

An Institute for Civil Services

IAS TOPPER'S

TEST COPY

KOUSHIK H R

Rank - 240

Political Science

GS SCORE

Content has to expand to more directions
include more views & critiques

Test - 01

109

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Time Allowed: 3 hr.

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.

1. Invigilator Signature

2. Invigilator Signature

Name

KOUSHIK H R

Mobile No.

Date

Signature

KoUSHIK H R

REMARKS

GS SCORE

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SECTION A

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

(10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) Gandhian Views on Parliamentary Swaraj
- (b) Contributions of M. N. Roy to Modern Indian Politics
- (c) Historic Materialism by Marx
- (d) Communitarian perspective of justice
- (e) How 'contentious pluralism' does helps a democracy to reinvent itself?

a) According to Gandhi, Swaraj was the process of reducing the dependence of the people on the state. In Gandhi's views, dependence on a native state instead of a foreign state will not be a real swaraj. Hence Gandhi was an anarchist who considered "State as an unnecessary evil".

Gandhi, hence was not in favour of parliamentary democracy. According to him, swaraj can be

Remarks

obtained when people have the real power & hence he promoted decentralisation through development of local governancy by Panchayats.

This view of Gandhi found place in the DPSP of the Indian constitution and later came into fruition through

73rd Amendment to the constitution -

Vague write about the actual features of Parliamentary system
 c) Marx gave his historical

materialism to counter the Hegel's view of history.

According to Hegel, history was a dialectic of 'ideology' where ~~one~~ a superior ideology replaces the inferior finally culminating in

State. Hence according to Hegel,
"State is the march of god on earth"

Marx countered Hegel's view through his historical materialism. According to Marx, "History of mankind hitherto in the history of class conflict".

According to Marx, history was of dialectical materialism where the materialistic exploitation changed from one form to another. Primitive communism, changed to slavery, slavery to feudalism, feudalism to capitalism. If we observe, all these phases had class conflict between "have" and "have not".

What led to change from one phase to another?

Remarks

3

This conflict according to Marx would end with communism as the exploitation & hence the state withers away.

d) Communitarian criticise liberal theory of justice as it is 'individualistic' and give preference to 'right' over 'good'.

According to communitarian like Michael Sandel, man is an "embedded self" and hence his preference is framed by the community. Communitarian does away from individualistic notion of justice.

~~Comm~~ Justice for communitarian must be something which must achieve...

the "common good" i.e., justice must benefit the whole community.

Also communitarian criticise universal basis of justice as "difference blindness". According to communitarian like Charles Taylor, ~~com~~ every community will have a unique feature & hence the principle of justice varies across communities.

Criticism

- a) Chandrasekhar Kulkarni criticise the communitarian concept that though resources might be commonly held, but it can be enjoyed only individually. Hence we need

Remarks

"individual separation"

i) Liberals :- They criticise communitarian justice for compromising individual for the sake of community.

ii) Feminist :- Feminists like Susan Moller Okin criticise it based on the fact that every community ~~has~~ put female in disadvantage.

good structure
includes views
of Amartya Sen as well

b) M. N. Roy initially a Marxist and later a radical humanist has a great contribution towards the Modern Indian Politics.

Contribution

i) Critic of Congress :- In the initial days, he was a staunch critic of

INC and later he supported bringing change in the model of INC. This had an impact on emergence of socialist view of INC

ii) Radical Humanism

According to Roy, neither communism nor parliamentary democracy can emancipate the people as they compromise individualism. One is in the name of class & the other in the name of state.

Radical humanism keeps human being at the centre & aim for his emancipation. This can be achieved through rationality, morality & freedom.

First to demand
a constituent
Assembly

His plan suggestion for
Congress

Remarks

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e) According to Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, democracy is not just a method of electing govt, instead it is a process of improving the state & oneself.

Democracy is always evolving and such an evolution requires the contention & conflict between various ideas in order to obtain new values & ideas. Also through contentious pluralism, the idea of democracy can be re-asserted through various contentions & debates.

In order to achieve positive effect of "contentious pluralism", we need Habermas' "Ideal speech situation".

Global or
more pre
or term
contentious
pluralism

Remarks

3

2. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Provide justification as to how the Welfare State actually enhances individual liberty on the basis of views of eminent scholars who support the notion of such a state? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Explain the statement by Robert Nozick "The minimal state is inspiring as well as right". (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Analyse the reasons behind Ambedkar's call for complete transformation of Indian social structure and destruction of Brahmanical supremacy as the only path for emancipation of the deprived. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

a) The Great Depression of 1930s promoted Keynesian economics. This in turn promoted positive liberalism who promote welfare state.

