

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.

(107)

Understanding is good but it is not really reflected in content

Name MATTHEWS M. S. Jagan
Mobile No. _____
Date _____
Signature [Signature]

1. Invigilator Signature _____

2. Invigilator Signature _____

REMARKS

GS SCORE

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SECTION A

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

(10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) Major theories on Democracy
- (b) Gender Identity Interface
- (c) Representative Democracy
- (d) Notion of liberty in Indian political thinking
- (e) Equality of Resources.

1. a) Andrew Heywood ~~is~~ defines Democracy as any form of government where the ultimate authority is vested with the people.

Major Theories of Democracy are:

1) CLASSICAL theory, which draws from the work of Aristotle, Plato and ancient Greek philosophers. Emphasis is on the participation and deliberation by freemen (citizens). It is a 'direct democracy', where all citizens directly work on government.

2) ELITIST theory, which can be seen in works of Pareto, Mosca and Michels. They argue elite domination is either an inevitable or desirable feature of

Remarks

of a democracy.

3) MARXIST theory, argues that the state is a class institution, and it is a 'false democracy'. True democracy will work only when all are equal and classes are abolished.

4) PLURALIST theory of Dahl and Lindblom ~~arg~~ posits that 'groups' are the fundamental unit, and power is well dispersed. It results in a "Polyarchy", the rule of the many rather than rule of all.

5) Thus, the theory of democracy is wide and diverse.

while you contentiv
part, you also need
to talk about political
developmental
theory.

b) 'Gender Identity interface' is a key component of feminist theory. It posits that women are not a homogenous bloc, ~~of~~ but each woman must be located within

a matrix of identities.

It is crucial because, it is often much easier to mobilise women on the basis of other identification markers, than their own gender. For example, Urvashi Menon argues, in India, 'women's movements' were essentially based on 'religion', as in Muslim Women's Bill / Temple Talag protests or other factors like 'environment's livelihood' as seen in Chipko.

This is essential for

- ① Mobilising women, even those entrenched in patriarchal ideology
- ② Prevent cooption by the state or patriarchal social order
eg: Muslim Women's Bill movement hijacked by right wing groups.

Thus, Gender Identity interface is ~~esse~~ key to understand the situation of women better.

Remarks

Good understanding
 • include 1-2 more examples as to how understanding of other

9 Representative Democracy is the ~~an~~ 'indirect' form of democracy, where the people exercise their sovereignty through votes and electing their preferred 'representatives'.

Apart from Classical Greece and some political systems as in Switzerland, almost all liberal Democracies have accepted 'Representative' systems. It allows for political division of labour. It provides for political administration by the experts. Quentin

Quentin Skinner argues that most people want to be left alone to live their lives, and 'indirect' form allows for specialisation and efficiency.

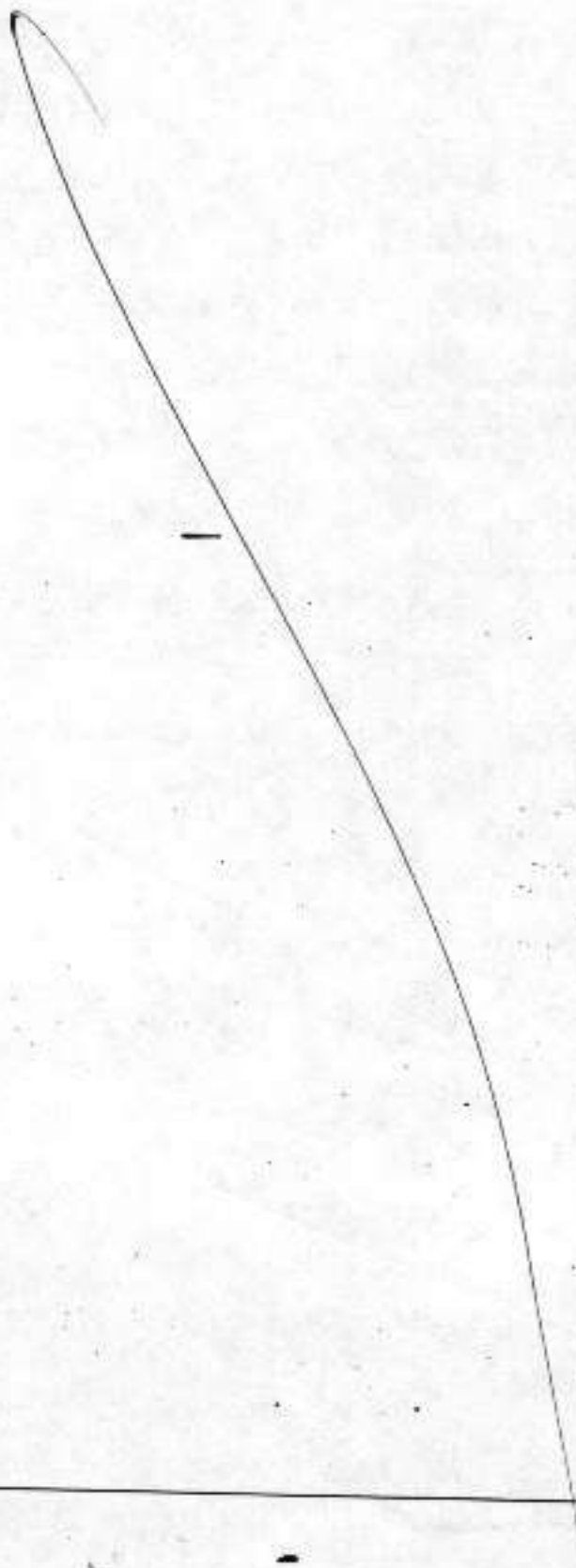
It is of numerous varieties, like FPTP system focussing on individual candidates, Hare's system, Party list system, etc.

