in his book Anandmath and has held that India is a shanti-goddess.

He was also influenced by Vivekananda who has propounded the concept of Vedanta where he has said that nationalism should be our new religion based on Sanatendharma.

~~Moreover~~, Aurobindo has come up with his theory of nationalism which is based on Cultural nationalism. He has criticised moderates like SN Banerjee for stating that India is a nation in making. Aurobindo says that nation is a spirit, it's a soul, the now spirit was sleeping now, it's aware. He said nation is not an intellectual pastime, it's not a matter of debate,

Remarks

- it is not dependent on colonial masters nor on congress leaders. India was a nation and is a nation. He held that emergence of India as a nation is inevitable and any obstructions not desirable. He held that spirit can be seen in cultural symbols.

Aurobindo appealed next

to help India becoming a nation because it is in the interest of all. India is here to give message of spirituality and cosmopolitanism to the world. It cannot do so from the state of slavery.

Thus, his theory of nationalism is based on Sanatan Dharma where he appeals everyone to embrace nationalism as the new religion. Therefore, it is the most passionate theory of nationalism.

Aurobindo's contribution to

Indian political thought is phenomenal. After Ancient thinkers, he was the first prominent thinker to contribute to modern Indian political thought.

He has given the concept of freedom where he talks about param swaraj in political sense and about

sachidanand in spiritual sense. He

has propounded about liberty -

Remarks

and cosmopolitanism. He says that aggregation is the law of nature. Thus, his binds contribution to Indian political thought is remarkable. And hence, he is rightly called as the prophet of Indian nationalism.

Ans - (C)

Liberation emerged as a result of oppressive rules of oligarchies and monarchies. It demanded liberty and equality of all vis-a-vis king. John Locke is considered as the father of liberalism.

Classical liberalism survived from mid-17th century to 1930s till the introduction of welfare state.

On human nature, it says that humans are individual by nature and bears no obligation on man regarding society.

On society, classical liberalism takes a contractual view that society and state are origin of contract. Further, society -

Remarks

- Is the total aggregation of individuals.

Classical liberals like Locke, Bentham put absolute right of property. They do not support state to tax rich for welfare purposes. According to Locke, rich men were industrious, enterprising and hardworkers and thus they have complete claim over their property.

Macpherson calls that

classical liberalism endorse possessive individualism where an individual has complete right over his means.

Adam Smith in his 'Wealth of nations' has said that state should not interfere in economy. Ricardo has advance concept of comparative advantage.

So classical liberalism is distinctively known for its staunch individualism. Neo-liberalism scholars like Hayek, Nozick, Milton Friedman, Isaiah Berlin etc have tried to revive classical liberalism.

However, social liberals/ social democracy scholars have

support liberty as a central idea but do not support classical liberalism due to its obsession with individualism.

T.H Green has held that

R Liberty demands Rights and Rights demand State. So state intervention is mandatory to under the hindrances.

Similarly, Laski has said that elite should control industries else capitalist will control the state.

Further, social liberals like John Rawls, Amnesty have propounded that classical liberalism is not egalitarian. They say that classical liberalism is negative in the sense that it cannot be applied in a society where level playing field does not exist. They support affirmative action for disad vantaged section of society, capacity building progressive taxation to bring about level playing field so that justice could be ensured.

Thus, it can be held that one-possessiveness results in concentration of wealth in few hands and creates polarity in the society which -

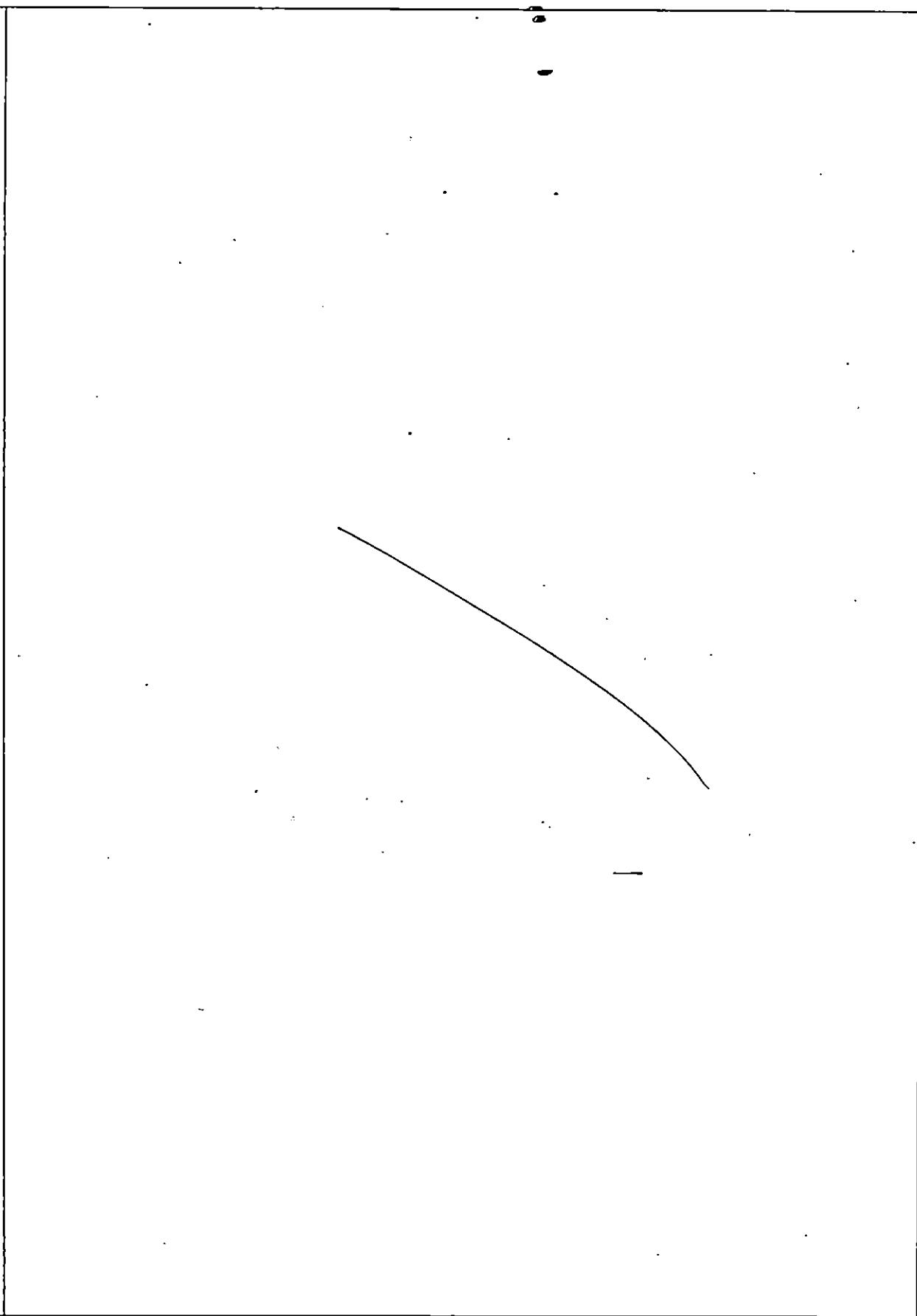
- is not just. It denies justice to those who have historically suffered injustice. Thus, classical liberalism cannot be considered as an option as it does not provide equality and justice in real sense. Social liberalism is best in the sense it brings a balance between liberty and equality and ensures dignity of all.

