

R-29
D-3

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.

understanding
of all, but
content is a bit
weak. Read
more on each
to pre

104

1. Invigilator Signature _____

2. Invigilator Signature _____



Name Raspreet Singh

Mobile No. _____

Date _____

Signature Raspreet Singh

REMARK

GS SC No.

Annex

SECTION A

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

(10 × 5 = 50)

- Mill's divergence from modern notion of democracy.
- Multiculturalists' perspective on Human Rights.
- Compare Marx and Aristotle on the nature of 'Revolution'.
- Communitarian perspective of justice by Micheal Walzer.
- Notion of Counter-hegemony by Antonio Gramsci.

(C) J.S Mill is considered as the Champion of democracy. If Locke has given majoritarian model of democracy, Mill has given proportional representation model.

In his book "On Representative Government", Mill considers democracy as the second best form of government after direct democracy.

Mill was influenced by the Alexis de Tocqueville's work on democracy becoming tyranny of majority. Therefore, Mill gave prescriptions like weighted voting (more weightage to educated person's vote), voting rights in all constitutions

Remarks

where people own property, open ballot etc.

These prescriptions are not in line with the modern models of democracies. Today Universal adult franchise is the hallmark of democracy.

Also, nations are fighting to establish democracy e.g. USA's war on Iraq. In contradiction, Mill was reluctant to introduce democracy everywhere. According to Mill, Benevolent despotism is better for barbarians.

However, we have to admire Mill's advocacy for right to vote to women which is in sync with today's democratic principles.

(6)

Multiculturalism talks about the rights of minorities. ~~For~~ Multiculturalists favour the recognition of special rights of minorities especially by western societies.

emarks

Bhikhu Parekh has provided the rationale about why the rights of minorities are important. He argues that social diversity is good for society just like ecological diversity is good for environment. We can not respect someone without respecting his culture.

Will Kymlicka in his book "Multicultural Citizenship" has suggested to provide these rights i.e. Right to self representation, polyethnic rights, Right to self governance. However, he do not suggest to provide these rights to refugees & immigrants.

Bhikhu Parekh in his book "Rethinking Multiculturalism" suggested harm principle for rights of refugees & immigrants. He also suggests a dialogue among civilisations to evolve some cosmopolitan values which can be a basis for multiculturalism. Human dignity can be achieved.

Remarks

First part
 your answer
 by elaborating how
 multiculturalism
 or rights perspective
 on the moral perspective
 is an improvement
 Moral perspective

4

Thus, multiculturalists main concern is rights for minorities. They are against ethnocentrism. Later on multiculturalism given rise to new schools like Value Pluralism, Communitarians etc.

(C)

Aristotle is considered as the father of Political sociology. He had studied 158 constitutions of his time and analyzed the reasons for revolution.

Aristotle held that the main reason for revolution is feeling of inequality either real or apparent. He gives general causes like corruption, influx of foreigners etc. He has also given regime specific causes like
 In Oligarchy - greed of few rich, poor revolt
 In Democracy - Conspiracy by rich against poor.

Remarks

Karl Marx has also given his views on revolution. However, his views are totally in opposition.

Marx believes that state is an instrument of Bourgeoisie or in the words of Marx "executive committee of Bourgeoisie".

Thus he wants worker to develop true consciousness and revolt against the state.

In essence Marx also believes that the source of revolution is inequality between the rich and poor or bourgeoisie & workers. However, the major difference between the two lies in the fact that if Aristotle prefers status quo, not revolution then Marx prefers revolution and rejects status quo.

Aristotle's ideas have been more useful for societies as the major revolutions were

Remarks

Content is good
but poor structure
Try to use point to point
or tabular comparison

The result of inequalities & reasons given by Aristotle.

d.)

Communitarian perspective of Justice is essentially a criticism of Rawls idea of Justice. Communitarian perspective is given by Michael Sandel, Michael Walzer & Alasdair MacIntyre.