Remarks

It has been criticised by many. Hannah Arendt called it 'epuodic acts of freedom' and preferred a participatory democracy. Michael Sandel says only when people directly participate, their 'sense of community' (sensus communis) is developed. Habermas calls for deliberative democracy, where discussion and debate are prioritised.

However, representative form has been recognised as the most practicable form of government.

d) 4) you need to elaborate on the conditions necessary for its successful functioning
 also try to point out drawbacks of functional members



Remarks

e) Equality of Resources is an idea propounded by Ronald Dworkin in his book "Sovereign Virtue".

There are various degrees of ~~des~~ equality - Equality of Persons, Opportunity, Conditions and Outcomes. Present liberal democracies work only on equality of persons, while Communist-Leninist system works worked on equality of outcomes. Both are considered sub-optimal. ~~E~~

Even though liberal democracy call for equality of opportunity, in practice it is never equal, because people are unequal in mental, ~~and~~ physical and material resources. Dworkin argues that Rawls' 'Difference Principle' does not create a 'fair equality of opportunity' for the same reason.

Instead, he calls for 'Equality of resources' for all. It does not mean literal equalization, and some elements in the bundle of resources maybe greater or lesser. This should be checked through "ENVY TEST".

Dworkin's analysis proves to be a meaningful critique and addition to Rawlsian Social Justice.

(4) You need to write more in Dworkin's views specially regarding option luck & Burke's rule

Remarks

2. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Explain Equality as a normative ideal for society with help of views of scholars. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Hannah Arendt's views on Banality of Evil. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Discuss in detail the views of Foucault on power with special reference to its novel or unique aspects. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

2. a) As Dworkin's ~~title~~ book's title says "Equality is a sovereign virtue". It is defined as "treating individuals equally, until ~~some~~ need, capacity, or merit demands the contrary."

Bryan Turner in his book "Equality" argues that it has always been a normative ideal of the society, which might vary from simple legal equality, political equality of opportunity, economic equality of persons, etc.

Liberal scholars like Lasch place Equality at the heart of democratic virtues. It stems from individual's reason and dignity. It ensures all humans have a

Remarks

chance to develop their individuality and attain their best self.

However, Equality as an ideal has been rejected by many scholars. David Hume called it the "philosophy of poverty" because it erodes spontaneous respect for merit and achievement.

Isaiah Berlin in "Two concepts of liberty" say that ~~or~~ some may not be able to "Fly like an eagle or swim like a whale". But it is only natural because of natural differences among humans.

Nozick attributes all social inequalities to natural talents, and ~~for~~ since individuals are "self owners", any attempt by the state to forcibly achieve equality ~~is~~ will be unjust.

Yet, as Dworkin points out, Equality is essential for the stability

Remarks

Good diverse analysis but did not answer without complete view of Samuel Schiffler who describes equality as a normative social, political & economic ideal.

of any society. It is at the heart of all contemporary theories of justice; and must be considered a equal complement to the ideal of liberty.

(84) = (9)

b) Hannah Arendt's views on Banality of Evil was given in her work "On Totalitarianism". It was a creative critique of the "twin" "tragedies" of Nazism and Stalinism of the 20th century.

