

GS SCORE

An Institute for Civil Services

IAS TOPPER'S

TEST COPY

ARNAV SHIVENDU

RANK - 283

GS MAINS



www.iascore.in

GS SCORE

An Institute for Civil Services

IAS TOPPER'S

TEST COPY

ARNAV SHIVENDU

RANK - 283

**GS MAINS
POLITICAL SCIENCE**



www.iascore.in

GS SCORE

An Institute for Civil Services

IAS TOPPER'S

TEST COPY

ARNAV SHIVENDU

RANK - 283

GS MAINS ETHICS



www.iascore.in

GS SCORE

An Institute for Civil Services

IAS TOPPER'S

TEST COPY

ARNAV SHIVENDU

RANK - 283

GS MAINS ESSAY



www.iasscore.in

GS SCORE

An Institute for Civil Services

IAS TOPPER'S

TEST COPY

ARNAV SHIVENDU

RANK - 283

GS MAINS



www.iascore.in

GS SCORE

An Institute for Civil Services

IAS TOPPER'S

TEST COPY

ARNAV SHIVENDU

RANK - 283

**GS MAINS
POLITICAL SCIENCE**



www.iasscore.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 ARNAV SHIVENDU

Mobile No. _____

Date _____

Signature Arnav

1. Invigilator Signature _____

2. Invigilator Signature _____

REMARKS

--	--

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

(b) Justice, according to Rawls, is the first virtue of the society. It is the edifice on which a state exists.

In the absence of it, there would be no justice.

However, in the absence of equality, the society no longer remains just. Thus, feminists demand end

of discrimination to get equality and therefore justice substantially.

Dworkin criticises majoritarian model of democracy of Dworkin Waldron.

Remarks

For him, justice is equality and fairness.

Even Rawls's theory of justice is based on the idea of equality where individual is allowed to share his views.

Therefore, we can say that without equality there cannot be justice.

(c) Alienation, as per Mars, occurs when a man becomes a stranger to himself. It is a result of capitalism where a man becomes disengaged from his work and society loses his creativity and freedom.

For Frankfurt school scholars, it is the mass culture spread by media and advertisement that transforms a man into a one dimensional man (Herbert Marcuse) alienating him from his

real self. He becomes a consumer.

Emile Durkheim, a sociologist, in his idea of suicide gave the idea of alienation wherein he believed that the structural transformation of society causes man to be alienated and commit suicide.

Thus, we can say, that an alienated man of Marx may commit Durkheim's suicide.

(d) Complex equality is a concept given by Michael Walzer, a communitarian scholar.

For Walzer, equality in all forms cannot exist simultaneously for everybody. To maintain it, monopoly of state is required.

Also, every social good holds different level of importance for different people.

It therefore, inequality in one sphere should not be propagated in another sphere of life. For instance, a man with economic power should not also be possessor of political power, otherwise it would lead to grave inequality. This dilemma for Walzer is termed as Complex equality.

Walzer's idea of equality serves as a critic for liberal idea of equality such as Rawls.

(c) Feminism is an ideology that seeks to end discrimination against women and establish gender equality.

Socialist feminism ~~came~~ emerged as a critic against liberal feminism. Though Marx has not talked about feminism, Engels in his book, "On the Origin of

private family, state property and state⁹⁹
has discussed feminism. He advocates
the cause of gender discrimination
is capitalism. He inspires all women
to join the revolution.

Lenin was progressive. His cabinet
was the first in the world to have
a female member. Stalin, however, was
regressive and relegated women to household.

It Socialist feminists like Shula
Rowbotham regard culture along with
economic structure as the cause of
gender discrimination.

However, their ideology was
severely criticised by radical feminists.

--	--

Remarks

--	--	--

Remarks

--	--	--

Remarks

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)

(a) ~~#~~ JW Garner said political science begins and ends with state. Though state is a core subject of political science yet it is debated.

Pluralistic theory of state is a ~~new~~ critic of monistic theory of state. The tradition of monistic state advocated by Hobbes, Jean Bodin deems state as all supreme.

Pluralists, however, differ. For them state is an association among associations. Laski believes that since structure of society is federal,

Remarks

state

Society is also federal. Since man lives in a multidimensional world, his needs are also multidimensional. State alone cannot ~~alone~~ fulfil it.

Maciver, an extreme pluralist, calls state as service state. If Laski calls keys state as keystone of social architecture, Maciver on the other hand, finds no difference between state and other associations.