Unlike classical liberals, positive liberals view the role of state in a positive manner. They don't find any dichotomy between the individual liberty and the role of state.

Positive liberals like T H Green says that individual liberty can be

Remarks

enhanced only when the individual understands his/her real needs and also there is opportunities to achieve it. He looks liberty from the moral consciousness. "Moral consciousness require liberty, liberty involves rights and rights demand state". Also state act as an agent to remove the external impediments - "State, removes the hindrances".

you also need to include views of Lasalle & Mill
According to Dr. Amartya Sen, Welfare State plays a huge role in "capacity building", so that an individual can realise his/her capacity & achieve his/her needs.

According to John Rawls,
"maximum gain for few must compensate for minimum loss of many". Liberty of few must not threaten the liberty of many.

Remarks

A welfare state follows the Difference Principle which according to Rawls acts as an insurance scheme to provide equal liberty to all.

7

According to Macpherson, a welfare state reduces the extractive power of the rich & improves the developmental power of the masses to realise their real potential.

b)

Libertarians provide great value to individual liberty over the state. On the same lines Robert Nozick a libertarian scholar promotes "minimalist state"

According to Nozick, the citizens appoint people to protect their property. With more power, this institution takes

Remarks

the form of state. Hence Nozick doesn't support the social contract theory of state.

As the state was created to protect the property, state must perform only that role. State doesn't have any role in redistribution of wealth. Nozick gives his "entitlement theory", i.e., a person owns a property because he/she is entitled for it. Hence the role of the state is to make sure that property is protected & basic rules are followed. Hence Nozick promotes a "right watchmen state" and hence he says minimal state in right.

According to Libertarians, "social justice is a mirage" i.e.,

social justice can never be achieved and inequality in society is natural & the state must not try to change. On this grounds, Nozick says that minimal state is inspiring as the individuals will have complete liberty to achieve their self identified goals.

In the modern days, where we have great inequalities among the people, the invisible hand of the market will not be helpful. State must play a positive role & we have to shift towards Welfare state & the State must work for the capacity building of its people.

Elaborate more on why he considers the minimal state as inspiring

Remarks

Why does he oppose progressive taxation?



c) Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the constitutional expert fought his whole life for the rights of untouchables and the depressed classes.

According to Ambedkar, caste has become the social identity of the country. The caste based discrimination acts as a barrier to the social development of the depressed classes as they wouldn't be provided opportunities for education & social upliftment due to the "curse of birth".

The caste-based identity & the theory of pure blood will not allow the depressed classes to take

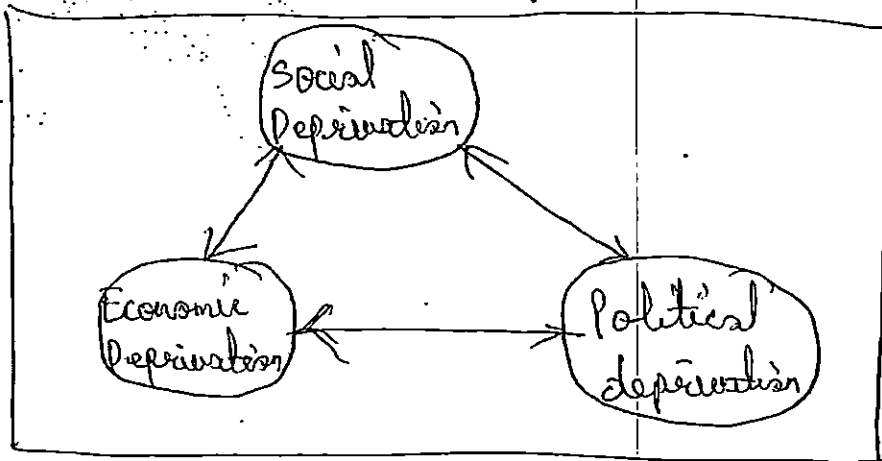
Remarks

up the employment of their wish.
Hence the social disadvantage leads
to economic disadvantage of many.

