

GS SCORE

An Institute for Civil Services

IAS TOPPER'S

TEST COPY

SHELKE NACHIKET VISHWANATH

RANK - 167

POLITICAL SCIENCE



www.iascore.in

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 NACHIKET SHELKE

Mobile No. _____

Date _____

Signature 

1. Invigilator Signature _____

2. Invigilator Signature _____

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

① M. N. Roy was the founder of Indian communist movement. During the second communist congress Roy was asked by Lenin to draft what came to be known as the 'Supplementary thesis on national and colonial question'

Roy had many differences with other leaders of the international and had fierce debates with them. The main issue of contention was the nature and role of the bourgeoisie in the colonies, specially India and strategies with them.

Commintern was in favour of using a nationalist movements and sentiments to overthrow capitalist colonialists, Roy wanted to build a communist party of peasants and workers and only take the cooperation of Nationalists in the initial stage.

Roy was also fearful of nationalists joining hands with the imperialists and therefore he wanted communists to avoid alliance with nationalist bourgeoisie

When millions were marching with Gandhi in national movement Roy said that "nationalist movement in India has failed to appeal to masses.

In essence Roy had more theoretical understanding of marxist idea of hegemony while Lenin had a better understanding of democratic stage in unfolding of the revolution.

(b) The prevailing forces of globalisation have reinforced and increased inequality throughout the world while relative prosperity has also increased. That is why it becomes necessary to understand the nature of relationship between equality and justice.

Justice, in its ideal form should produce equality of opportunity, equality of status, equal access to social and economic resources.

In case of political justice equal weightage of a vote and universal franchise is unavoidable and for social justice equality before the law and equal protection of law is a must.

If Economic justice is to be achieved equality of opportunity in accessing the resources becomes imperative, in this essence 'equality' becomes central to the theory of justice.

There are different interpretations about equality and justice in liberal and marxist discourses.

Liberal interpretation of equality is the equal protection of one's property and marxist view is equality of outcome is justice.

In the debates of constituent assembly Dr. Ambedkar emphasised that mere political equality would be meaningless if it not backed by social and economic equality. which is an important element of theory of justice. If justice is fairness and it is giving everyone their 'due' it must be assumed that fundamentally everybody is equal in their own right.

③ Karl Marx's theory of alienation describes the 'estrangement' of people from aspects of their very 'essence' as a product of living in society of stratified social classes'.

Marx claims that capitalism is alienating workers from their very nature. There are four ways workers are being alienated

- ① workers are alienated from other human beings. competition for wages makes workers compete within themselves this not only materially damaging but estranges them from one another
- ② workers are alienated from products of their labour - capitalists need not do any labour themselves they make profit by selling commodities made by workers.
- ③ workers are alienated from the act of labour - It is not workers who decide what to make and when.

They work as a machine.

(d) Alienation from nature - In the mechanistic process of repetitive labour man alienates from the nature itself. Marx calls this self-alienation

Many philosophers have interpreted alienation in different ways. Hegel says it is the destruction of proletarian

- feeling of powerlessness - Melvin Seeman gave his theory which interprets alienation as powerlessness meaninglessness.

- Loss of personal freedom and economic decision making power social mobility, all is affected by the alienation arising out of modern capitalist system of production.

This loss of very essence of life and intrinsic values that makes marxist thinkers critical of many forms of alienation.

① Michael Walzer in his work 'Spheres of Justice' outlines his theory of "Complex Equality".

Basic concept behind complex equality is that because different societies and cultures value different "goods" and other cultural aspects of social life that it is impossible to bring out 'universal principle for equality'.

It is Walzer's response to Rawlsian concept of 'primary good' which needs to be distributed equally. Walzer says that there is not only one way of distributive justice.

Prof. Walzer states that his system of complex equality will lead to a more egalitarian distribution of social goods. Because there are different spheres of social and economic needs, person will acquire goods in one sphere or other.

② Socialist feminism believes that the unequal relationship between man and women is the product of social and economic structure of society itself and nothing short of a revolution will change that.