Remarks

3. Attempt all questions:

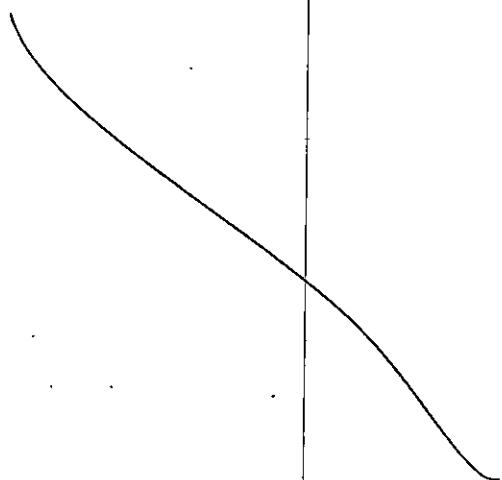
- (a) Analyse and discuss views of Hobbes and Isaiah Berlin on negative liberty.
..... (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Elaborate on the contribution of Machiavelli to modern political thought.
..... (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Discuss the evolution of pre-Marxian socialist thought. To what extent did Marx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

Remarks

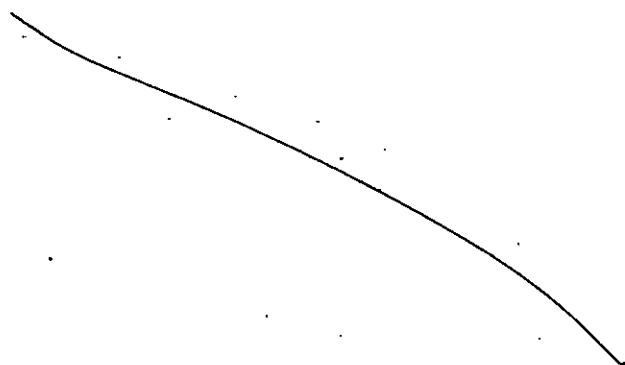


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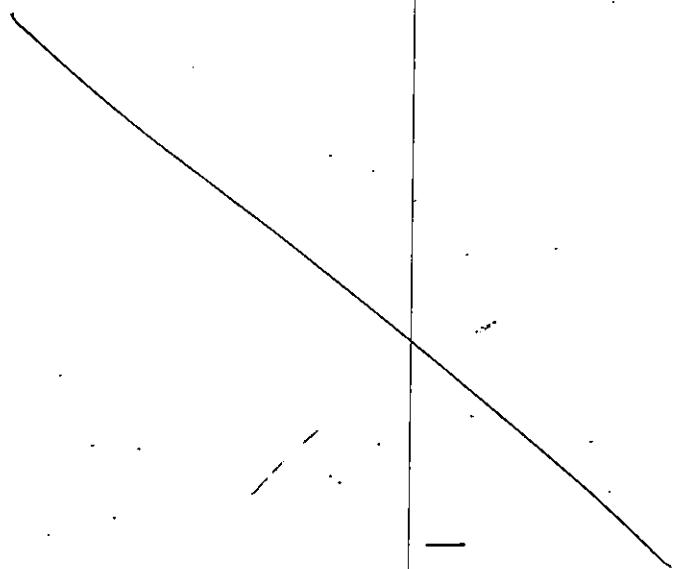
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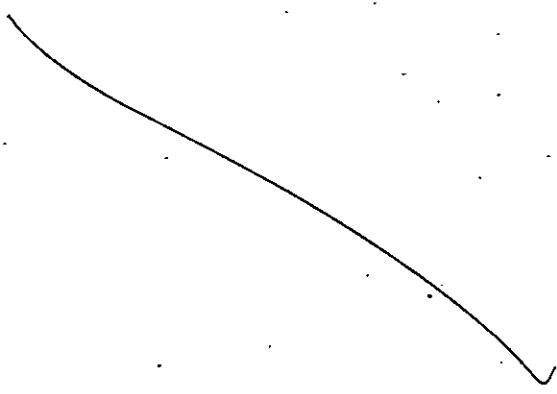