Michael Sandel has talked about Rawls' conception of self & society. According to Sandel, man is not atomistic, he is embedded self. Man is binded in a network of relations. He is "unencumbered self". Sandel also argues that self is not prior to good rather self is constituted in the good. We do not make our goals, we discover our goals.

emarks

Michael Walzer has focused on the differences between cultures. According to Walzer, Justice is what people subscribe to. Different societies may have different conceptions of Justice. In his book, The Spheres of Justice, he gives the example of Caste system in India. Caste system is still prevalent despite modern constitution ~~is~~ because people subscribe to the idea.

According to Walzer, there cannot be a universal idea of Justice as prescribed by Rawls. In his words "different goods ought to be distributed differently".

Communism perspective is desirable as wars in middle east are the result of imposition of liberal values.

Remarks

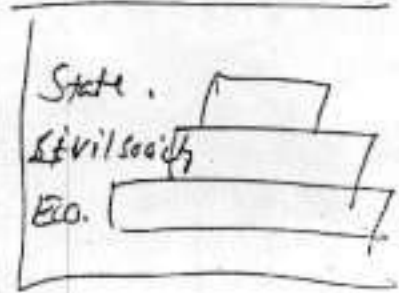
(5)

You need to elaborate on his idea of spheres of Justice. Also mention how it is practically difficult to implement this idea.

(e.)

Gramsci is the second most important scholar in Marxism after Marx. He analysed Marx's ideas and emphasized on the role of superstructures.

According to Gramsci, Civil Society plays the role of manufacturing hegemony. He wants the workers to understand how bourgeoisie rule. Gramsci held that bourgeoisie rule by creating hegemony. Hegemony is actively lived by oppressed. It is the situation when oppressed starts enjoying his own exploitation.



Thus Gramsci suggests workers to establish counter hegemony. He wants workers to organize and make a coalition of subaltern classes. He also suggested workers to have their own organic intellectuals. Thus workers have to make socialism a common sense before the revolution.

Condition movement of us is a perfect example of Gramsci's theory of counter hegemony.

Subvert the work on Intellectuals

Remarks
New Counter Hegemony will challenge power of Capitalist Civil Society

4

Attempt all questions:

- (a) Discuss how Hobbes's theory has elements of both Liberalism and absolutism? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Lockean theory of property and industrial revolution. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Michael Sandal's notion of disembodied or unencumbered self vs encumbered self. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

(a)

Karl Marx has called Hobbes as father of all of us. This recognition of Hobbes by one of the greatest philosophers shows the relevance of Hobbes. Hobbes theory of State has both the elements of liberalism and absolutism.

Hobbes belonged the age when science was emerging and more emphasis was on producing scientific theories. Hobbes used revolutionary comparative method, inspired by Galileo, to show man is utilitarian, individualistic and materialistic.

Sabine has called Hobbes as the greatest of all individualists. Utilitarianism is a tradition started by Mill. He represented

Remarks

the emerging bourgeoisie class. Hobbes also gave the theory of state sovereignty which helped capitalist class. These thoughts of Hobbes points towards liberalism in Hobbes's works.

However, Macpherson argues that Hobbes starts as an individualist and ends as an absolutist. He creates state with unlimited power. State is a Leviathan. Man has transferred all his rights, therefore state emerges absolute. Man has no liberty where law is there. He also gives powers to punish, Covenants without swords are nothing but words.

Thus Hobbes represent both liberal and absolutist tradition. His advocacy for individualism, right to life, right to revolution represent liberal

Remarks

Don't start around the
6 words
Simply put
elaborate on the
feature of liberalism
Absolutism in his
theory of state
Provide examples
6

tradition while his \rightarrow conception of Leviathan, right to punish, rejection of Natural Rights represent absolutism.

b) Locke belonged to stable phase of history. Unlike Hobbes who witnessed Puritan revolution 1648, he saw glorious revolution when there was a smooth transfer of power. Therefore, Locke takes reasonable view of human nature.

Locke prefers limited state. He uses social contract theory that there were some inconveniences in state of nature and therefore man has created state. Man has not transferred Right to life, liberty & Property.

Property is a gift of God to man. As God has created apple, meat, milk to eat and to drink. God wants man to live a

happy life. Thus Right to property is a Natural Right.