According to Ambedkar,
we cannot achieve a real democracy
until we achieve social & economic
democracy. So, even if we provide
~~right~~ equal rights to contest,
primordial loyalties will command the
choice of the people. The ~~Brah~~ and
hence the depressed classes cannot
climb the political ladder.

Hence according to Ambedkar,
the social structure & the Brahmanical
supremacy would lead to deprivation in
social, economic & political structures.

Remarks



On this basis, Ambedkar suggests a complete transformation of the social structure and ~~desires~~ by providing social, economic & political rights to the depressed class and also destruction of Brahmanical supremacy. This according to Ambedkar can be achieved only through "Annihilation of the caste" which removes the caste based identity.

Remarks

what were his practical socio economic suggestions to end Brahmanical Supremacy?

7

SECTION B

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

- (a) Basic Features of Critical theory.
- (b) The Public-Private Divide as per Feminist Theory.
- (c) Laski's theory of Rights: Main arguments.
- (d) The Post-Colonial state is a product of circumstances created by Colonialism. Comment.
- (e) Pluralist perspective on Power.

b) One of the basic argument of the feminist theory is the public - private divide.

According to liberal theories, the state occupies the public sphere and controls & interferes in the public sphere. Gender according to liberals is in the private sphere and hence state must not intervene.

This public-private divide according to feminists is leading to gender discrimination within family.

Remarks

Family ~~issues~~ leading to Public Man
and Private women, ~~Fame~~

Family according to
feminist is "politics of everyday
life" and hence we cannot have
the public-private divide,

Hence according to feminist,
"personal is political" and the state
has to interfere in the family affair.

According to Kate Millet,
state has to regulate family issues like
marriage, divorce etc. and the
personal laws are subject to public
scrutiny.

Cite
views
of more
thinkers

(S)

c)

For Laski a pluralistic scholar, state is "society politically organised". It is an association of associations & hence cannot command complete obedience.

Like other pluralist scholars, rights according to Laski is recognised & preserved by the state, but state is not the source of rights. Rights are obtained by the moral consciousness of the society.

According to Laski, rights gives the identity to the state i.e., "state is known by the rights it maintain". A state is classified into various categories by the rights the state recognise.

Remarks

Why does he
prefer economic
rights over
political
rights

GS SCORE

These rights have to be
protected & promoted through
S decentralisation of authority. For
Laski "As society is federal,
authority has to be federal".

d) Post colonial states are
the states which received independence
~~off~~ due to the decline of colonialism
after the Second World War.

Though the post colonial states
received independence, their features
portray impact of colonialism.

According to liberal scholars
like Gunnar Myrdal, these states
are "soft states" because the

Remarks

state cannot exercise its authority due to poor administration & the colonial legacy of corruption. Such states pose both modern & the old features which Riggs calls as "Prismatic society". The colonial masters didn't concentrate on the political development of these states leading to what Samuel Huntington calls as "Political Decay". Such mismatch in socio-economic & political development leads to "Development Trap" according to Riggs.

Neo-Marxist thinkers like Hamza Alavi calls these states as "Overdeveloped State" where state is very powerful. This according to

Remarks

As Alavi is due to the following ~~poor~~ colonial circumstances,

i) These states inherited the stagnant bureaucracy of ~~their~~ colonial masters.

ii) Like the colonial masters, these states are using the force to maintain the state.

poor structure
maintain the
approach
iii) These states are ruled by the political parties which fought colonialism.

ex) ⑥ Robert Dahl in his article titled "Who Governs?" discuss the pluralistic notion of power.

According to Dahl, power is not with the select few (elites) as argued by the elitist scholars.

Remarks

Instead power is with the pressure groups. He takes a stand similar to that of Hannah Arendt that "power is acting in concert".

In a state there would be multiple loyalties & hence multiple pressure groups. All these pressure groups are equal and they pose power. Hence a state is not oligarchy instead it is polyarchy.

Later Dahl along with Charles Lindbloom changes it to 'deformed polyarchy' i.e., not all pressure groups enjoy equal powers. Pressure group of capitalist enjoy more power than that of labourers.

Remarks

what role for state in this scenario

5

a) Critical theory questions the basic foundation of rationalisation. Though rationalisation brought us out of the clutches of the state, the new discoveries & invention has made us subservient to science. This they call as "Dialectic of rationalism".

Critical theory hence is critical of various established notions which lead to instrumental reasoning through which ~~is~~ the defined outcomes is justified.