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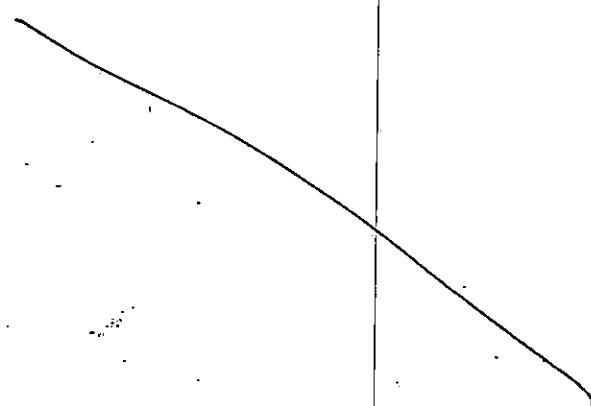


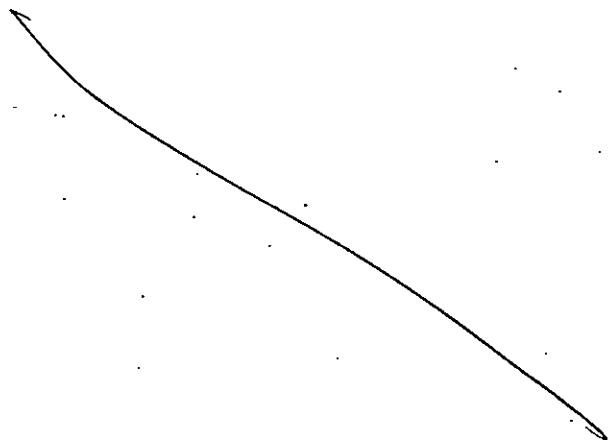
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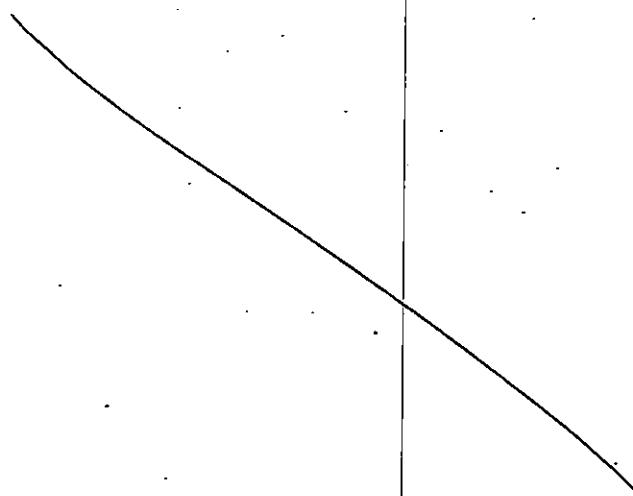


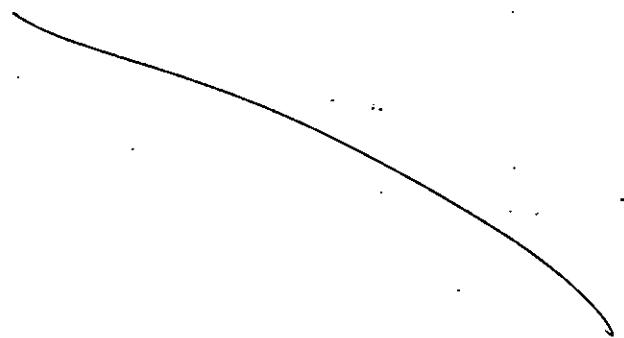
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4. Attempt all questions:

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

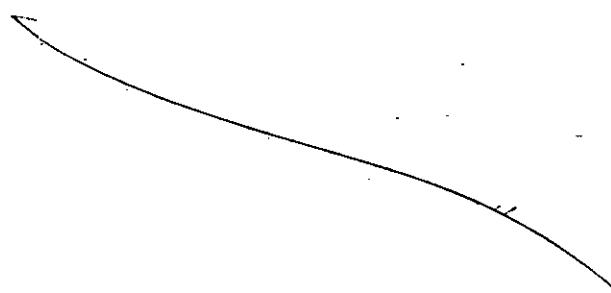
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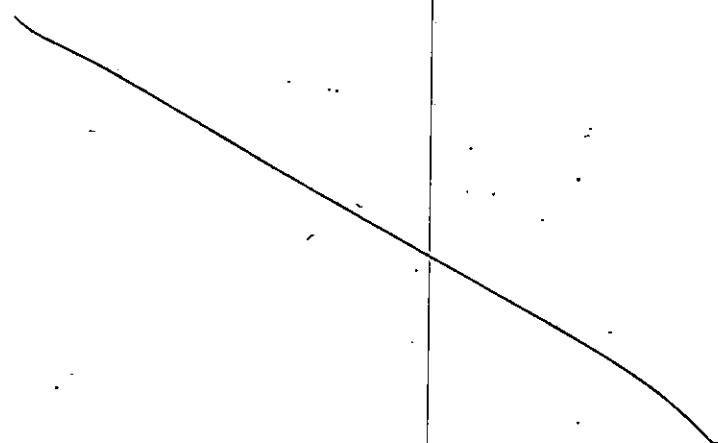