Socialist feminists argue that liberation can only be achieved by ending both 'economic' & 'cultural' sources of women's oppression. Socialist feminism has two-pronged theory that takes from 'Marxist feminism' and 'radical feminism' its role of gender & patriarchy.

Confinement of women to domestic ~~political~~ work serves the interest of capitalist class. Most socialist feminist also see 'sexual politics' differently. Sexual oppression is every bit as important as class exploitation.

Socialist Party USA is an example of socialist feminist party which is not exactly or explicitly Marxist. Socialist feminism confronts the common roots of sexism, classism and racism and endeavours to create more egalitarian society.

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)

(a) 'Negative liberty' is freedom from interference and restraint on individual action from outside especially state.

Isaiah Berlin in his 'two concepts of liberty' gives the defence for the concept of 'negative liberty'. centrality of choice is main conception of his liberty.

Berlin tried to distinguish between 'positive' and 'negative' liberty and he viewed 'negative' liberty more favourably and thought positive liberty is more prone to perversion.

Berlin associated negative liberty with classical liberal tradition which can be traced back to theories of Thomas Hobbes. In his classic work 'Leviathan' Hobbes gives his concept of

freedom. Freedom, according to Hobbes signifies "the absence of opposition" or "external impediments" to motion.

Hobbes clearly distinguished between freedom (liberty) and power. one may have will to freedom but lack power to do so.

But Hobbes employed the 'mechanistic' conception of liberty defining liberty as absence of physical impediments and not 'social concept of liberty'

Hinderances to liberty include laws made by the sovereign and man is free in every other area where laws are not made. Isaiah Berlin makes the same argument. Liberty is not, according to Berlin is specifically concerned with the source of power but the wider area in which that power is exercised.

(b) Niccolo Machiavelli was an Italian diplomat, politician, philosopher. He has often been called the father of modern political science.

following are the contributions of Machiavelli to modern political thought

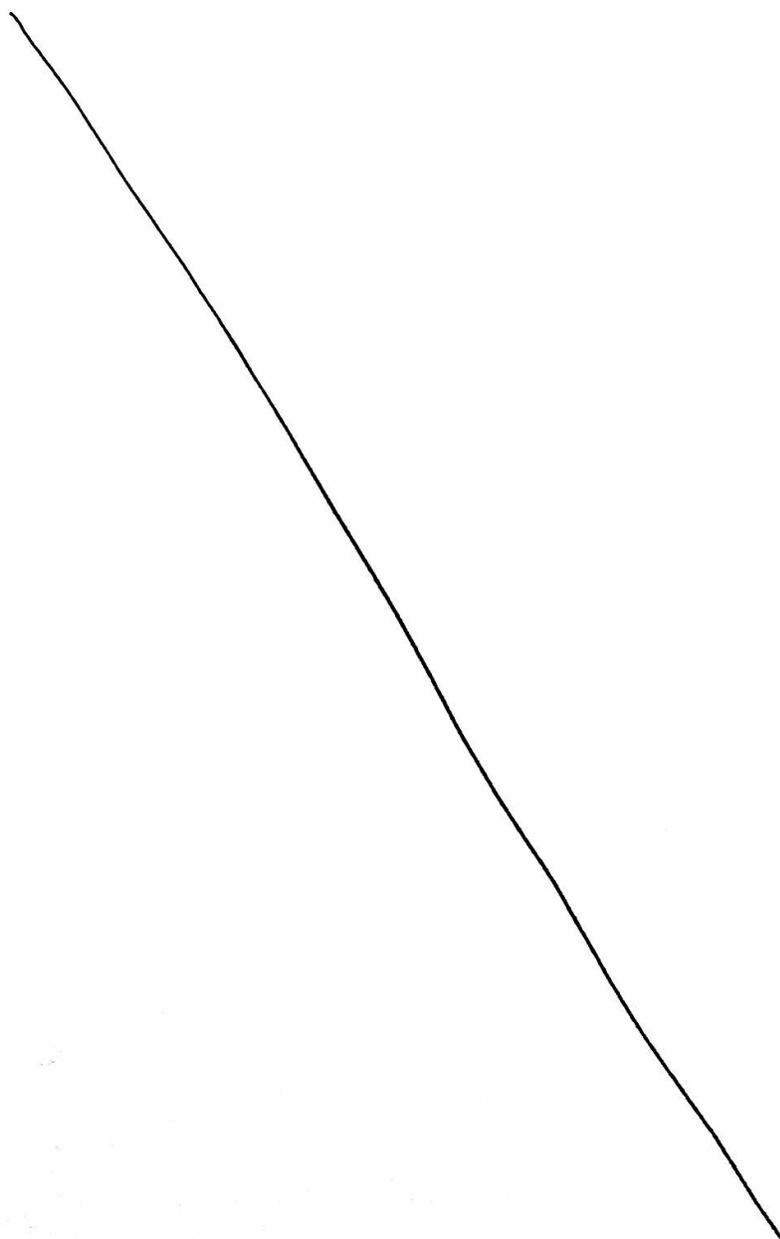
- (a) concept of ~~the~~ national and 'sovereign' state
- (b) Machiavelli's separation of ethics from politics and assigning politics an 'autonomous sphere'
- (c) Bringing aspects of 'realism' in politics
- (d) Machiavelli's advocacy of 'power' as politics is another contribution that has been widely followed in the realm of international relations.
- (e) Use of history with commonsense
- (f) Bringing 'secularism' into political sphere by denouncing church
- (g) Role of the state as security provider