In her work "Eichmann in Jerusalem" she analysed the ~~indifference~~ "banality" of Eichmann during his trials for Nazi war crimes. This prompted Arendt to posit that the large magnitude of the horrors of Nazism & Stalinism has destroyed the prevailing standards of judgement.

"Public space" of political activity was destroyed because of

Remarks

c) Foucault transformed "power's" theoretical landscape away from Weberian and Nietzsche models. It is best seen in his works like Madness and Civilisation, History of Sexuality, etc.

~~For~~ He opposed the prevalent notions of power as a destructive force. He says it is a constructive and creative force. It creates "identity" and "subjectivity" within individuals.

Power is not expressed in episodic actions of domination. "Power is capillary". Power is everywhere, flowing like blood through the body-politic.

He opines that "Knowledge is power" (savoir - pouvoir). Power produces knowledge, and knowledge reproduces ~~for~~ power. "Knowledge" is not a quest for truth or right or wrong, but it is determining the standards of judgement within the people. This is achieved by intellectuals like "Doctors and scientists".

This internalises coercion, like in Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon. It helps create "governmentality", through BIOPOWER, a body of knowledge which guides individual actions.

He was influenced by Gramsci's ideas of hegemony and organic intellectuals.

Power, for Foucault is an everyday phenomena, an essential

part of everyman's life

This theory ~~to~~ influenced scholars like Derrida, for ~~his~~ his ideas of deconstruction and double reading.

However, it has been criticised by scholars like Martha Nussbaum as "Power being wildly exaggerated".

Yet, ~~that~~, Foucault's ideas were a landmark in theorising about power.

→ your other
rules a lot of
key words
→ Governmentality (with no-)
Productive, Restive &
disciplinary aspects of
Power (with no-)
Concept (brief usage
of Panopticon)

①

Remarks

Remarks

3. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Discuss the notion of Global Justice with special reference to views of Thomas Pogge. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Discuss in detail the Sapt-Anga of a state as per views of Kautilya. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) What is political theory how it is different from Political thought? Discuss Easton understanding of decline of Political theory? Examine. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

Remarks

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Remarks

4. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Analyse the origin and theoretical justification for "Natural Rights"? What kind of relationship does it enjoy with Human Rights? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Draw parallels between Arthashastra tradition and the 'Realist' tradition represented by Machiavelli. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) What is Affirmative action? What are the major arguments for its continuation and abolition? (250 Words) (20 Marks)

4 a) Natural Rights or the 'Rights of Nature' are a staple in liberal theory, which postulates that men ~~have~~ enjoy certain rights due to his human nature, even outside the state and civil society.

Its origin and theoretical justification ~~belongs to~~ ^{has} two schools:

① CONTRACTARIAN: The Rights of Nature are maintained by the social contract. Its theoretical justification is government through consent for Locke, the covenant for Hobbes and the 'general will' for Rousseau.

② TELEOLOGICAL: It is best seen

Remarks

in writings of TH Green and Thomas Paine. Rights ~~are~~ stem from the moral nature of man itself.

It is linked to the ultimate object of human life, which is developing individuality and self-realisation.

It is intensively linked to (human rights) because both ~~is~~ are linked to one's humanity. Both are considered inalienable and enjoyed by all despite their citizenship, nationality, sex, etc. Both are directed against the state circumscribing its powers.

However, Natural rights "is disputed because any form of "right" presupposes ^{the} a state to protect them, and should be recognised by the society. Pre-society & pre-political rights are a contradiction. Human Rights are in tune.

Remarks

as what I would be this
 also philosophically justified
 when there is no recog.
 society to state to
 "it" no protect it

Include Bottom
 of
 N.R.

with political reality, where ~~it~~ the responsibility to protect it is placed on the state by the international community. Thus, it can be considered more practically relevant than natural rights.

8
 50
 gain understanding of convergence & divergence of NR & NR

Kautilya's Arthashastra attributed to 3rd century BC is a political treatise of ten "mandalas" or volumes. Due to its "realist" perspective, it is compared to Machiavelli's Prince. Henry Kissinger called it a "combination of Machiavelli and Clausewitz".

Both aim to be a practical guide to the ruler, with Arthashastra aiming to create a unified and powerful Mauryan Empire, while the 'Prince' is directed to the Medic ruler of Florence.

Remarks

Both are amoral in the use of ruthless tactics. The state is said to be above the individual. They aim to create a strong monarchy, where power is concentrated with the ruler.

Religion and social traditions are circumscribed within and below the state.