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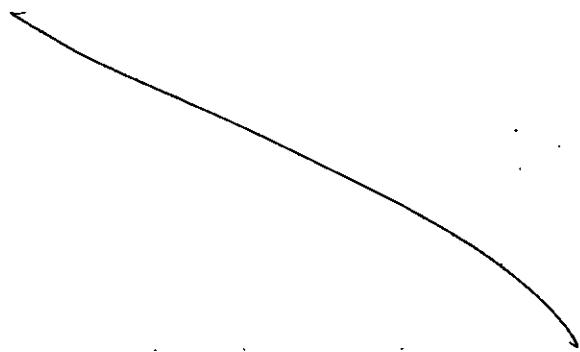
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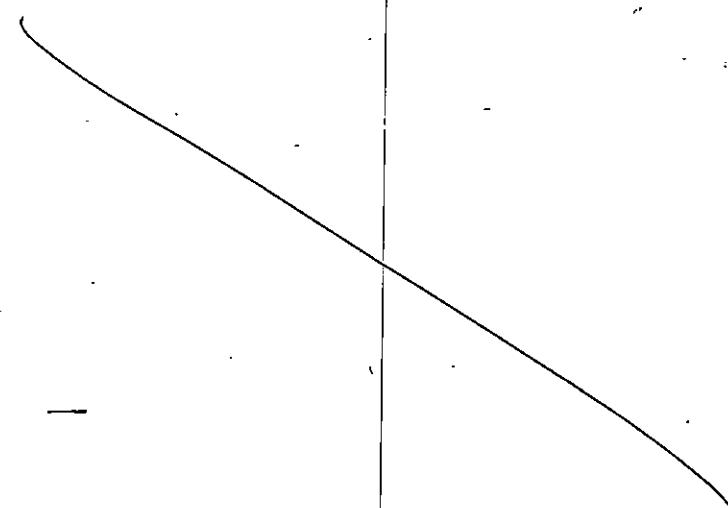


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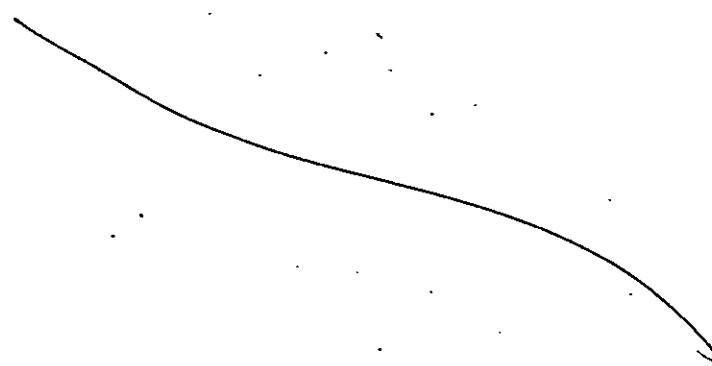


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SECTION B

5. Answer the following questions: (150 Words) (10 × 5 = 50)
- Locke as an individualist out and out.
 - Platonic classes and justice in the ideal state.
 - Multiculturalists perspective on Human Rights.
 - Over himself, over his own body and mind individual is sovereign (Mill), comment.
 - Comparison of Aristotle and Marx in terms of 'Revolution'.

Ans:- @

John Locke has seen the positive side of man's nature during Glorious revolution, 1688 and thus believes that man has reason and therefore should have natural rights. Individualism is a concept which puts the individual in the centre and treats him with utmost respect.

Unlike Hobbes who has created a Leviathan state, Locke creates a minimal state because in the state of nature, humans ~~seem~~ live in peace and are not violent, nasty like Hobbes's.

Locke wants to create state to eradicate some of the inconveniences of state of nature and therefore transfers only few rights to state keeping with him right to life, liberty and property.

He says that these rights are given to us by nature & to lead.

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- a happy life and state cannot take them away. He says that property is the part of man's personality and must remain with him.

He proclaims absolute right over man's labour, labour of his horse and labour of his slave and expects state to respect it because state is a trust and people are trusted. So he creates a night watchman state.

Therefore Mcpherson has called him a 'possessive individualist' because he protects individual's property absolutely. Thus, while Hobbes starts as an individualist and ends as an absolutist, Locke remains an individualist out and out both in his assumptions and conclusions.

ANS^(P)

Plato wanted to create an ideal state of Athens so he has proposed ideas about ideal state and its component in his book "Republic".

Plato believed that all human's knowledge comes from one's soul through the process of dialectics. He further says that all human souls are not equal.

Remarks

Plato in his theory of soul has held that there are 3 types of soul - gold (Reason) silver (Courage) copper (appetite). According to him; only gold and silver are superior who can serve as ruler and soldier respectively and he puts souls of copper in producer class.

Further, in his theory of justice, he concludes that 2 components are essential for establishing ultimate justice in an ideal state:-

- (a) proper specialisation, and
- (b) non-interference

He expects each class to perform ^{its} duty and respect each other's work. He also proposes non-interference to ensure smooth functioning of state.