Critical theorists are critical of development in science especially in mass media through which false needs are generated making man as only customer which Herbert Marcuse calls a "One Dimensional Man".

Remarks

1st moir names & views from this school

4

7. Attempt all questions:

- (a) What are the general features of the Dharmashastras Tradition of Indian Political thought and how does Bhikhu Parekh bring out its various shortcomings? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) What do you understand by 'spiritual nationalism' by Aurobindo Ghosh? Why was the Congress according to him not able to gain Swaraj? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Equality of Resources as advocated by Dworkin consists of redistribution being done as continuous process rather than being a one time phenomena. Also bring out the salient features of "Equality of Capabilities" approach by Dr. Amartya Sen. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

a) Dharmashastra is the oldest tradition of Indian Political Thought. Manu is the earliest proponent of the Dharmashastra.

Features of Dharmashastra

i) Role of Dharma

Dharma according to the Dharmashastra is "Reeti" or the order of the society. The word "Dhr" in Sanskrit means "to hold". According to Atharva Veda, the state is held together by the Dharma. Hence unlike

Remarks

western tradition, Dharma doesn't mean religion.

ii) King

Dharmashastra promotes divine theory of sovereignty. The King possesses divine personality in order to maintain the state from going towards anarchy (Matsyanyaya)

iii) Duties of King

The basic duty of the King is to maintain Dharma i.e., Varna Dharma and Asrama Dharma. Though King has the ultimate authority, he has to abide by the Dharma.

iv) Organic theory of State

According to Dharmashastra, state has seven organs (Saptanga) v.i.z.,

Swami, Amatya, Janapada, Durga, Ksha, Danda & Mitra. All these organs of are very important to run the state.

Shortcomings

According to Prof. Bhiku Parekh, the following are the shortcomings

- i) Dharmashastra tradition is inegalitarian.
- ii) It is not reformist in nature.
- iii) Ethics & morality play a major role in the state.
- iv) Social hierarchy is highly

Missing
Policy
Caste
ethics
rituals
prevalent.

Brahminical Dominance

Need more points

Remarks

Easy ① question
7

7b)

Aurobindo Ghosh the extremist leader proposed his spiritual nationalism to counter moderate view that the national consciousness is still emerging and also to counter British's Benevolent Despotism.

According to Aurobindo, nationalism is not moral consciousness, instead the idea of nationalism is inherent in the Indian culture. He was influenced by the thoughts of Vivekananda and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee.

Nation according to Ghosh is like a religion. Nation represents

Remarks

a divine origin and a divine power, hence the youth must perform religious sadhana and be ready to sacrifice life.

Nation represents a spiritual power which can never fail and hence the Britishers can never crush the nationalism in the country. The demand for swaraj is because of this Shakti & hence we are bound to obtain freedom.

Concept of
India as
mother goddess

Defects in Congress

According to Ambedkar, the following were the defects in Congress which were acting as impediments to attain swaraj.

- i) Leadership was provided by weak leaders who felt the British rule

to be blessing in disguise.

ii) Composition :- It failed to attract masses.

iii) Motives :- The motives of the Congress were not to obtain swaraj, instead they demanded reforms.

iv) Method :- Congress followed the 3P formula, which according to Ambedkar can never attain swaraj.

Conclusion / Rest of all answer is good

c) Ronald Dworkin, a resource egalitarian & support the equality of resources as a better distribution model as against the equality of welfare.

Dworkin criticises equality of welfare on the ground that distribution

~~equal~~ welfare. equally without
bothering about the outcomes. Amongst
the ϕ masses, there might be many
with natural disadvantage who require
extra resources.

In order to make sure
that the distribution is fair,
Dworkin supports equality of resources.
This distribution according to Dworkin
is not a one time process. Instead
this has to go on until such a
time where further distribution is
not possible and everyone are
satisfied with their resources. This
he calls an envy test. As the
distribution of resources takes the
disadvantaged into consideration, it
is a continuous process.

Remarks

This according to him can be achieved through ambition sensitive auction & endowment insensitive auction.

Equalities of Capability

According to nobel laureate Dr. Amartya Sen, instead of welfare & resources, state has to aim for equality of capabilities.

If a person doesn't have the capability, then even the distributed resources cannot be fruitful. Hence the state must look for "capacity building" so that an individual can fulfil his/her ~~individual~~ aims.

Sen cautions that while aiming for equality of capabilities, care must be given to address the inherent equality in the society.