- (h) machiavelli's 'nationalism' has been celebrated by many
- (i) His analysis of human psychology and advise to prince based on those observations.

Machiavelli is often criticised as cynical and sometimes ~~and~~ even evil. But he advocated what everybody practices i.e. pursuance of power in every sphere. He wrote his 'prince' and 'discourses' to advise how to acquire and retain power. His disregard for morality and religion is the main source of his criticism but it may be noted that he was not advocating immorality in politics but rather made it a tool in ultimate pursuit of power.

Under this background we can agree with Prof. Dunning that

Machiavelli was indeed the first
modern political philosopher.



© Pre-Marxist thinkers have advocated socialism in the form both similar and in sometimes in stark contrast to Marx and Engel's conception of socialism.

Pre-Marxist socialist though has advocated some form of collective ownership over large scale production, worker management or in some cases so form of planned economy.

abolition of private ownership of property was the goal of early socialists also as they thought it was immoral to accumulate the surplus of production by labourer. But early socialism does not give an exact model of alternative to private ownership of property.

Robert Owen, Saint-Simon, Charles-Fourier were some early socialist thinkers. Owen was the

first thinker to use the word 'socialism' Robert Owen advocated 'education' and 'right to work' and gave some idea of 'trade unions'.

Some form of 'guild societies' and free communities had evolved over the period in Europe but it was Marx and Engels that shaped and defined modern socialism.

Marx did not take the credit for discovering that society is divided into classes and he appreciated to some extent the work of early socialist thinkers.

Marx called early socialist thought as 'unscientific'. He defined his own conception of 'historical materialism' as scientific. He also criticised early socialists for failing to give the concept of 'revolution' and their talk of voluntary agreement between two classes.

Sometimes Marx dismissed early socialism as 'utopianism'. They were only wishful thinkers without clear understanding of history and no plan of action.

But generally Marx was accommodative and appreciative of the contribution of early socialists and he remarked in his 'communist manifesto' that these ideas became valuable material for the enlightenment of the working class.

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)

① Liberal democracy is a political ideology and a form of government in which representative method is used and it is based on recognition of human rights and freedom.

Popular participation in decision making process is one of the basic characteristic of liberal democracy. Government is run by few politicians but ultimately they have to respond to and be accountable to people.

Major critiques of Liberal democracy

① Elitist critique

They say that political power is concentrated in the hands of few people and the notion that people actually wield political power is an illusion. e.g. military-industrialist nexus controls mainly the power in USA.

⑤ Marxist critique

Classical Marxists believe it is a tool in the hands of capitalist class to secure and further their interest.

Neo Marxists have ceded some ground to liberal democracy in terms of concept of 'relative autonomy' but they remain critical of it nevertheless.

