

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Time Allowed: 3 hr.

Max. Marks: 250

Instructions to Candidate

116

- 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.

→ your level of knowledge is good
→ keep this momentum
→ always write criticism
→ write proper conclusion
→ do write modern political science
comm like Panchajanya, Bhanu, Gopal Singh
etc

1. Invigilator's Signature _____

2. Invigilator's Signature _____

Name Abhijeet Bhanawat

Mobile No. _____

Date _____

Signature Abhijeet

REMARKS

GS SCORE

SECTION-A

Attempt all questions:

1. Answer the following questions in about 100 words each:

(10 × 5 = 50)

- "State is a natural and organic compound." (Aristotle)
- "Karl Marx found Communism a chaos and left it a movement."
- "Will not force is the basis of the State." (T.H. Green)
- "It is better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied" (J.S. Mill)
- Features of ancient Indian Political Thought.

(a) Aristotle belongs to the Socratic school and gives primacy to state over an individual. He has traced the origin of state in the needs of man.

Aristotle believes that state is natural and organic because it fulfills the needs of man. For lower level needs, man creates family, but still some needs are not fulfilled. For these, he creates villages, but still some higher order needs remain. Thus, man creates states to fulfill these higher order needs.

Aristotle also considers man to be a political animal, and thus state is a natural requirement to fulfill the true

write man
progressive
man-family-
state

Remarks

Key words: State is like human organism

nature of man.

Aristotle's analysis is based on his empirical method of observation. However, unlike Plato, he does not give radical views and believes in the principle of golden mean. Thus, he advocates rule of middle classes (against Plato's Philosopher king) and ~~also~~ has faith in the institutions of family and property.

(b) In the history of Communism and Socialism, Marx is considered as a watershed who marks a complete shift from earlier approach.

Ever since the evils of capitalism started surfacing, attempts were made by early socialists like Saint Simon, Charles Fourier, etc. to present an alternative. However, their attempts lacked proper direction and lacked an indepth understanding of capitalism. For this, Marx called them "utopians". They also

Remarks

lacked a program of action.

Marx, in this context, tried to provide a scientific understanding of capitalism based on historical and dialectical materialism.

Thus, he traced the roots of workers' exploitation in the mad search of profits based on markets.

He not only provided an understanding of the problem, but also gave a course of action according to which such evils of capitalism could be cured. He gave a clarion call to the workers to unite as "they had nothing to lose but their chains". He even inspired a violent revolution as "violence is the midwife of change". (4)

Thus, in the story of communism, Marx tried to convert the chaos he found into an orderly movement for the achievement of the Communist ideal.

* Answer is not complete

- > details about Lenin and Mao, Rosa Luxemburg
- > hit directly the question without making any bandy.

Remarks

(c) Through this statement, T.H. Green has tried to underline the basis of legitimacy of state power. Green believes that will of man is behind state power.

This view follows a long list of scholars who have identified different bases for legitimacy of state. Ancient Greek scholars like Aristotle considered state to be rooted in the needs of man.

Hobbes identifies fear in man as the basis of state. Locke, on the other hand believes states to be a ~~matter of convenience~~ trust, created to remove inconveniences faced in state of nature.

It was Marx who held that force is the basis of state legitimacy and that "state is the executive committee of the bourgeoisie".

Green, who is a positive liberal counters this and states that will of the

Remarks

people in behind state legitimacy. According to Lygreen, "state commands because it serves". Lygreen also states that the job of state is to hinder the hindrances. ✓ (4)

Thus, Lygreen's analysis has ~~g~~ added greater depth to the debate on state legitimacy. ✓
 ↳ discards political obligation
 ⇒ discards green morality concept.

(d) JS Mill has given this statement to go against ~~the~~ Bentham's views on Utilitarianism.

Bentham believed that man is guided by two sovereign masters: pleasures and pain. pain and that man has no capacity to understand pain of others. ✓

Bentham also believed that pleasure only has quantity, and no quality. In his words, "pushpin is as good as poetry". ✓

Bentham ~~prescribed~~ prescribed utility as the yardstick for all ethical considerations and suggested "greatest Happiness for greatest Number" as state policy imperative.