Remarks

You need to talk brightly about his concept of parametric variations

(10)

8. Attempt all questions:

- (a) "Gender is one of the many identities of an individual" and acceptance of the fact is actually a prerequisite for the feminist perspective to be effective. Discuss and also analyse how the modern state is viewed by Feminist. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Hobbes starts with 'Individualism' and 'Liberalism' but ended with 'Totalitarianism'. Discuss. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Describe in detail the features of 'Theory of Justice given by John Rawls' with special reference to the "Difference Principle". (250 Words) (20 Marks)

a) For Feminist scholars, all the prevailing political theories are male centred and doesn't give any role for women except few scholars like JS Mill.

Better introduction needed

Feminist scholars argue that - like many other identities like religion, class etc, gender is of social construct. As Simone De Beauvoir says "One is not born women, but one is made women".

Hence the feminists argue that such a social construction of identity must not be supported. They

Remarks

promote Sartre's theory of
"existence in prior to essence",

On the other hand Difference
feminist argue that "gender is
one of the many identities of the
individual & it has to be accepted
and also promoted."

Feminist theories if we
observe surroundings around the
gender identity & hence it has
to be accepted that identity in order
for Feminist theory to be effective,

Feminist view on state

i) Liberal Feminist

- Liberal feminist view
modern state as a player to provide
the equal rights to women in the

Glenn Feldman
more on
of third world
feminists
on gender
identity
interface

political sphere,

i) Social Feminist

They view state as an institution of capitalist class in exploitation of the women. According to them, women provide a reserve army of labour.

ii) Radical Feminist

According to them, modern state separates public & private sphere. As gender is pushed to private sphere, state shy away from interfering in gender issues leading to Public Men & Private Women. They give a call of "Personal is political" and according to Kate Millet it can be achieved through "consciousness raising".

Remarks

You need to include views of feminist thinkers

(8)

b) Thomas Hobbes was the first modern thinker. He gave the theory of sovereignty through his theory of individualism.

Hobbes implements physics in his analysis of human nature. Mind is made of particles which move according to the external forces of pleasure & pain.

According to Hobbes, man is individual by nature as he can realise his pleasure & pain & not of others. In the state of nature, man is completely free to maximise his pleasure. This liberty would lead to perpetual desire for ~~power~~ pleasure.

Remarks

This desire for pleasure make man to come in conflict with others to maximise his pleasure. Hence Hobbes say that "state of nature is a state of war of all against all".

In order to overcome this state of nature, individuals sacrifice all their rights except their right to life to the sovereign body called the State.

Since state of nature was barbaric, in the modern state, the individuals doesn't enjoy the liberties which were they enjoyed in the state of nature - "Liberty is where law is silent."

Remarks

As the natural law ~~was~~ had ~~been~~ authority to every individual > it turned out to be barbaric. In the modern state, hence "Law will be the command of the sovereign" and state will be the Leviathan.

If we observe, Hobbes gave his concept of state to protect the liberty and individualism but ended with a Leviathan. Hence Macpherson criticises that "Hobbes started as an individualist but ended as an absolutist".

Though the ~~crude~~ ~~total~~ absolute state is promoted by Hobbes, it was to protect the liberty & property of the individual & this is due to the narrow understanding of human nature. Hence Berlin calls Hobbes a "child of his time".

Remarks

6

If you need to discuss the nature of his theory not describe it

This to not be enlarged

c) Rawls a social liberal argues that rational pluralism exist in the society and men in the 'original position' under the 'veil of ignorance' can come into overlapping consensus & achieve the basic principles of justice.

Principles of justice

- a) Equal liberty for all
- b) Fair equality of opportunities
- c) Difference Principle (~~to~~ Insurance)

Thus under Rawls, the men possess a 'sense of justice' to come through the above principles.

Difference Principle

According to Rawls, perfect equality compromises the efficiency.

and the equality of outcome is not practical. Hence he proposes difference principle.

According to difference principle, inequality can exist in the society if such inequality is beneficial to the larger community.

Difference Principle acts as the insurance scheme wherein the richer class must contribute towards the upliftment of poor.

Greater gain of many must compensate for the lesser loss of many, only then the justice as fairness will be achieved. The difference principle is evident in progressive taxation, corporate social responsibility (CSR) etc.

Remarks

when is critiqued
re and relevance
of CSR theory

(7)