However, both had important differences too. Arthashastra aims to direct the private life of the ruler too, by advocating a virtuous life. Machiavelli leaves focus on the public aspects. Social orders 'Dharma' ~~and~~ are key priorities in the Arthashastra. It exhorts the ruler to provide a "good life" to its citizens. "In the happiness of the subject, lies the happiness of the king".

Also Arthashastra advocates

Remarks

brutal measures like poisoning, spying, etc. which provoked Weber to call Kautilya "More Machiavelian than Machiavelli"

Thus, even though both were true to 'Realist' tradition,

their ideas were unique

In what sense is the Prince different from Aristocrats (king) & what role does welfare play in the two theories?

Affirmative Action refers to "Positive Discrimination" by the state in order to ensure fair equality of opportunity to the underprivileged sections of the society.

Arguments for:

- Social inequalities are inherited by the future generations, like the discrimination on the basis of colour or caste.
- Equality of persons in strict

Remarks

legal terms is "ineffective because as VR Krishna Iyer said "law barks at all but bites only the poor."

- Economic inequality is widening with the wealthy inheriting most of their wealth, and poor inheriting debt and poor living standards, creating a vicious cycle.

Arguments Against:

- Lord Acton said that it would lead to expansion of state's power for discretion leading to loss of individual space.
- Nozick argues that all social inequalities are the product of natural differences in talent and hard work, and since individuals are "self owners", redistribution is patently unjust.
- It is against substantive justice because it discriminates the present generation for the sins of the past.

Remarks

- Its benefits are cornered by an influential minority. eg: Dominant ^{elite} ~~caste~~ groups within the weaker section.
- leads to an erosion of professional standards and efficiency.

However, affirmative action is in tune with all contemporary theories of justice, and hence has been added to ^{most} ~~all~~ modern political systems.

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You need to discuss some of the controversial issues like Affirmative Action like Dalits in India & Blacks in USA

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Remarks

SECTION B

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

(10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) Fascism as Adventurer's Philosophy - Sabine.
- (b) Challenges being faced by feminism.
- (c) Aurobindo on Nationalism
- (d) Luck Egalitarianism
- (e) Normative conception of political theory

5 a) ~~Fascism~~ Fascism was defined by Gentile as "Everything for the state, nothing against the state". Sabine called it an 'Adventurer's Philosophy' because it was a mixture of incongruous elements without a consistent philosophical or theoretical base.

In Italy, it represented an extreme form of statism. In Germany it represented extreme racism. The idea of an organically unified national community is put forward by as a "Volk". Myths and legends are used to

Remarks

promote irrationalism.

Rather than have a coherent vision, fascism had an "anti-character", i.e., it was defined by what it opposed - eg. Anti liberalism, Anti Communism, etc. It was against revolution and was supported by the middle classes, "extremism by the centre".

Thus, it was indeed an adventurer's philosophy.

(4)

b) Feminism as an ideology aimed to provide "gender sensitive lenses" for analysing societal phenomena. It faces numerous challenges today.

Feminists are not a coherent group; liberal Feminists support state action. Radical feminists considered the state "By men, for

Remarks

men" later feminists rejected the ideas of radical feminists, that they overemphasise feminine differences.

Gender-Identity interface is all-pervasive. It is easier to mobilise women on the basis of religion or caste rather than on women issues.

Patriarchal social order has coopted most women. eg: In Sabarimala issue, several women's groups were formed opposing women entry under "#Ready to wait".

Nature of the state is changing, where women are moving from "private dependence" on men to "public dependence" on the state for social benefits.

Lack of political representation seen in low parliamentary/legislative representation of 11% worldwide makes movements less effective.

Remarks

good reasoning
 Need to elaborate more on the lack of coherence within as the he pushes the challenge to the tradition.

5

However, it has proven resilient and has numerous successes too, as seen in SDG-5 being adopted worldwide for gender equality.

c) C.R. Das called Aurobindo as a "Prophet of Indian Nationalism" because of his contribution to ~~this idea~~ ^{Nationalism}. It was theorised in his works in Indu Prakash, articles like "New lamps for the Old" etc.

Aurobindo rejected the prevalent moderate theory of nationalism. He added a religious dimension to ~~the~~ Indian Nationalism. He equated Mother India with Shakti.

He ~~called~~ for overthrowing the British rule because it had

Remarks

morally and materially impoverished India. National resurgence of India is seen as inevitable, which will lead the world to a resurgent Asia.