Remarks

Mill counters this view of Hegel. While remaining a utilitarian, Mill gives a wider meaning to utility, "rooted in the permanent interests of a man as a progressive being".

According to Mill, pleasure has both quantity as well as quality, and that one kind of pleasure differs from others. In this context he said that, "It is better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied".

Good

6

Thus, Mill tries to bring elements of idealism to cure the ills of Bentham's utilitarianism. For this he has even been called as "Peter who defied his master".

Discuss :- present relevance
write criticism also
mill has broadened the utilitarian
doctrine

Remarks

e) Unlike the west, Indians had never viewed things in dichotomies (e.g. religion vs state, liberty vs equality). Thus, ancient Indian Political analysis is a part of overall analysis of life rooted in religious philosophy.

Ancient Indian Political Thought has been described as Other-worldly, cosmopolitan, and marked with continuity.

There are two distinct streams of Political thought: Buddhist & Hinduism.

Buddhist political thought is a republican thought marked by democratic sanghas. It considers king to be a conqueror of hearts and denounces violence. It links origin of state with solidification of matter and origin of private property.

Hindu political thought can be understood through two broad divisions:

Dharmashastras & Dandashastras. Manusmriti represents the former while Arthashastra represents the latter.

Both deal with the 4 Purusharthas: Dharma, Artha, Kaam & Moksha though the extent is different. Manusmriti is more focussed on Dharma & Moksha, while Arthashastra gives more importance to material world, prescribing Realist methods for state.

In the whole we can say that ancient Indian Political thought takes an integrated view of life and give analysis accordingly.

- if possible write this type of question
- Point wise
- discuss Jainism, different Indian Philosophical schools like Mimamsa, Yoga, Charvak etc
- conclude by saying Indian society pass was glorious and need to revive it.

3/2

Remarks

2. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Examine the notion of Vita Activa by Arendt? Why does she emphasize so much on "Acting in concert"? (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Comment on the overall nature of Foreign policy as advocated by Kautilya. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Analyze how Gramsci's observation of Superstructure is not only an extension of Marxist viewpoint but also an improvement of the same. (250 Words) (20)

(a) Hannah Arendt has been described as an "unorthodox thinker" having "thinking without barriers". She has given novel analysis of existing concepts giving new interpretations to commonly accepted terms. Though her thinking is without barriers, we can find a core concern for civic republicanism and citizen participation throughout her works. ✓

In this context, she has divided action into two categories: Vita Contemplativa (Thinking) and Vita Activa (Action). She prioritises action over thinking. She further divides Vita Activa into three types. First the work basic to our survival (Animal Laborans). Second is related to works unique to humans like jobs (Homo Faber)

Remarks

and there is 'Action' which relates to political participation and makes a man "zoon politikon", a political animal.

Thus, the notion of Vita Activa aims to highlight that only active political participation can help in achieving our true nature as political animals. This is also vital, according to Arendt, in stopping the emergence of fascist and totalitarian regimes.

Arendt has given the notion of 'Acting in concert' in relation with her analysis of power. She believes that distinguishes power from force and strength and believes that power is a social phenomenon which emerges when people "act in concert" and participate in civic affairs. She believes that we are powerless in our individual domains.

Thus, ~~she~~ continuing with vita activa, she believes that 'acting in concert' is the

Remarks

way forward in being productive members of society, ~~and~~ fulfilling our being as soon politicians and checking totalitarian tendencies.
 ↳ do not write criticism: excessively enthusiastic conclusion.

(b) Kautilya's Arthashastra is considered as the 'science of politics'. It belongs to the ancient Indian political thought and presents the realist viewpoint.

Marking a continuity with the Dharmashastras, Kautilya gives a holistic analysis of the four purusharthas, but his focus is more on the material aspects, particularly Artha.

Kautilya believes that 'Artha' is the source of all happiness (even spiritual) and thus king should try to acquire more land (since land was the primary source of Artha in ancient times).