Laski sees ~~as~~ state as an equilibrium maker, Maciver sees ~~not~~ use of it.

For pluralists, in general, every association should have obligations and duties towards citizens.

However, they are criticised for being inconsistent and are accused of "keeping of pie when they want to have it".⁹⁹

Remarks

On one hand, they want state to be an equilibrium maker, but on the other want to restrict it.

Even Laski, though calls state as keystone, he wants to limit the primacy of state.

In spite of these shortcomings, one cannot deny relevance of Pluralistic theory of state. Polyarchy and deformed polyarchy concept given by C Wright Mill and R. Dahl respectively are influenced from. They describe how power lies not only in hands of leaders but ~~not~~ military leaders, civil societies in USA.

(c) Aurobindo Ghosh was an extremist ~~during~~ member of the Indian National Congress. He was influenced by Swami Vivekananda's & Bankim Chattopadhyaya's ideas of cultural nationalism.

Aurobindo Ghosh in his idea of nationalism appealed to both Indians and the Britishers. In his journal, "Sanjebani", he advocated the youth to join their hands and sacrifice themselves for the independence of India.

His idea of nationalism involved appeal to the Britishers. He contended that Western values are fit for material pleasure but independence of India is a necessity if the world

Remarks

wants to experience spirituality.
It is only India that can lead
the world to spirituality.

Idea of civil disobedience for the
first time is also Anubindo's work.

Though, he fuelled nationalism
as a feeling in Indians, he has
been criticised for ~~his~~ incorporating
mysticism and his ideas came to be
seen as a justification for communal
politics.

However, in spite of such criticisms,
Anubindo Ghosh's contribution to
Indian national movement cannot
be questioned and his idea of
spirituality is a solution for the
growing materialistic greed.

(C) William Graham Sumner said, "Drunkard in the gutter where he ought to be"^{SS}. Classical liberalism emerged as a challenge against feudalism and demanded liberty and freedom of state.

It terms humans as reasonable ^{and individual} individualistic. For them state is convention which comes into existence for convenience of man (Locke). Therefore, duty of the state is to ensure right to life, liberty and property. This idea was later termed as negative liberty by positive liberals for whom capacity building denotes positive liberty.

Remarks

As said by Sumner, state has no role to play in the development of man.

Economically, market works independent of state with the intervention of invisible hand (Adam Smith).

However, as time progressed, liberalism which was seen as a progressive against feudalism came to be dominated by

utilitarianism. It was used as a justification by the rich to exploit

labour of the poor. Utilitarianism

(classic liberalism) came to be regarded as pigs philosophy.

This led to the emergence of positive liberty/modern liberalism which incorporated the best of

classical liberalism and socialism to keep liberalism relevant. First evidence is seen in the New Deal Act. by Roosevelt in USA which brought in the concept of welfare state to promote social democracy.

Hence, as said by Michael Oakshott, classical liberalism is the philosophy of crude and uncritical individualism and inconsistent with social democracy.

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

--	--	--

Remarks

Remarks

--	--	--

Remarks

--	--

Remarks

--	--	--

Remarks

--	--	--

Remarks

--	--

Remarks

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)

Remarks

--	--

Remarks

--	--

Remarks

--	--

Remarks

--	--

Remarks

Remarks

--	--

Remarks

--	--	--

Remarks

SECTION B

5. Answer the following questions: (150 Words)

(10 × 5 = 50)

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

(a) John Locke is regarded as the Father of liberalism. According to Macpherson, Locke is a scholar of ^{possessive} individualism.

In his social contract, man only transfers right to make, execute and adjudicate law. Man is utilitarian and thus preserves his right to life, liberty and property.

Locke proposes the state as a nightwatchman state to protect man's property. If the action of state is arbitrary, man has right to revolution.

Locke also asks the state to be tolerant to all faith.

This is in sharp contrast to Hobbes,

Remarks

who starts as an individualist but ends as an absolutist (Macpherson).
 Hobbes: gives sovereignty to state over man.

Thus, it is said that Locke is an individualist out and out.

(b) Plato is regarded as the father of political philosophy. His main concern was to make Athens an ideal state. In this context, he proposes his theory of justice and myth of metals.

— For Plato, justice is essential for the state to maintain its legitimacy. To understand God's idea of justice, he proposes that only men of reason have the capability. He relegates men of courage to become soldiers and men of passion to become the producers.