He linked the identity of India with 'New Hinduism'. It was profoundly inspired by the 'Neo Vedantism' of Bankim Chandra and Swami Vivekananda.

Aurobindo argued that Indians had all the essential ingredients of nationalism like common history, interdependent economy and geography. He called for new methods like Swadeshi, Swarnaj, National Education and Boycott to promote it.

Pratha Chatterjee opined that Aurobindo's view was similar to European notion of "Volk", or an organically unified nation-state. It wasn't very accurate in the Indian context due to its diversity.

Remarks

You need to elaborate a bit more on the concept of amher (hooked a million states)

34
9

Bipan Chandra ~~criticized~~,
criticised Anandabindo for ~~his~~ religious
favour, paving way ~~to~~ for communalism.
However, it was important to
unify the nation against colonialism.

d) Luck Egalitarianism



Remarks

e) Normative political theory is a branch of political science which aims to find the philosophical right course of action for the polity.

It is intrinsically linked to norms and values, trying to provide a moral outlook. Its approach is subjective rather than objective. It is concerned with both the 'means' and 'end' of the state.

Its Normative conception of political theory was originally inspired by Classical Greek philosophers like Plato and Aristotle. 'State' is viewed as an ethical ideal. It was designed to be a guide for rulers and kings.

It was criticised by David Easton and Behaviouralists.

Falls out of the Mod 1024 Lectures

They argued for an empirical and scientific approach to replace deductive methodology with the inductive. They ~~was~~ preferred a value free approach and accused of normative theory of causing a 'decline in political theory'.

However, since the post-Behavioural Revolution, normative conception is now considered inevitable to prevent irrelevance, as seen in works of Rawls, Staus and Berlin.

4

you need to
talk about his views
his major
contribution

Remarks

6. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Discuss in detail the various features of Buddhist theory of State and government. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Analyse the Justification and criticisms of the notion of "Competitive Equality of Opportunity". (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) How does Gandhiji differentiate his notion of development from that of West? What role do ethics and spiritualism play in it? (250 Words) (20 Marks)

6. a) Sixth Century BC brought not only changes in the socio-religious sphere, but also in the theorising about the State and government. Buddhist theory of state can be seen in Sutta Pitaka, the five Nikayas and the Jataka.

The state is considered an essential but punitive institution, charged with imposing law and order, without which an orderly society cannot survive. The state becomes an agreement or a social contract between the government and the ruled. The contract

MS
and
punitive

Remarks

is symbolized by the institution of taxation.

Kingship is the central institution of the state. AGGANNA SUTTA of DIGHA NIKAYA theorises its origin and evolution, attributing it to a voluntary agreement among the people to prevent anarchy in a "state of nature" condition.

B.G. Gokhale theorises that upholding Dhamma in the state is the apotheosis of Dhamma and antithesis of anarchy.

A.L. Basham says that the king is the servant of god rather than of men, differing from Hindu tradition. Jataka tales ~~refer~~ equate the state to Chakravarti (the ideal universal king) or Mahasammata (the Great Elected) or the Khattiyas (the Lord of the Field).

6 Remarks

Before you
move on to views
of scholars - elaborate
- state - society
- Duties of king
- Institution of Proprietorship
- Nature of rights
equality
liberty

The distinctness of Buddhist Political ^{theory of state} ~~thought~~ is in its unique interlinkage between Dhamma, Law, Religion and the King.

b) Competitive Equality of Opportunity is a modern liberal interpretation of the ideal of Equality. It implies ensuring a fair chance for all to earn social primary goods through open competition.

It is justified on the basis that ~~competitions~~ as embodied in a race, is fair and just. The duty and role of the state is that of a judge ~~to ensure~~ or umpire, seeking to ensure that nobody cheats in the competition.

This seeks to implement 'procedural justice, because and because the "procedure" of open

Remarks

competitive equality is fair, then the resulting redistribution is also fair.

This idea is supported by scholars from Locke's and Adam Smith's tradition, like Nozick, Hayek, Friedman, etc.

However it has been severely criticised as well. Dworkin calls for equality of resources, because of inheritable advantages and disadvantages. Amartya Sen calls for a capability based approach because individuals like the handicapped ~~to~~ will never have a fair chance ~~in so~~ Rawls calls for implementing the "Difference Principle" while maintaining "equal basic liberties" and "fair equality of opportunity", which will positively discriminate ~~the~~ for the disadvantaged.