Therefore, Plato's ideas of justice and classes are interlinked. This is why liberal scholar Karl Popper has called him an enemy of open society. Popper says that Plato's differentiate among people on the basis of arbitrary concept of souls and restricts mobilisation which leads to controlling all walk of life.

However, Plato's still remains an important figure in political philosophies because entire western philosophy is nothing but footnotes to Plato.

Ans Q multiculturalism emerged due to oppression of minorities' rights by majority for decades. post-globalisation, the consciousness about one's culture has increased phenomenally, will kymlicka has held.

that liberal societies must accept and recognise the minorities rights.

He gives 3-principles:-

- self governance
- differentiated action
- protection of rights, to ensure that society remains peaceful.

similarly, butin parkh in his work 'Refining multiculturalism' has held that non recognition of minorities' rights by west shows its high-handedness and cultural imperialism along with ethnocentrism. He says that we cannot respect a person ~~as~~ without respecting his culture. He proposed -

- Harm principle to provide special rights to minorities. for instance, if there is no harm then muslims should be given holiday on Friday instead of Sunday.

further communitarian

Scholars like Michael Sandel, Michael Walzer have also support multicultural perspective of right and have opposed -

Remarks

- universalism which is based on the values of west and undermines minorities cultural values.
 However, Amartya Sen says that multicultural rights lead to ghettoisation and curb national development.

However, it should be noted that Indian constitution has adopted multicultural perspective by providing special cultural rights to minorities which promotes unity in diversity and therefore need should discard concept of unity in uniformity and should adopt Indian concept.

And (d)

J.S. Mill is known as the champion of individual's rights due to his staunch support to freedom of speech and expression.

Mill in his book "On Freedom of Speech and Expression" and "On Liberty" has held that an individual is the master of his own. He promotes freedom of speech because it results into development of the personality of the individual and also moral development of society.

According to him, without liberty and freedom of speech one cannot develop fully to his potential.

He says that no state becomes -

Remarks

- great by ~~dog-dwelling~~ its own people
 - mill is known as the champion of liberty and freedom of speech because he gives these rights to minorities also. He says that just like minority cannot suppress majority's rights, majority cannot curb minority's right to freedom of speech.

He has proposed Harm principle to regulate one's behaviour. Here are his 2 principles:-

- (a) Self-regarding
- (b) others' regarding

He expects not interference by the state in self regarding actions but he wants state to curb the ~~activities~~ freedom if it harms others.

Hence, Barker calls him a prophet of empty liberty and freedom of speech. He says so because only an abstract individual can enjoy the freedom, in reality, he has left a lot of scope for state intervention.

Thus, we must acknowledge that mill made liberty the central concept of liberalism when it was dominated by utilitarianism. Therefore, if anybody's liberal in true sense, it is mill.

Remarks

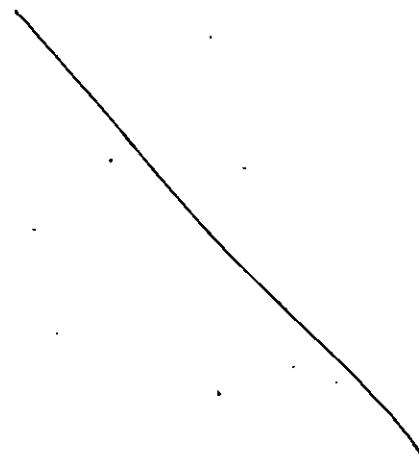
Ans (2) Revolution is a multidimensional concept. In simple terms, revolution means change. Aristotle and Marx both have given the theory of Revolution which can be compared in following lines:-

Similarities

- (a) Aristotle in his polity says that revolution can lead to change in pattern of polity. Similarly, Marx has held the revolution means re-evolution i.e. change in form of governance.
- (b) Aristotle also believes that revolution can change social life of people. Similarly, Marx says that revolution will end state and lead to stateless and classless societies.

Differences

- (a) Time and space gap is very wide. While one belongs to Ancient Athens, another is from modern Europe.
 - (b) Aristotle is a conservative and does not favour revolution. However, Marx is a radical who wants to change the mode of production.
 - (c) Even a small change is a revolution for Aristotle. However, Marx aims to change the base which has a drastic consequences on socio-political life.
- Thus, we can see that similar though there are some superficial similarities, differences are stark.



Remarks

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)

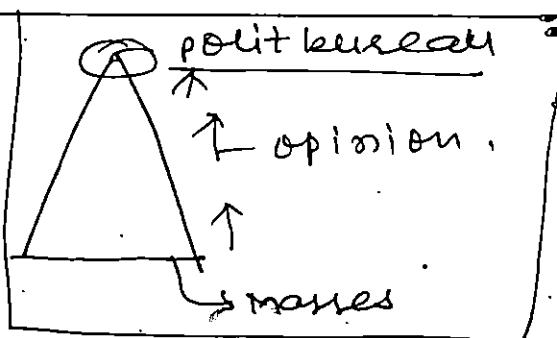
Ans - (a) Karl Marx had held that workers will develop consciousness after polarisation of society in two extremes. He opposed participation of intellectual class and parties in the revolution because both are the structure exploitative bourgeoisie class.

However, Lenin was concerned about non-emergence of consciousness among masses as Marx had predicted. He thought, we can inject socialist consciousness among masses by using communist party so as to cut short the history.

Lenin called communist party as the vanguard of Revolution. He called that party will act as a friend, philosopher and guide. According to him, party structures in socialist countries are different from that of liberal democracies. In socialist nations party's decisions are shaped by the people and it allows common people to raise voice about any.