For this, Kautilya has given a detailed analysis of foreign policy. He calls international

Remarks

relations as 'Matsya nyaya' where bigger fish eats the smaller fish. He also calls it 'jungle raj' where strength of the lion prevails.

He describes the Mandala Siddhant, the Shadgunya Siddhant and the fourfold policy (Saam - Daam - Dand - Bhed) to win wars. He even describes in detail the use of diplomats, women and spies to gain leverage. He considers the neighbours as natural enemy and prescribes readiness for war.

Thus, the overall nature of Kautilya's foreign policy can be termed as Realist, which keeps national interests supreme and distinguishes between conventional morality and morality for the ruling class. Similar articulation of views as Kautilya can also be found in the works of Machiavelli and Sun Tzu.

- discuss his concern of diplomacy.
- discuss different upayas
- critical: excessively realist

Remarks

whereas in modern time it is about ethics in I.R also and there is something called world order

(c) Gramsci is considered as the second most important personality in Marxism after Marx himself. In his "Prison Notebooks", he has tried to analyse why Marx's predictions of revolution were not coming true.

No need to prioritize

Marx had build his theory based on the Base-superstructure model of society where economy formed the basic structure and all other structures like religion, school, etc. were part of superstructure. Marx held that changing the economic structure (capitalist to socialist) was the key in emancipation of the masses!

Gramsci, however, differed from Marx. Building on Marx's theory, Gramsci held that Marx had ignored the role of cultural factors and intellectuals. He gave a three layered model of society wherein economy and civil society (Integral state) formed the basic structure. ~~That~~

Remarks

Thus, merely changing the economic structure is not ~~enough~~ enough. Proletarians also has to build legitimacy for its rule, to for which capturing the civil society is necessary.

Gramsci suggests workers to have their own organic intellectuals to can manufacture consent and workers should also try to get the support of as many traditional intellectuals as possible because "intellectuals are the deputies of the ruling class". He busts the myth of neutrality of intellectual class and highlights their role in building hegemony.

Based on this analysis, Gramsci suggests that Marxian Revolution has to be brought in two stages: First is War of Position, to build support for workers' rule through intellectuals, and second is the War of Manoeuvring, to actually capture the power structures.

Thus, Gramsci has given a more detailed view of Marx's base superstructure theory by highlighting the importance of cultural factors. Gramsci's analysis is based on Marx's works and improves it further. This way, Gramsci has also prevented Marxism from becoming a crude economic determinism.

to give more attention to workers about base theory.

criticism - also

Raymond Williams, Stuart

and model theory

3. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Examine the modifications made by J.S. Mill on Bentham's Utilitarianism. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) "A wise prince then seeks advice continually but when it suits him and not when it suits somebody else." (Machiavelli) (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Provide a detailed scholarly and critical examination of Leviathan and its ideas. (250 Words) (20)

(a) J.S. Mill was the disciple of Bentham, who is considered as the fore-runner of Utilitarianism. Mill ~~is~~ stays a Utilitarian, but has interpreted utilitarianism differently than Bentham.

Bentham considered that man is governed by two sovereign masters: pleasure and pain. Man, thus tries to maximize pleasure and minimize pain. Hence 'greatest happiness for the greatest number' is the Bentham's prescription for state policy. He also believed that pleasure only has quantity and no qualitative aspect. In his words, "Pleasure is as good as poetry", and utility ~~is~~ yardstick for morality.

But since these ideas proved very exploitative in practice, Mill has tried to defend utilitarianism by reinterpreting it

Remarks

in the context of idealism. Thus, Mill believes that pleasure has both quantity and quality. He also believes that 'utility has to be in its widest sense, grounded in the moral nature of man. He believes that man can understand others' pleasure and man.

(72) This way Mill has changed utilitarianism. Some scholars even consider Mill as "Peter who defied his master", because he changed the very foundations of utilitarianism.

To conclude, it can be said that Mill has tried to keep utilitarianism relevant by looking for solutions in idealism.

- (b) Machiavelli's "Prince" is considered as the greatest work on statecraft. The work is considered as the formal beginning of the Realist school of thought. His advices to the aspiring rulers are based on his own experiences as a diplomat and political conditions of Italy at that time.