Justice, according to Plato, can only sustain if there is

- (1) non-interference among the classes
- (2) functional specialisation

His views of classes is similar to the Varna system in Indian tradition.

However, his views on classes and justice have been criticised for building a regimented society and no social mobilisation. This goes against Kant's idea of human dignity.

(c) Multiculturalism is a liberal view to maintain tolerance in a pluralistic society. Traditionally, liberals follow the melting pot approach as seen in USA. In France, religion has been relegated to private.

However, with globalisation there is a heightened identity ~~consciousness~~ identity consciousness and human rights consciousness among the minorities.

Will Kymlicka, gives rights to national minorities but not to refugees and migrants.

Bhikhu Parekh, however, grants special ~~see~~ recognition to rights of all kinds of minorities i.e. national minorities, refugees and migrants.

Criticism for multiculturalism comes from feminists such as Susan Moller Okin who believes that it would further compound discrimination against women.

Amartya Sen argues that multiculturalism leads to ghettoisation.

However, India remains a bright spot. It has managed to reconcile interests of all sections of society and celebrates unity in diversity, with growing fundamentalism and terrorism, multiculturalism seems to be an appropriate solution to tackle such issues.

Remarks

(d) Mill is regarded as the champion of liberty. The above statement is from his work, "On Liberty".

Mill is a utilitarian who believes in the reason of man. According to Mill, man should have liberty as liberty is a precondition for a man's development. The only limitation is Harm Principle.

Mill has classified human actions as self-regarding, others regarding. Harm principle applies only to others regarding.

Therefore, Mill says, "Over himself, over his own body and mind individual is sovereign."

However, Ernest Barker, a positive liberal, criticises Mill and calls him "Prophet of empty liberty." He even

condemns Mill classification of human action as unscientific.

It is agreed that Mill is an inconsistent scholar but his relevance of his ideas cannot be questioned. His ideas are the basis on which the Indian constitution has put restrictions on freedom of speech and expression (Article 19).

(c) Revolution is sudden and a wholesome change. Revolution is an important area of study for political science scholars.

Aristotle believes in stability. He has criticised Plato's attempt to destroy time tested institutions of family and property. He has analysed in depth 158 constitutions and come up with his theory of revolution.

For Aristotle, revolution is a result of inequality, that is why, he rejects rule of by oligarchy (rich) and democracy ^(rule of poor). He instead advocates polity (rule of middle class) since the middle class is trusted by both the rich and the poor and possess sufficient reason.

Marx, on the other hand, finds revolution as panacea to class exploitation. He asks the workers to change the history by becoming from a class in itself to class for itself. He asks them to wage a war against the bourgeoisie and establish a communist society (classless and stateless society).

As it can be seen, Aristotle is a believer of piecemeal ^{social} engineering whereas, Marx aims at a holistic,

wholesome change.

In spite of the differences, both Marx and Aristotle, believe inequalities to be cause of revolution. Currently, it is being witnessed in Syria etc (since the time of French revolution).

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 regarded himself as the student of Marx. He was confused as to why no revolution was coming as ~~was~~ predicted by Marx.

In his work, "State and capitalist revolution", he, thus, revised the concept of Marxism. He gave the idea of a vanguard party which would lead the revolution for the ~~pro~~ proletariat against the bourgeoisie.

However, his application from differs from Marx. Marx's ~~no~~ revolution was to occur in only true capitalist societies and led by proletariats.

Remarks

But Russia was a semi feudal society, capitalism was just commencing. Therefore, Lenin decided to incorporate both the workers and the farmers.

In spite of the successful ^{Bolshevik} revolution, there was no communism established in Russia. Power remained concentrated in the hands of the ^{elites of} Communist party.

Hence, it is said that followers of Marx have done more harm to him than his enemies.

Therefore, Lenin is Peter who denied his masters. His vanguard party instead of being a guide, philosopher friend instead established dictatorship of elites.

(a) Locke in his work "Treatise on government", has given his criticism of Hilmer. However, there exists a school of thought that it was Hobbes and not Hilmer whom Locke was criticising.

Locke is regarded as father of liberalism. He is an individualist who believes in the reason of man. On the other ^{hand,} Hobbes, though an individualist, established an absolute state (Leviathan). His state possesses sovereignty over man to protect his right to life.