Remarks

policies.



Therefore, communist party was formed during Russian Revolution to guide proletariat without which, as said by Lenin, they would be stranded: party will form opinions and create socialist consciousness; it will act as a catalyst in bringing revolution.

Similarly, in China, Mao formed a political party to generate socialist consciousness among masses.

However, as Robert Michell says that post-revolution parties captured power in socialist nations and common people never got power what Marx had aspired for. So instead of Communism, totalitarian regimes got established in these countries led by communist party. Michell says that what's true about all nations is Rule of oligarchy.

Remarks

Thus, it is said when played with Marx's idea to fulfill his own ambition. He is termed as a Peter who denied his master.

Ans(b)

Locke has seen the positive side of man during Glorious revolution, 1688 and thus holds humans reasonable enough to enjoy natural rights in the state.

Locke has criticised monarchy and absolutism in his "First treatise on civil government". However, there is a debate whether main antagonist was Hobbes or Filmer.

On one hand, protagonist scholars believe that it was Hobbes who was the main antagonist of Locke. Since Hobbes's Leviathan was a banned book, Locke cannot challenge him directly and criticised him in disguise of Filmer.

Hobbes wanted to establish an absolutist state to ensure security and law and order. He had transferred all human rights to the state which led to creation of an all powerful state where individuals were prone to exploitation.

Remarks

However, Locke opposed such Leviathan state and instead preferred a minimal state where people will have absolute right over right to property, liberty and life. Thus he creates a right watchmen state where state is a trust and people are trustee.

On the other hand, antagonists believe that it was Filmer who was on the end of Locke's criticism.

Filmer was against the tradition of social contract and held that contract agreed by one generation cannot be enforced on next generation. He further held that, not democracy but monarchy should be the form of governance. He held that Adam or the son of God and therefore sons of Adam should be the rulers. People should obey the king because they are sent by the God to rule us.

However, Locke held that long time has elapsed since them and thus, it cannot be ascertain who is the true son of Adam. Further, he criticised him for being non-rational.

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and pastoral - Hobbe demanded equal rights to people vis-a-vis King. Thus it remains a matter of debate as who was the main antagonist in Locke's criticism.

Hobbes and Filmer are aiming to create a traditional, all powerful state which is might and an individual is nothing before it. People cannot claim rights against the state, they have to follow the dictates of the state.

However, Locke, being the father of liberalism, takes a rational & modern step and demand equal rights for all and creates a minimal state having limited role and which acts as the nightwatchman state to protect people's rights.

Therefore, in Hobbes and Filmer, medieval tone can be found however, Hobbe is an individualist out and out.

Ans - ①

The concept of alienation was forwarded by Karl Marx who says that it is a product of class societies. According to him Alienation means being stranger to oneself and this is because of false liberal beliefs that man is atomistic

Remarks

by nature.

there is a relationship between emergence of mass societies and alienations as both are inherently interlinked."

According to ~~the~~ Marx, class division and belief that man is individual by nature has led to alienation. He says man is social by nature, he is a part of continent and no man is an island in himself.

- He has proposed alienations at 4 stages -
- choice of production
- stage of production
- form final product.
- To oneself.

He says since man is social, he is creative. Alienation ends his creativity. Thus to end such alienations, he has propounded to bring revolution where classes and state would disappear and individual will become a part of society ~~is~~ leading to an end to alienation.

Further, Frankfurt School scholars like Marcuse and Habermas have propounded the concept of 'one dimensional man' who is alienated from the society. Habermas says that consumerism has become the sole purpose

- which has killed one's creativity and criticality. one has become an end user. mass production is happening instead of production of masses. thus they have proposed concept of collective dental to end this alienation and bring true consciousness to integrate individual back into society.

Hannah Arendt, on the contrary, believes that one people start focusing on personal sphere (economic) leaving behind public sphere (political). it creates culture of mass politics which ends as establishment of totalitarianism. she calls masses a fluid agent who can be ruled by using ideology, propaganda and myths. thus, she in her concept of people has said that people should participate in political affairs to end mass politics and to create class politics which will turn Animal labourum into good politics.

Communitarian scholars have taken a balanced view. As Michael Sandel says that an individual is not an unencumbered self rather a situated self. they believe that alienation can be ended by adopting piecemeal approach instead of applying one-size-fits-all approach.

Similarly, Bulharparkh has held that minorities become alienated due to mass politics and non-recognition of their culture. Thus by adopting multicultural citizenship; we can end this alienation.

Thus, there are different interpretations about the relations between mass societies and alienation. Still the dominant and most influential remains the Marx's interpretation. But overall, the concept remains a contested concept.

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)

Mahatma Gandhi is the second most influential figure after Jesus as held by TIME magazine report. He was a religious person and was influenced by Christianity, Jainism and Vaishnavism. Further, Leo Tolstoy, John Ruskin, Plato etc. had left a deep imprint on Gandhiji's mind.

Gandhi opposed separation of ethics and politics. While criticising west, he primarily targeted Machiavelli for his separation of ethics and politics. Gandhi in his 'Sneraj' has held that 'one should not expect roses by sowing the seed of babil'. He has said that if end is pure, means should also be pure. According to him, such separation can result in violence which belongs to the world of animals.

Hence, Gandhiji supported Gorkhal's views who wanted to bring ethics in politics. Gandhiji said -

Remarks

that without ethics, politics will become a death trap. He interchangeably used ethics and religion to show that we should ethical values of religion in politics.