Remarks

He has used the historical approach of analysis along with empirical observations. He takes a very pessimistic view of human nature and considers man as fickle minded, deceitful and greedy.

Thus, he advises the Prince to take care of human nature and deal with others accordingly. Prince should always be in control and he should be feared because "people love at their own will, but fear at the will of the Prince". Prince should follow ethical considerations only so far as they do not tamper national interest.

Prince should keep national interest supreme and must use his own mind to evaluate different opinions. Prince should also be like a "lion and fox", should be cold blooded, and should shower benefits gradually on the people. If necessity arises to punish someone, he should not leave them in a capacity to take revenge, "because man

Remarks

can forget the death of his father but not the loss of his property.

All in all, we can see that Machiavelli has tried to give a prescription based on reality on politics. However, he has been criticized as "narrowly dated and located" and (Sabine) and as a "child of darkness". But we can find similar views in the works of Kautilya (Arthashastra) and Sun Tzu (Art of War), who differed greatly in space and time.

Machiavelli has also been called a "child of his times" by Laski because of influence of his time on his worldview.

- doubt standing of morality
- self-interest political expediency
- write criticism
- key words

Remarks

(c) Leviathan (literally a monster) written by Thomas Hobbes is not only a seminal work in political theory but also a masterpiece in English literature. In this, Hobbes gives his theory of state based on his analysis of human nature, his ideas on rights and purpose of state.

Due to his times of anarchy and chaos, Hobbes takes a very gloomy view of mankind and human nature. He believes that all men are guided by pleasure and that all are same. He uses Galileo's Resolutive - Compositive method to prove this by explaining the movement of particles in brain.

Thus, Hobbesian State of Nature is a "state of war of all against all" and there is no scope of "art & letter, navigation and industry". Hobbes then uses the social contract approach to explain the formation of an absolute state for preservation of life.

Remarks

Preservation of Life is the central concern of Leviathan. Thus, Hobbes states that to avoid danger of to life in state of nature, people entered into a single contract to become social as well political. And transferred all their rights to an all powerful state (Leviathan) whose main task is protection of life. This transfer is permanent and cannot be reversed.

Hobbes justifies the absolute powers of the state by stating "covenants without swords are nothing but words." He even gives people the right to revolt if the state fails in its duty of preservation of life.

Regarding rights, Hobbes believes that state is the source of rights. In his words, "liberty is where law is silent."

The greatest contribution of Leviathan is the idea of state sovereignty. Unlike Jean Bodin, who held state to be sovereign in

Remarks

the secular sphere only, Hobbes has given the complete idea of sovereignty covering all domains.

CB McPherson, ~~call for~~ calls Hobbes as a scholar of "bourgeois classes" for his views. The church had banned Leviathan and called Hobbes a devil.

10" Later scholars like Locke took a different approach to state and by creating a limited state rooted in reason in man.

However, Hobbes' Leviathan is indispensable if we wish to understand the workings of the modern states. His analysis is particularly useful in International Relations studies where there are no state like institution. It is for this reason that Marx called Hobbes as "father of all of us".

→ write hobbes background and reason for support to British
writing

→ he was true Polish nationalist

SECTION-B

Attempt all questions:

5. Comment on the following into 150 words:

(10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) Political Obligation as per Hobbes
- (b) Nature and Scope of Political Science.
- (c) Machiavelli's views on human nature.
- (d) "Law of nature is the dictate to right reason." (Hobbes)
- (e) "Plato's republic is a university, a family and a church."

(a) Political Obligation signifies the idea behind state power, e.g. Aristotle traces origin of state in the needs of man.

Likewise, in his book 'Leviathan', Hobbes identifies "fear in man" as the basis of authority of state and as the basis of Political Obligation.

Hobbes ~~but~~ describes state of nature as a "war of all against all", ~~with~~ because of insatiable need of power in man. In such a condition, danger to life is always there and there is no scope for art, letters, navigation and industry.

Remarks

Hence, to preserve life, man creates an absolute state (Leviathan) and transfers all his rights to it. An absolute state will ensure preservation of life.