But since Hobbes book was banned by the church, Locke preferred to criticise him via Hilmer to avoid controversy.

The second school of thought, however, believe that it was really

Remarks

Filmer that Locke was criticising.
 Filmer was a critic of social contract
 and advocates divine rights doctrine.

He believed Adam was the son of
 God, thus, all men are son of
 God. Therefore, he rejected social contract
 and advocated to follow divine rights.

Though it is difficult to determine
who was Locke's real antagonist
 but one finds more similarity in
 Locke with Hobbes. Both were individualists
 and have been deemed as possessive
individualists by Macpherson. Both
 believe are social contract scholars
 and seek to promote interests of
 the individual.

Therefore, it can be said that it
 was probably Filmer and not Hobbes
 whom Locke wanted to criticise.

Remarks

(c) Alienation is when a man becomes a stranger to himself. The concept was used by Marr to demonstrate how liberty was a false consciousness.

According to Marr, with the rise of capitalism, man has become alienated from his work and the society. He gives the concept of "Economic man" wherein the masses have simply transformed into consumers.

This view is similar to the views of Frankfurt school scholars. Herbert Marcuse gives the concept of one-dimensional man wherein the man have become consumers of mass culture. Technology, mass media and advertisement have aided in this process.

Remarks

~~The~~ Horkheimer terms this as negative dialectics i.e. society is ~~be~~ getting worse. Adorno gives the example of commercialisation of music to substantiate this.

Hannah Arendt in her critique of modernity has similarly given the example of how modernity has made oikos (economic sphere) dominate polis (political sphere) and transformed society into politics by classes into politics by masses.

Remarks

--	--	--

Remarks

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)

(a) MK Gandhi (1869-1948) is regarded as the father of the Indian Republic.

Gandhi was a firm believer of social equality. He founded Harjan Sabha to promote his ideals of social equality.

Gandhi was against untouchability but favoured Varna system. He believed two men in functional specialisation based on work not caste.

However, this view was refuted by Sri Narayana Guru and B.R. Ambedkar. Ambedkar was against Brahmanical

Remarks

tradition of caste and varna.

(b) Mill is regarded as the champion of liberty. Mill gave his idea of liberty in his book, "On liberty".

According to him, liberty is a pre-condition for development. Since ~~a state~~ since Mill was influenced by Greek scholars, he says that as state is individual well large,

therefore, no state can become great by dwarfing its own citizens. Also, liberty is not only an individual good but a social good that contributes in social development.

Remarks

Liberty is the core value of liberalism.
 Until now, utilitarianism dominated liberalism but Mill established liberty as the defining aspect.

However, he has been criticised by Ernst Barker, ^(positive liberal) as prophet of empty liberty. ~~He~~ This is because Mill gave the Harm principle to limit an individual's liberty. Also, as he was Mill was at the crossroad of ~~the~~ classic liberalism and positive liberalism, he did not cater to capacity building by state.

In spite of inconsistencies in Mill's thoughts, one cannot deny the relevance of his ideas. He influenced later scholars like Rawls and TH Greene.

His ideas also find relevance in form freedom of speech and expression.

(Article 19) of the Indian constitution.

(c) Totalitarianism is rule of ideology and terror according to Hannah Arendt.

Arendt says there is no other word to describe totalitarianism.

She was a German Jew who witnessed Hitler's horrific genocide. Thus, in her book, "On Totalitarianism", she has discussed less on origin but more on totalitarianism.

She says that earlier authoritarian societies saw violence as a means to an end. Totalitarianism instead sees it as a violence as an end. It happens when people start enjoying violence.

Remarks

- Totalitarianism is a consequence of mass politics which in turn is a result of lack of civic republicanism.

Mass culture has eroded polis (public sphere) for oikos (economic sphere). People become superfluous entities and throw themselves to masters. This finally culminates into "Fascism".

Eric Fromm in his idea of "Freedom of man" has given similar idea for the rise of fascism.

Hannah Arendt advocates zoon politikon (civic participation) over animal laborans (life sustaining activities) to break free from totalitarianism which she regards as not only rule over mind and

body but soul.

Her work has influenced Jürgen Habermas
who recommends public sphere to
debate any government policy.

Remarks

--	--

Remarks

Remarks

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)

Remarks

--	--

Remarks

--	--

Remarks

--	--	--

Remarks

68

--	--

Remarks

Remarks

--	--	--

Remarks

--	--	--

-Remarks