According to Locke, once property was held in common, it doesn't mean that it always will be the same. Those were hardworking, enterprising men who made progress. Property is a result of men's labour. Labour is a part of personality. Man has absolute right over his labour, the labour of his slave & labour of his horse.

Industrial revolution is a transformation in the methods of production during 18th century due to emergence of new scientific discoveries & inventions like powerloom, steam engine, cotton gin.

Industrial revolution and capitalism are the natural result of Locke's theory of

Remarks

Talk about the various limitations on right to property. (nature of the man)

Property. Once ^{private} property was recognized then it led to the race of acquiring more property and profits.

Scientific inventions aided the process and industrial revolution started in England in 1750s.

6

Analyse his new view led to the rise of capitalism & an attack on the feudal order

(c) Michael Sandel is a communication thinker. Communicationists like Michael Sandel, Michael Walzer criticize any idea which goes for universal application. For example - Rawls gave universal idea of Justice.

In his book "Liberalism & the Theory of Justice", Michael Sandel criticized Rawls conception of self & society.

According to Sandels, Man's conception

Remarks

as an atomistic individual or encumbered self is wrong. Real man lives in a society. He is rather encumbered self.

Sandel believes that man is embedded in a network of relations in a society. He cannot be extracted out of the society. Society is prior to an individual.

Rawls believed that self is prior to an end. It means self is prior to the goals of society. In response, Sandel argues that self is not prior to an end rather self is constituted through ends. It means goals of society are not different from goals of an individual. We do not make our goals rather we discover our goals.

Michael Sandel's notion of self forms the core of communitarian perspective. It is because of Michael Sandel & Michael Walzer's criticism that Rawls changed his ideas and gave new conception in his work "Political Liberalism".

Dispute for prior or
debate of good is right

How Rawls & Sandel differ
on whether rights of individual
come first or good of the
community comes first?

74
8

Remarks

emarks

Attempt all questions:

- (a) Multiculturalism as alternative ideology of Liberalism, Examine.
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Marxist conception of alienation is a humanitarian Crisis of modern Industrial society, Explain.
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Positive liberalism as a challenge to classical liberalism. Discuss.
(250 Words) (20 Marks)

(a) Multiculturalism is an ideology which emphasize on special rights of minorities. Since the advent of globalisation, there is a greater movement of people across nations, also human rights consciousness is increasing, therefore this demands that state should take culture more seriously.

Why should culture be given so much emphasis?

~~Atch~~ Will Kymlicka in his book "Multicultural Citizenship" has prescribed three rights of minorities —

- ① Right to representation.
- ② Right to self governance
- ③ Polyethnic rights.

According to Will Kymlicka, there is no harm if state accepts these rights-

emarks

However, he do not prescribe these rights to refugees & immigrants. Also, Kimlicka believes that multiculturalism can be practised only in liberal societies.

In the response to Will Kimlicka's view, ~~that~~ Bhikhu Parekh in his book "Rethinking Multiculturalism" suggests that it is wrong to think that only liberal societies can be multicultural. He gives the example of India which has been a tolerant society since ancient times. Thus liberals can not enjoy a monopoly over multiculturalism.

Therefore Bhikhu Parekh believes that Liberalism and Multiculturalism are antagonistic. Multiculturalism is an alternative to liberalism. Liberals have to accept multiculturalism over civic nationalism.

Remarks

(8)

You need to prove how multiculturalism is more liberal than liberalism. Can it replace liberalism as a dominant discourse?

Rather than liberalism, Indian society is more close to multiculturalism. Indian Constitution, recognizes the rights of minorities. Article 29 & Article 30 provides right to preserve distinct culture & language.

(6)

The idea of alienation is the work of Young Marx. He gave this idea in "The economical & philosophical manuscripts".

The idea of alienation further led to the emergence of new school i.e. Frankfurt or Critical School.

According to Marx, the so called liberty in western societies or modern industrial societies is actually alienation. Capitalism has destroyed the human essence. The two persons do not

Remarks

meet as human beings rather they meet as a consumer and a buyer. Capitalism and modern Industrial societies led to the objectification of men.