On caste system, Gandhiji was very vocal about abolishing it. Though he supported varna system but opposed caste system because he felt, it is not an essential feature of Hinduism. He said that if any scripture allows casteism, it should be discarded because caste acts as an divisive system and makes Hinduism more immobile and also leads to social backwardness and prevent development of soul.

Gandhiji's idea of social equality was not like most. Gandhiji promoted moral equality of all and equal dignity of all. He held that work of a labour is equally dignified as the work of a lawyer. He was vocal of trusteeship.

Moreover, Gandhiji propounded the idea of 'seamless circle of power' where he said that individual should be at the centre of all developments. He propounded concept of village republics to ensure-

-social equality and development of all.
 Thus, Gandhiji's ideal
 still carries out our policies regarding
 relationship between religion and politics,
 caste system and social equality.

Ans - b

J.S. Mill is known as the champion of
 liberty because of his staunch
 support for individual's liberty.

In his book 'On Liberty',
 he has held that liberty acts as a
 catalyst in helping people developing
 their personality and all sense and
 to full potential. He says that liberty
 also helps in development and evolution of
 the society.

Mill does not support utilitarian concept of liberty which had resulted
 into moral degradation of the people.
 He outweighs the concept of greater
 happiness for greater number by
 propounding the concept of moral liberty.

Further, he does not allow
 majority to take away the liberty of
 the minority, similarly minority to not
 silence majority. He has held that-

Remarks

- everyone should be allowed to be master of his own body.

Further, mill has urged state not to abridge the liberty of an individual because no state becomes greater by oppressing its people. Here, we can mention that Hj Laski has similar view that a state is known by the rights it maintains.

Mill has proposed harm principles to deal with person's liberty

- as:-
- ① Self-regarding action
 - ② Other regarding action.

In self-regarding action, Mill does not allow any intervention. He says it is complacent to point naming on smoking cigarette packets instead of banning it. However, other-regarding actions cannot be causing harm to other. If it does harm to the society, state can curb such action in greater social good.

However, Barker

calls Mill prophet of empty liberty. Because only an abstract individual can enjoy Mill's liberty -

- because of the fact that he leaves lot of scope for state's intervention.
 Thus, it should be remembered that it was Mill who prevented liberalism from becoming a utilitarian philosophy by making liberty central to it so if anybody is liberal in true sense, it is Mill.

Ans - C

Hannah Arendt is perhaps the only recognized female thinker in the discipline. She writes for herself and thinks beyond borders of ideological schools.

The most coveted work of Arendt is "On origin of totalitarianism" where she has ~~also~~ written on origin, nature and structure of totalitarianism. She had suffered with the hand of Hitler ~~strongly~~ and thus, she says that totalitarianism can be understood by only those who suffer by this.

She says that reason for the origin of totalitarian regimes is absence of people's participation in political sphere. People focus on economic sphere and ignore public-

Remarks

-sphere which perpetuates ~~to~~ situation to escalate formation of totalitarian regimes. She further says that such segregation leads to establishment of mass politics over class politics. Masses are fed which are utilised by leaders who rule by using propaganda, ideology and myths (as given by Hitler - Racial superiority).

Totalitarian regimes employ myths to shape public opinion. They kill real people for the sake of myths. People are killed because rulers want to get happiness out of it. She says that violence is the central to totalitarianism which administratively formed, bureaucratically handled.

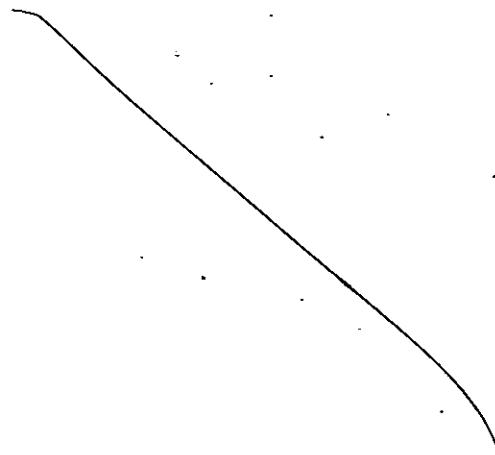
Totalitarianism leads to victory of ofios over polis and victory of Animal labouran over zoom politiken. In such situations, masses start supporting unprecedented violence of rulers as they are under the rule of ideology and myths.

She has proposed that people should start participating in -

- public affairs and should act in concert ~~to~~ so that demagogic and opportunistic leaders do not get chance to establish such regimes. She has further held that action (participation) is more important than thinking. People having freedom and coming together ~~play~~ in open in plurality to participate in state affairs can deter totalitarianism.

Her views are similar to those of Aristotle and Rousseau who also support civic-republicanism.

However, she has been termed as a cold war thinker due to her criticism to Stalinism. Still her work on totalitarianism remains most comprehensive.