4

Thus, Hobbes justifies his absolute state on the basis of fear in man related to his preservation of life.

- human - self-interest, distrustful
- very partial observer: historical reason

(b) "Political Science is a master science, architect in its character, from which other practical sciences take their cue."

- Barker

Political Science deals with the state and its associated activities. Its nature has undergone evolution. Ancient Greek scholars Plato & Socrates considered it to be a "normative discipline", as a part of philosophy.

Machiavelli in modern times made empiricism a part of political theory. Behaviour

Remarks

tried to convert ~~that~~ it into a "pure science".
Post-Behaviouralists represented a synthesis of scientific approach with the traditional approach. With Rawls, there has also been a revival of normative approach in Political Science.

Now, with the emergence of Post-modernism and Foucault's idea of discourse, Political Science is considered as an interpretative discipline.

Political Science has great scope in making human lives meaningful. It directly deals with concepts like justice, liberty, equality which have a universal bearing. It explains and theorizes social movements, political activities and international relations. And most importantly, it has given concepts like Human Rights which guide the mankind in making human lives more dignified.

It is possible write in points

(c) Machiavelli is considered as the originator of Realist school of thought in modern times. As a realist, he is considered as a 'child of darkness' and takes a very pessimistic view of human nature.

His analysis is based on analysing history and his empirical observations as a diplomat. He was also affected by the chaos prevailing in Italy at that time.

Machiavelli believes that man is deceitful, greedy, power-hungry, fickle-minded and ever-changing. Machiavelli in his book advises the prince not to make a profession of goodness because he is surrounded by people who are not so good.

He advises the Prince to be cold blooded and that he should be feared, not loved, because "man loves at his own will but fears at the will of the prince". He advises Prince to give benefits to people slowly.

Remarks

so that they remain dependent on him.

Regarding Punishment, Machiavelli believes it is better to crush ^{completely} than to leave a man to take revenge, ~~he~~ because "man can forget the death of his father, but not the loss of his property".

(5)

We find similar views in Kautilya's Arthashastra and in Sun Tzu's Art of War, thus giving broader acceptance to Machiavelli's analysis.

(c) ~~Plato is~~
 According to Emerson, "Plato is philosophy and philosophy is Plato". This highlights the central position of Plato in western political thought.

Plato's work "Republic" is a masterpiece dealing with a wide array of subjects. Plato's core concern was to make Athens a virtuous state. Thus, he proposes a complete overhaul of the political and social system of Athens.

He roots his system of education in qualities of soul. He includes ^{study of} all disciplines and suggest that Philosopher king will finally emerge who can make Athens great. He even prescribes communism of property and family ^{for ruling class} which he considers as the main factors behind corruption. He does not allow private property and family and states

Remarks

that state will take care of the children
 He also permits marriage ^{only} between the
 ablest of men and women for the
 emergence of best-race.

(5) Thus, we can say that Plato's
 Republic is a comprehensive work dealing
 with all aspects of political and social
 life, making it the ref. reference point
 for all future works.

Good
 → always keep Plato main objective
 ideal state in centre than
 build the argument

8. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Sarvodaya and Socialism. Compare. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Do you think Popper's critique of Plato was justified? Provide arguments. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Rawls discovered a method for making procedural justice an instrument of meeting the requirements of substantive justice. (250 Words) (20)

Socialism as a school of thought emerged in res critique of capitalism, while Sarvodaya, given in Gandhi's book of the same name, has been described as Gandhi's approach to socialism.

Both are rooted in equality. Socialism tries to liberate workers from exploitation while Sarvodaya is about an approach to ensure developmental and state activities benefit all, and particularly the last man in society.

~~Socialism believes in state ownership~~

Socialism has been developed in the works of socialists like Charles Fourier, Marx, etc., while Gandhi's Sarvodaya has been inspired from Leo Tolstoy's "Unto this last".

Remarks

While both aim to end exploitation, their methods are different. Socialists follow a state-led approach and want to use modern science and industries to generate wealth for distribution.