Remarks

9

you need a lot more on the arguments of those who support meritocracy

As R.H. Tawney opined, it is not enough to ensure an open road, but it must ensure an equal start. ~~or~~ Only then will Equality become an effective and universal principle.

c) Gandhiji was an ardent critic of the Western model of development and modernity. His views were described in his books like 'My Experiments with Truth', and newspaper articles in the Haryan, Young India, etc.

Gandhiji put the individual at the centre of his ideas. He called for holistic development, mental, moral and spiritual. ~~He~~ He criticised the West because it focused only on material needs. He did not

Remarks

favours an industrial model of development, because of its mass production promoting consumerism.

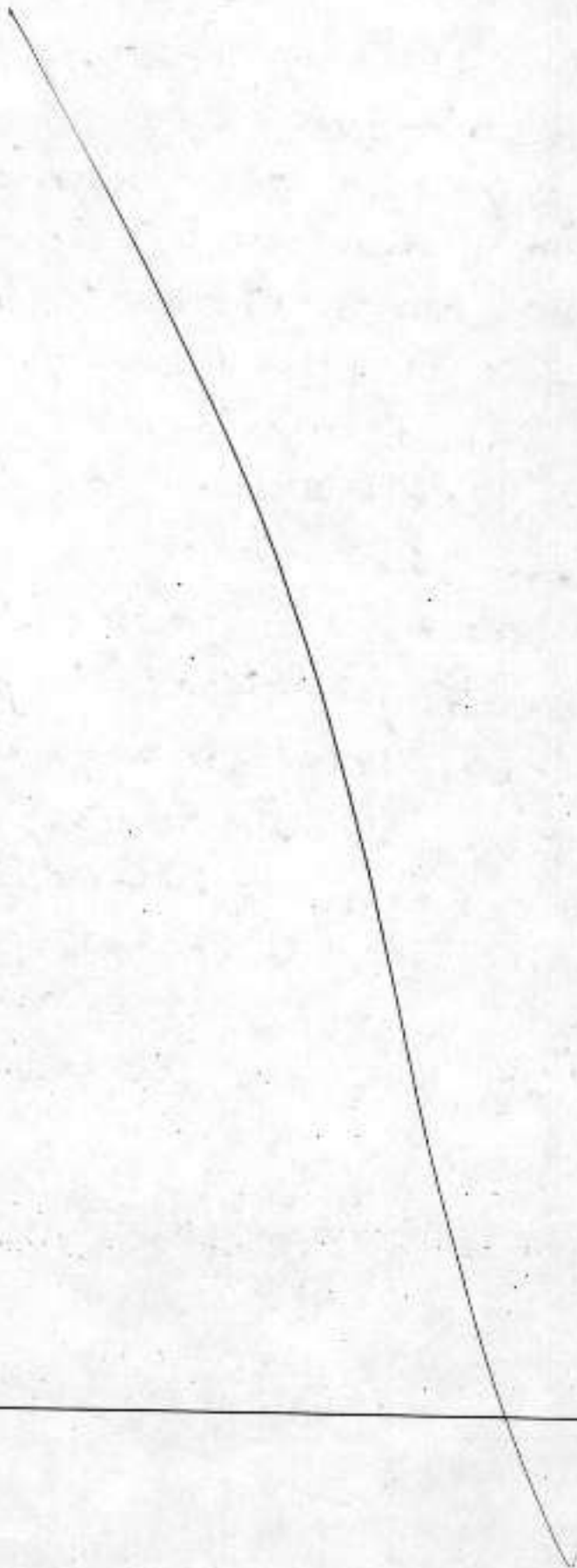
Even with the economic advances of the West, they have not eradicated poverty and the massive inequality was only widening.

Against this, Gandhiji promotes the idea of "Production by the masses", which implies labour intensive development.

Ethics and spirituality are essential components of his theory. He advocated equality of dignity and respect along with equal opportunities, as an ethical ideal. He called for spiritual "temperance", so that people consume only what they

Remarks

How does it essentially lead to reform or reform?



Remarks

7. Attempt all questions:

- (a) What are the major limitations and drawbacks of Ancient Indian Political Tradition?
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Political mobilization through internet. Discuss. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Globalization and Human rights share a deep yet paradoxical relationship. Analyse the reasons.
(250 Words) (20 Marks)

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| <i>Remarks</i> | |

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

8. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Ambedkar's criticism of Marxism in Indian Context. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Discuss the major aspects of Post-Colonial feminism. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) What are the feminist complains against the concept of participatory democracy? (250 Words) (20 Marks)

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

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| <i>Remarks</i> |

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Remarks