⑥ Radicalist

They advocate classical democracy like in ancient Greek city states. The idea of direct or participatory democracy.

All the criticism notwithstanding 'liberal democracy' remains the principle form of government in majority of western countries. Recent wave of popular pressure on establishment is another test on resilience of liberal democracy which has historically shown adaptability and will to compromise in order to survive.

⑥ Marxian view of false consciousness is that the way in which material, ideological and institutional processes in capitalist society mislead members of the proletariat and other classes.

Marx viewed that economic exploitation is not the only way capitalists or bourgeoisie exploit the proletariat, values, ideas & beliefs also play a role. Engels famously said that "False consciousness would keep the working class from recognising their oppression".

Italian marxist Gramsci gave the definite shape to the concept further. He explores in his work 'prison notebooks' ideas of 'hegemony' and 'manufactured consent'.

Marx had given the materialistic interpretation of history. That society is divided into two stratas. He called it base & superstructure.

Base represents the relations of economic production in society and Superstructure comprises all the political, cultural, moral institutions and practices.

Gramsci held that marxist have not given the Superstructure the importance it deserves and held that it is a structure in itself.

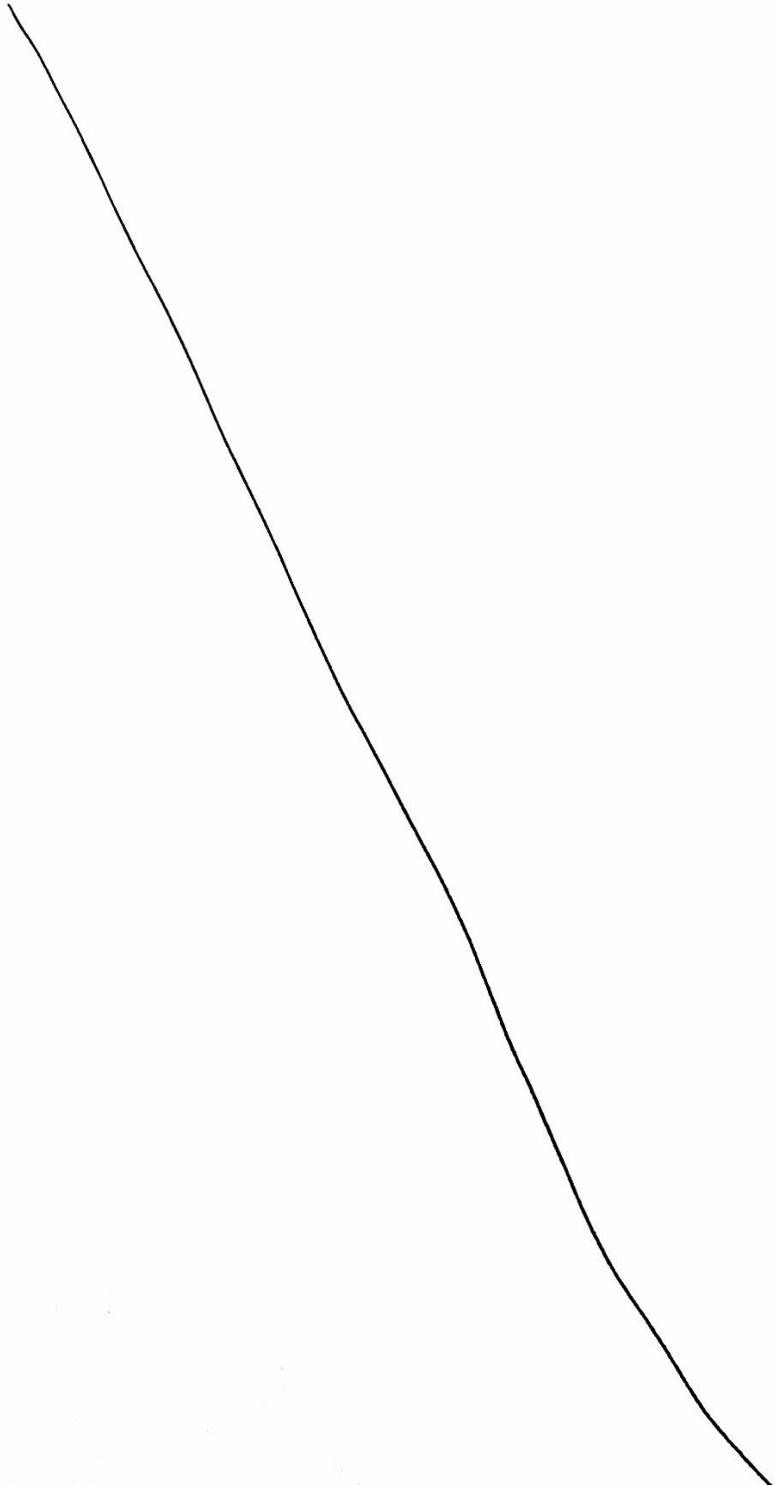
Gramsci gave elaborate analysis of civil society and showed how it uses religious, media and other cultural institutions to produce legitimacy for political class.