Sarvodaya, on the other hand is based on the principles of "bread-labour" and "trusteeship", i.e. on the recognition of 6 the dignity of work and on the belief that owners of property/wealth consider themselves as trustees. Gandhi is also against modern machineries and prefers village-level handicraft industries. Gandhi is also against state and considers it to be ~~an~~ an indication of man's weakness.

While socialism got implemented in various forms and degrees in states like USSR, Sarvodaya has been adopted as a guiding principle in Indian ~~political~~ policy making.

Remarks) first define both the terms

→ write ~~about~~ sarvodaya of concept
Not only Gandhi but even Jay Prakash
also talked about Sarvodaya.
2. How important it.

(b) Karl Popper, in his book, 'Open Societies and its Enemies' has described Plato as an enemy of open society and as the first fascist.

~~In the first volume~~
Popper has dedicated an entire volume of the book titled "Shell of Plato" to bring out his criticism of Plato.

Popper, who is a liberal believes in all the virtues of a democratic society with the freedoms of speech and expression. He Plato, on the other hand, hated democracy because of treatment of Socrates. Plato, prescribes an absolute state, with all powers in the hands of a philosopher king. Popper believes this idea to be the precursor of fascism. in which leader commanded unquestioning authority. He even accused Plato to be venturing to become the king himself.

Moreover, Popper is an advocate of "piece-meal social engineering", in place of

Remarks

holism advocated in Plato's works. Plato has revised all the social structures like family, marriage, property, education, at once to provide a radical new order, which Popper thinks is not practical.

Thus, Popper believes that it is only because of tradition that Plato commands so much respect, and not because of merits in Plato's arguments.

However "Rajeev Bhargava" considers Popper's attack to be ideologically motivated, and not unbiased. Levinson has defended Plato in his work, "In Defense of Plato", saying that it is not correct to compare Plato with totalitarians and fascists owing to the vast difference in space and time. Also, Plato's prime interest was to make Athens a virtuous state, and not to ~~force~~ force it into anarchy.

Remarks

Thus, whatever may be Popper's criticism against Plato, he himself recognizes the centrality of Plato's ideas by stating that "one can either be Platonic or anti-Platonic, but can never be non-Platonic" and Whytehead is correct when he states that "the entire history of western political thought is nothing but footnotes to Plato and Aristotle." Good attempt

(c) Rawls is considered as the greatest political philosopher of the 20th century, and his work "Justice as fairness" has become the reference point for all later works on justice.

Rawls is inspired from the Kantian ideal of human dignity and tries to give a universal theory of justice. He assumes an "original position" where people under "a veil of ignorance" deliberating with

Remarks

'Reflexive equilibrium' arrive at three principles of justice. The principles, in lexicographical order are: Equal liberty for all, equality of opportunity and Difference principle.

Rawls stipulates maximum possible liberty for all so that merit may get honoured. Equality of opportunity is meant to ensure that ~~see~~ things like social standing do not affect opportunities and that whatever inequalities remain afterwards are a product of fair equality of opportunity and are thus justified. Difference Principle is aimed at safeguarding the interests of the most backward. Rawls believes that the advantaged people are moral and ~~that~~ understand that the weakest link of society is as important as the strongest link.

Thus, by providing a procedural framework of justice wherein institutions are designed in a way to minimize inequalities, Rawls has found a way to ensure

Remarks

substantive justice where human dignity does not get violated and everyone gets a chance to improve their social standing.

However, Rawls ideas have been criticized ~~on~~ by various scholars. Social Liberal Amartya Sen doesn't believe Rawls ideas to be practical as these are based on ideal men choosing in ideal circumstances.

Communitarians ^{like Rawls - Rawls - Rawls etc} subscribe to community based notions of substantive justice and believe that there cannot be universal idea of procedural & substantive justice.

Feminists like Carole Gilligan accuse Rawls of ignoring women thereby making the idea of justice incomplete. Likewise Neo-Liberals like Nozick think that Rawls has compromised with the substantive idea of justice by compromising liberty for equality.

Remarks

On the whole, we can say that Rawls ideas have triggered a wide ranging debate, making our understanding of procedural and substantive democracy more deeper.