Not only workers suffer from alienation but also capitalists. However, the pain of capitalists is less than workers.

Morx talks about freedom and happiness. According to him, freedom is acting ~~to~~ according to our true nature. Our true nature is that we are social & creative.

Morx discusses alienation at four levels-

- ① Alienation from the process of production.
- ② Alienation from the product of labour.
- ③ No time to realize social nature.
- ④ Cumulative effect is that men become alienated to himself.

Remarks

Should have elaborated on the 4 types of alienation.

Thus modern industrial society is leading to humanitarian crisis in which we are losing our true happiness. Therefore, Marx, suggests Communism as the only way to achieve freedom. Man can realize his true nature only in Communism because in Communism production is for need & not greed.

7. a should include views of next scholars who have spoken on alienation

(c) Classical liberalism emerged in the works of John Locke, Adam Smith, Thomas Jefferson.

Locke suggested limited State or a nightwatchman state. He established right to liberty, life and property as natural rights and state cannot limit these rights. According to Locke, man can be be

emarks

free even if State is present because State's law has to confirm natural law. In his words, "No law, no liberty".

Adam Smith gave his theory in his book "The Wealth of Nations". He held that there is an invisible hand in the market, therefore allow freedom to the market. Thomas Jefferson held that minimal state is the best state.

However, slowly Liberalism came under the garb of utilitarianism. It was criticized as inhumane. The challenges from Socialism forced it to change.

Liberalism in transition can be seen in the works of J. S Mill. He allowed State's intervention in others regarding action.

Positive liberalism or modern liberalism emerged in 1940s. T.H. Green is a pioneer of positive liberalism. He held that "Human consciousness postulates liberty, & liberty involves rights & rights demands state".

Therefore he allowed state's intervention or Welfare State. ~~According~~

According to Green, liberty is the capacity of doing something which is worth doing. It involves internal impediments not only external as suggested by Hobbes.

Therefore, state's intervention is necessary. The role of state is to "remove the hindrances". Hindrances may be internal or external.

Laskei also presented similar views & held that state is a keystone of social architecture. He gave social and

Remarks

Economic rights:

Modern liberalism dominated the scene till 70s, but later on welfare state also came under criticism because of crisis situation due to populist policies. It became criticized as "welfare state". This led to the emergence of neo-liberalism.

write your own
evolution based content
is good, it will
be better if you do a
pointwise analysis of
how possible liberalism finds
answer to the major lacunas
of classical liberalism

8

marks

4. Attempt all questions:

(a) Revolution from above in context of views of Gramsci.

(200 Words) (15 Marks)

(b) Marxist views on liberal democracy.

(200 Words) (15 Marks)

(c) How is the approach and viewpoint of Aristotle different from that of Plato?