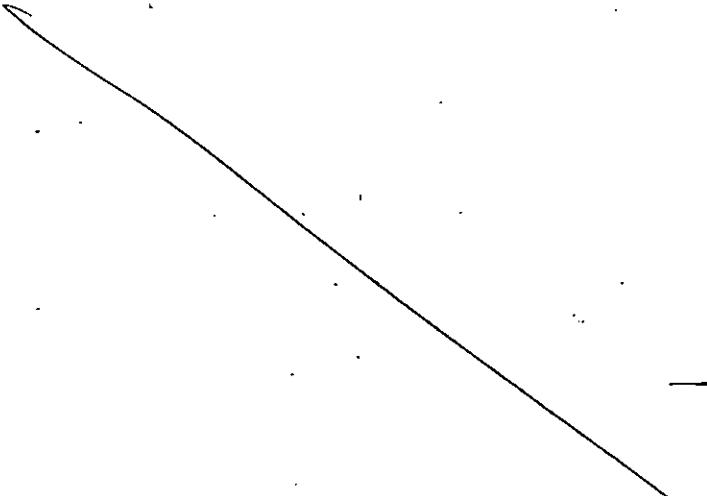


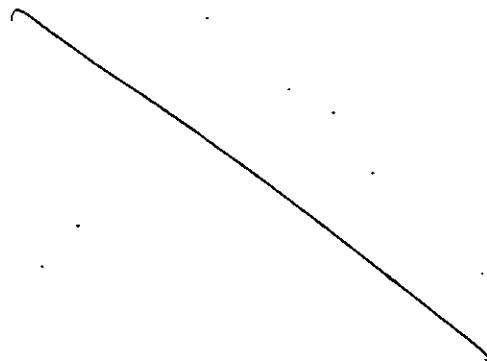
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8. Attempt all questions:

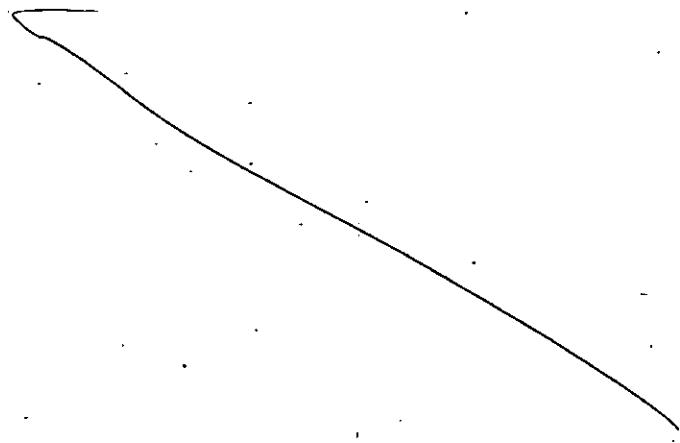
- (a) The understanding of the concept of "Class" and "Class War" is central to understanding of Marxian philosophy. Discuss. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Discuss in detail the major aspects of theory of state given by Aristotle. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Discuss all of the salient features of Kautilya's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

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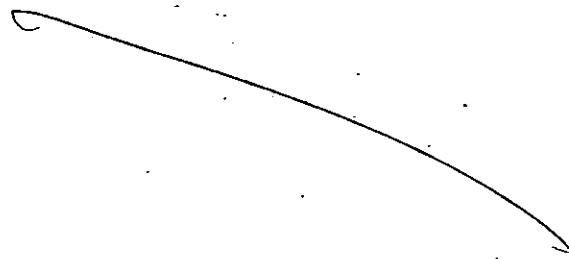




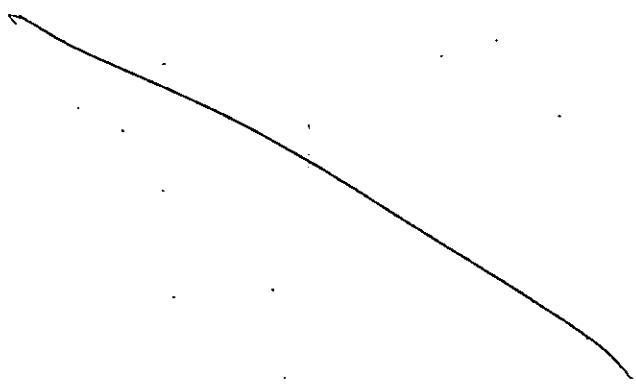
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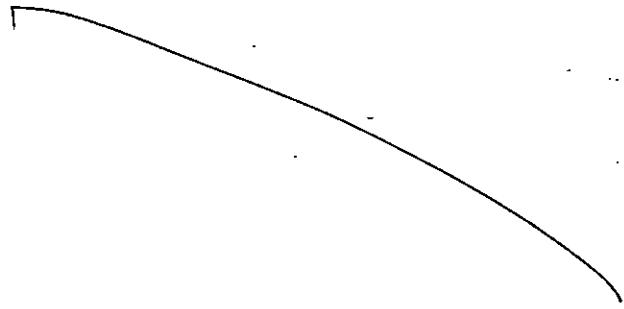


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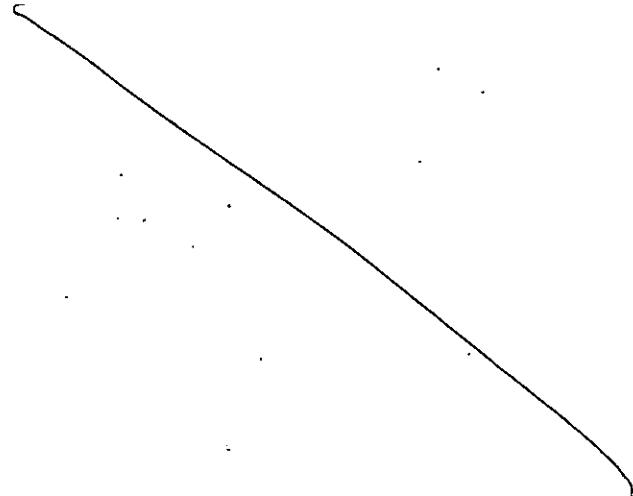


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