Gramsci held that 'hegemony' which is ideological power over the working class would have to be replaced by 'counter hegemony' if revolution is to succeed.

This is how one of the most influential thinkers in marxist tradition gave the idea of 'false consciousness' a theoretical analysis and gave the way for the proletarian

GS SCORE

class to further their goal of revolution.



© Postmodernist feminism is about moving beyond the modernist polarities of 'liberal feminism' and 'radical feminism'.

Judith Butler in her book 'Gender Trouble' makes a major departure from other branches of feminism. She says that 'sex' or at least 'gender' is itself constructed through 'language'. Butler criticised the distinction drawn by previous feminisms between 'biological sex' and 'socially constructed gender'.

Postmodern feminism thinks that women's subordination has no single cause or single solution. Postmodernism rejects the universalisation of the idea and accepts plurality of views. Postmodern feminist thinkers attached particular importance to language. Thinkers like 'Mary Foucault'

said power is not only exercised through direct coercion but also through the way language shapes and restricts our reality.

But language can also be used as a tool to fight oppression as it can be reinterpreted.

Postmodern feminism takes the concern of people into account who don't fit the traditional gender norms of male and female. Such as babies born without clear sexual characteristics or eunuchs and insists on developing a language that will accommodate them into mainstream without stigmatisation.

Critiques of postmodern feminism say that it runs a risk of basis of political action, based on gender differences.

Some have criticised postmodernist feminist theory as

being overly academic.
Postmodernism and post-
Structuralism tried to be diverse in
their approach to feminist thought.

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'.

① • Locke accords fundamental position to innate nature of natural rights to life liberty and property. His system revolves around individual and accords and ensures sovereignty of the individual.

• Locke says that legitimacy of the ~~individual~~ government depends upon the 'consent' given by individual in social contract theory. and he gives individuals 'right to revolt' if state fails in its duties.

• Locke is a firm believer in human reason and denies the divine rights theory of kings

• C. B. Macpherson called ~~no~~ Locke's views regarding right to property as "possessive individualism" and

ideed his views on property confirms that he is an individualist out and out.

He believed a state should have only minimal function of safeguarding individual property from internal and external threats and leave him to pursue his interest in other spheres. His views on taxation are also testimony to his individualism.

(b) Plato divides his 'just' society into three classes (a) The producers (b) The auxiliaries (c) The guardians. Auxiliaries are warriors and their virtue is courage, producers have temperance as a prime virtue, Rulers must have wisdom as their prime virtue.

Plato states that interchange in jobs between three social classes will bring harm to state and is the worst evil. On the contrary, if they perform their appointed task then such a state would be just.

for plato justice consists of playing one's proper role. He devises systems of education and myth of metal for unification so that each class sticks and excels in its assigned job.

Karl popper has criticised plato and called plato an enemy of people. He considers plato's ideal state as a totalitarian state.

(c) Multiculturalism, a term coined by will kymlica broadly means accomodating and celebrating diversity of wide cultural and religious groups.

Multiculturalism advocates rights of many disadvantaged groups eg racial and religious minorities, LGBT community. Their special emphasis is on right of disadvantaged immigrants and refugees.