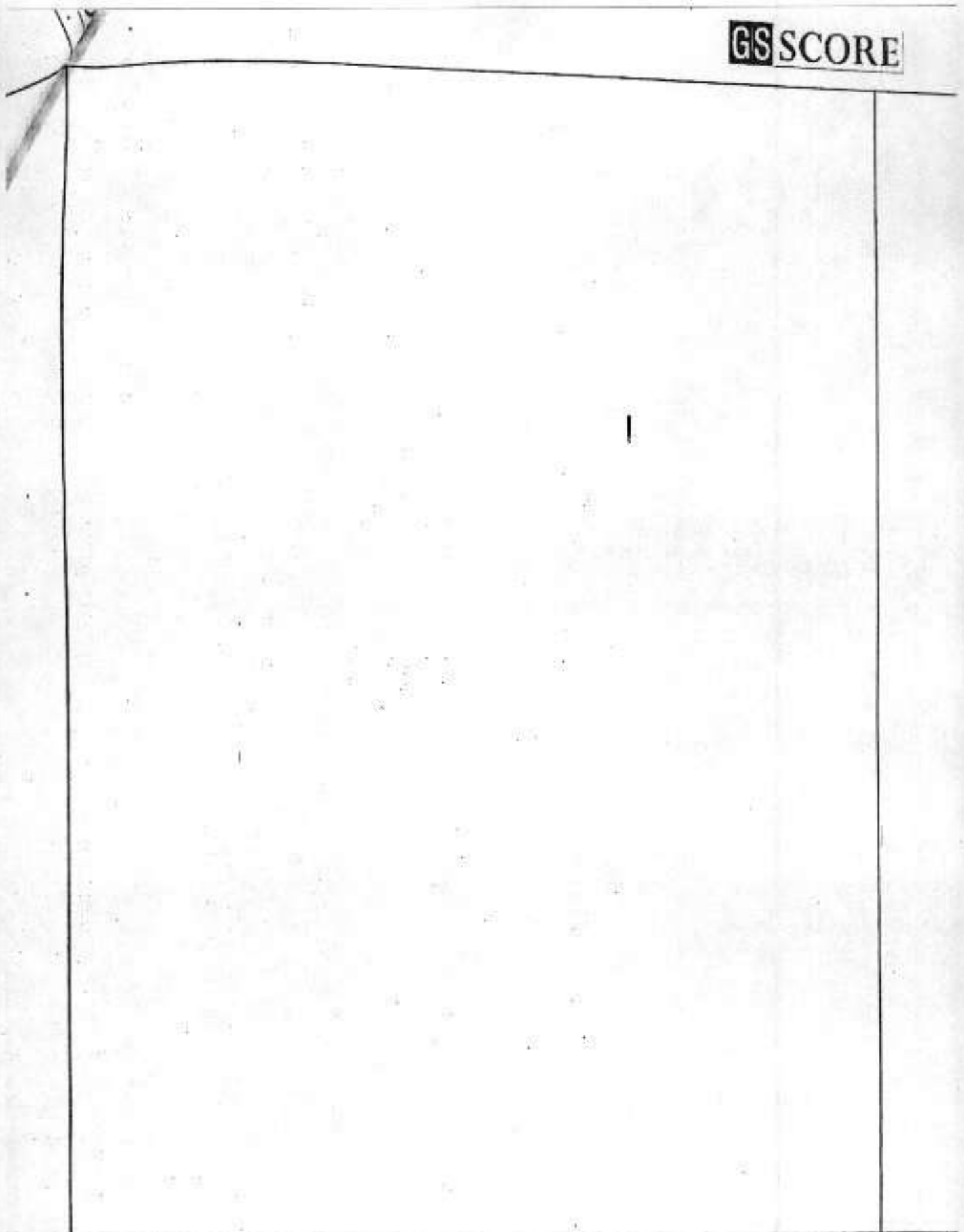
(250 Words) (20 Marks)

marks

emarks

Remarks

emarks



emarks

emarks

Remarks

S. Ans.

marks

SECTION B

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

(10 × 5 = 50)

- Mill's defence of rights of women.
- Notion of State in views of John Locke.
- Stephen Krasner on Sovereignty
- Post modernism
- Washington consensus.

(Q)

The major concern of feminists is ~~also~~ the recognition of women rights. They also point towards the neglect of women perspective in political theory. There are very few scholars like Mill & Plato who talked about the rights of women. ~~Be more direct~~

Mill in his book "On subjection of women" argued that all forms of slavery is abolished except one i.e. woman slavery. It is not natural even its universal.

Mill also wants people to understand the utility of upliftment of women. It

Remarks

will be good for men as men will behave in a more civilized way in public. Also, many negativities get attached to women when we confine them in four walls of the house.

Therefore, Mill suggests right to vote for women. Mill's ideas inspired later day women movements like suffragettes.

3

~~John Locke~~

(b)

According to Garner, Political Science starts & ends with the state. Though a central concept in Political Science, State remains a contested subject.

In the works of Locke, we find a view of limited state. Unlike Hobbes, who takes pessimistic view of human nature,

marks

Locke takes reasonable view. In the words of Locke "Reason in men guides him not to harm others in life, liberty & possessions".

Locke's State of nature is a ~~peace~~ state of "peace, goodwill & mutual assistance". However, due to some inconveniences man goes for social contract & creates state.

In Locke, man has only transferred his rights to adjudicate, legislate & execute. People still have right to life, liberty & property. These are inalienable rights.

Right to revolution is also provided by Locke in case, state deprives person of his property.

This notion of state remains contested.

weak content
 Discuss the features & functions of state which
 comes after contract

Remarks

2

d.) Post modernism emerged after world war II. The term was first used by Lyotard in his book "The Post-modern Condition".

Post modernism is inspired by the ideas of Nietzsche, Einstein, Thomas Kuhn (Paradigms), Althusser etc. Nietzsche held that God is dead and there is no way to determine the truth. He also talks about knowledge power connection.

Post modernism is different from modernism in the sense that it emphasizes on subjectivity, decentralisation, rejection of universality, foundationalism etc.

Lyotard held that all theories are meta-narratives. He describes post modernism as incredulity towards meta-narratives.

We need to understand multiple narratives.

Unit II

Foucault gave the concept of discourses. According to him, theories are discourses, it is not discovering but manufacturing the truth.

Derrida gives the idea of deconstruction. It calls for re-reading the texts because it may have different meanings.

Thus postmodernism has truly changed the notion about looking at theories.

(e)

Washington Consensus

4

From context
But first mention
Common among
the teachers
give views of
scholars

Washington Consensus are the prescriptions given by John Williamson to be adopted by countries facing economic challenges to achieve stability and economic growth. It is also known as market fundamentalism.

Washington Consensus is based on the theory of neo-liberalism. Hayek, a

Remarks

neo liberal, considers market as a huge network of capillaries which can intercept millions of messages at a time.

The major prescriptions of Washington Consensus include freedom to market, freedom of navigation of high seas, reducing custom duties, reducing tariff & non-tariff barriers, allowing foreign investments etc.

Globalisation is also based on the theory of Washington Consensus. The anomalies in the theory of Washington Consensus are visible as now inequalities have increased due to its adoption. This has given rise to new theories.

Joseph Stiglitz calls for post-Washington Consensus. Countries are opting welfare policies. Social liberals like Amartya Sen

Remarks

4

suggest capacity building. There is a setback to Washington consensus after Washington's America first and Brexit.

(c) Sovereignty is an ultimate power of State on its subjects. State enjoys ultimate authority in its sphere of influence.

Stephen Krasner has provided his view on relationship between sovereignty & Globalisation. Sovereignty & Globalisation are contradictory ideas. If sovereignty is a territorial idea, then Globalisation is deterritorialisation.

There are three views on relationship between sovereignty & globalisation. Globalists like Stephen Krasner, Jason Strange, Statists like Robert Gilpin & Transformationalists

Remarks

like David Held.

Stephen Krasner argues that globalisation dilutes sovereignty in three ways. Statists like Robert Gilpin believe that state is in very much command of globalisation. David Held believes that it is not a zero sum game in some areas state A in some areas sovereignty is winning.

However, scholars like Sorensen believe that globalisation don't affect all in a similar way. Some states influence globalisation & other gets influenced by it.

Thus sovereignty & globalisation's relationship remains a matter of debate. However, globalisation has led to the new concept in sovereignty like Responsibility to protect.

Remarks

~~Appr structure
You need
for more
on views of
Krasner~~

3

6. Attempt all questions:

- (a) How is social contract theory of John Locke significantly different from that of Thomas Hobbes? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Elaborate the concept of 'Contradictions' and 'Antagonisms' developed by Mao in context of Marxist theory? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Legitimation crisis and response of Liberal democracies. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

(a.)

Hobbes and Locke are ~~two~~ among the greatest social contract thinkers. Social Contract is a hypothetical agreement between people, used by scholars to show the emergence of state. The Constitutions of modern states are the perfect example of social contract.

In social contract theories, scholars generally describe human nature, state of nature and outcome of social contract.

Hobbes and Locke's view on human nature are very opposite. If Hobbesian man is individualistic & passion dominates over

Remarks

reason, then Lockean man is moral, he is guided by enlightened self interest. In the words of Locke, "reason in man guides him not to harm others in life liberty & possessions."