Multiculturalism is closely associated with identity politics.

it defines itself in terms of cultural accomodation and cultural

groups. The 'resistance movement' in US and LGBT movements in many parts of the world are rooted in multiculturalism.

They perceive human rights as a rights of individuals belonging to particular oppressed group and fight for tolerance and acceptance of those groups in mainstream society.

Different treatment of persons is justified when there are differences of factual circumstances such as sex, age, language, religion, is the fundamental concept behind multicultural view on human rights.

① J.S. Mill regarded highest priority to individual. He operated actions in two categories ① self-regarding ② other regarding. In self regarding actions human is sovereign to act the way he pleases except it does not harm anyone else.

His 'Harm principle' is also individualistic. Harm must be demonstrable and quantifiable.

Mill defined 'liberty' as a negative liberty. That is absence of restrictions on individual actions by any external agency.

In self regarding actions, i.e. those which will not harm any one, individual is sovereign.

In his book 'on Liberty' he observes the 'tendency all over the world is to strengthen the society and diminish the power

of individual' this clearly states his fervent individualism.

He also believed in toleration of individual opinion over the majority opinion. silencing one individual over the opinion of majority would be an "assumption of infallibility" and nobody could do that.

His fears about majority rule, totalitarian state and his defence of liberty reinforces his conviction that 'over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign'.

② Aristotle and Karl Marx are both seminal philosophers in their own right and both share some common ideas. but the socio-cultural and economic setting of societies they lived in are monumentally different.

They both put forward a theory of revolution

- Aristotle lived in society where household activity and artisanship was predominant mode of production and he was concerned with maintaining the stability of contemporary society. He saw 'revolution as a threat' to society and suggested ways to avoid it.

On the contrary Karl Marx lived in a social context dominated by class differences between haves and have nots. His theory of historical materialism said that history of every hitherto existing

societies is a history of class struggle and modern capitalism is the final stage in that struggle.

Only violent revolution by proletariat can end the stratified nature of class society and truly bring egalitarian society.

Hence it is clear that both saw the possibility of revolution but in very different manner. Aristotle wanted to manage feeling an injustice where Marx wanted it to culminate into revolution.

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)

@ Religion has always been the integral part of social and political life of Indians

Gandhiji held a moral view of politics and according to him all great religions of world teach morality. He wanted to incorporate those moral values in politics but keep the religious based identity out of it.

Gandhiji was firmly secular and he wanted representative government without distinctions on religious lines.

But as a moral code Gandhiji never separated religion from politics. He said those who wanted to separate

religion and politics neither understood politics or religion. According to him ethical politics was a religious politics

As regards to caste system he said I do not consider anything sinful about caste system even apart from varnashrama as there is about untouchability. But many castes and their further division into subcastes was undesirable and he would have preferred if the society was organised into four kolds instead of system of high and low castes.

Gandhiji's views on social equality

He believed all men are born equal and children of the same father that is God. He took upon the cause of social justice. His relentless campaign against untouchability and efforts to liberate women prove his convictions.

⑥ J.S. Mill was an ardent individualist. He said, "over himself, over his body and mind, individual is sovereign".

Mill gave the defence of

- ① liberty of thought and expression
- ② liberty of action
- ③ liberty of association.

• "Any silencing of opinion would be an assumption of infallibility" and nobody can do that.

• He gave autonomy to individual to do as he pleases except the 'harm principle'

• His 'harm principle' states that unless an individual is harming any other individual or group that is the only justification to put restrictions on individual action.

• His harm principle also was not vague. He said harm must be measurable and demonstrable.

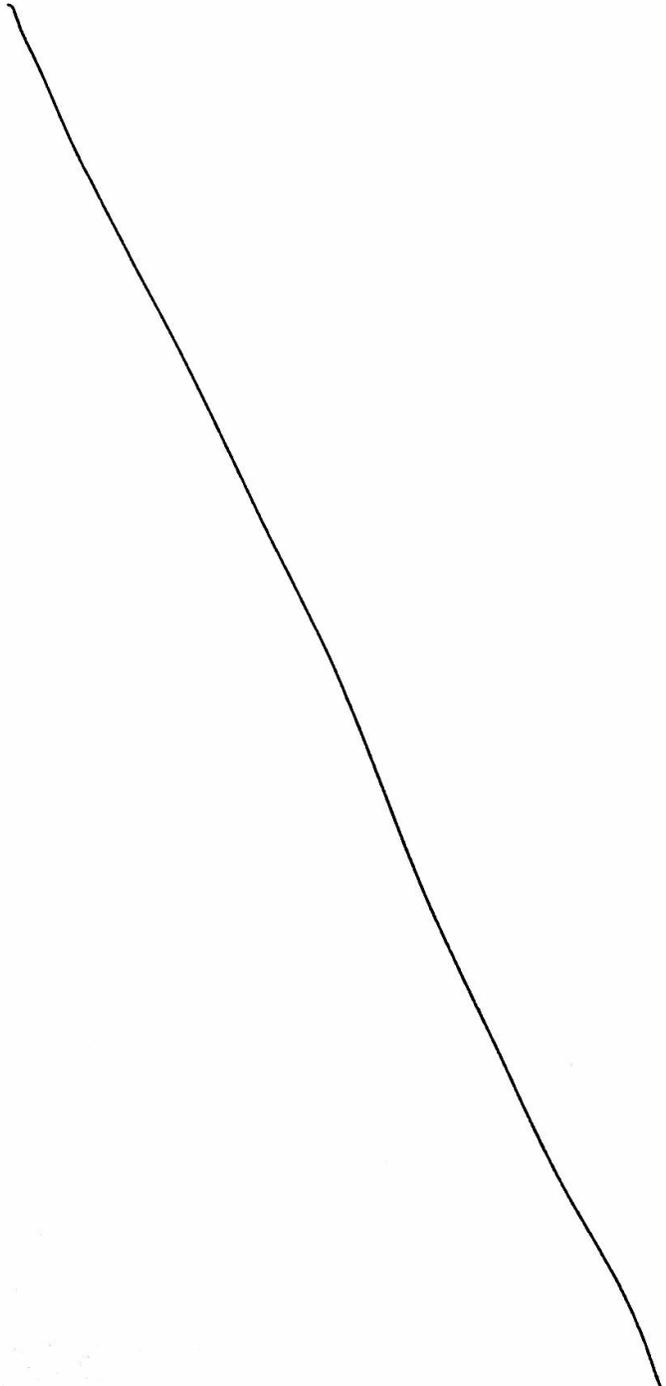
- He said we should listen to even lost opinion because what if everybody is wrong? and even if majority opinion is correct it will only get established through deliberations.
- on defence of liberty of action he thought 'self protection' was only reasonable ground to interfere in liberty of others.
- He divided actions as 'self regarding' and 'other regarding' and no interference was permissible in self regarding action.
- His aim was constant moral enhancement of individuals and he considered liberty to be absolute necessity for that.
- Even in the realm of government he supported representative government with right to overthrow illegitimate

RE

GS SCORE

government.

• His 'on liberty' still remains the classic defence of libertarian principles



① Hannah Arendt lived in tumultuous times and seen the horrors of Nazi Germany and Stalinist regime. In her first major political work 'The origins of Totalitarianism' illuminates how totalitarianism rises and thrives.

She analyses the mechanics of totalitarian movements.

- ① She discusses transformation of classes into masses
- ② The role of 'propoganda' in arousing hatred.
- ③ The use of terror, essential to this form of government.

Totalitarian regimes, for Arendt are fundamentally different from autocratic regimes. Role or objective of autocrats is to gain power but totalitarian regimes want to control every aspect of human life.

she suggests that 'individual isolation' and loneliness are preconditions for totalitarianism.

Scholars like Habermas supported Arendt in her criticism of totalitarian readings of marxism. The insecurity and imminent danger and need for somebody to rescue is the drive behind totalitarian risings.

These regimes use fake government institutions and laws and procedures to fool outside world but their instrument is that of terror and after a while terror becomes an end in itself.