State of Nature in Hobbes is a war of all against all while in Locke it is the state of peace & goodwill & mutual assistance.

That Hobbes social contract is a necessity while in Locke it is a matter of convenience. In Hobbes man has transferred all his rights to form Leviathan while in Locke, man has only transferred right to execute, adjudicate & legislate.

finally, Hobbes is social contract results in absolute state while

Remarks

1st contract - Hobbes
 2nd contract - Locke
 includes max points from his B

8

Locke's social contract results in limited state.

(b)

Mao was the first person to implement Marx's ideas in Asia. The conditions of Asia at that time were very different from Europe. Therefore, Mao had to change the Marx's ideas to ensure effective implementation in China.

Mao & Marx, both supported violence as a means for communism. If Marx held "Violence as a midwife of change" then Mao held "Power flows through the barrel of gun". However, at that time China was a feudal society and industrialisation was not there. Therefore, Mao gave the concept of

Remarks

China M

"contradictions" Δ "antagonisms" for China specific conditions.

According to Mao, peasants have antagonistic relationship with indigenous feudal lords and foreign bourgeoisie, and while with indigenous bourgeoisie they have non-antagonistic relationship.

Here the contradiction is between feudalism and peasants and not between workers and bourgeoisie. Maoism is against imperialism and feudalism and not capitalism.

Mao organised peasants on the discourse that they have dialectical or contradictory relationship with feudals Δ bourgeoisie.

The success of communism in

6

emarks

incomplete

work more on contradictions & elaborate on the difference on the principal of minor contradiction

China holds to Mao's ideas. He modified Marxism to suit indigenous situations.

The weak position of Indian left, is ~~is~~ mainly owed to the reason that it could ~~gi~~ not give any Indian idea of left that Mao did for China.

(c) Legitimation crisis is a concept given by Habermas, a neo-Marxist scholar.

Habermas has analyzed the state in welfare societies. He comes to the conclusion that the welfare state suffers from legitimation crisis and hence it is not stable.

Welfare state is based on the two

Remarks

principle i.e. socialism in politics and capitalism in economics. These two principles were contradictory in nature.

In welfare state, politicians make hefty promises to populace. With each election there are increasing expectations. However, the time comes when ~~state~~ capitalists cannot provide freebies. Thus State has to be rolled back.

This can be understood from the example of Greece. The state in Greece was providing huge social security benefits. This led to economic instability. Therefore state was rolled back and huge protests happened.

Liberal democracies responded to

marks

Good content & understanding
But also elaborate on how this has not occurred on a large scale?
How west was able to maintain this?

9

the legitimisation crisis by adopting neo-liberal policies. It is the rejection of welfare state and limiting the role of state as a regulator.

Scholars like Hayek considered Social Justice as a Mirage. Nozick regarded progressive taxation as a burdened labour. Isaiah Berlin held that minimal state is best & inspiring

Thus neo-Marxist criticism of Habermas remains a discourse. Habermas held that ~~state~~ there are only two options barbarism or socialism. However, a third option has been presented in the form of social liberalism by scholars like John Rawls, Amartya Sen & Dworkin.

Remarks

Attempt all
(a) Relative au
(b) Liberalism
(c) r.

Remarks

7. Attempt all questions:

(a) Relative autonomy model of state. Describe.

(200 Words) (15 Marks)

(b) Liberalism as an amorphous ideology.

(200 Words) (15 Marks)

(c) Discuss the various aspects of Popper's critique of Plato.

(250 Words) (20 Marks)

Remarks

003

emarks

marks

10/21

emarks

Remarks

emarks

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Remarks

Attempt all
(b) What are
favours

Remarks

8. Attempt all questions:

- (a) What are the different prepositions advocated by Will Kymlicka and B. Parakeh in favour of multiculturalism?
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Amy Guttmann's critique of multiculturalism.
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) 'The minimal state is inspiring as well as right'. Explain and provide suitable critique.
(250 Words) (20 Marks)

Remark

emarks

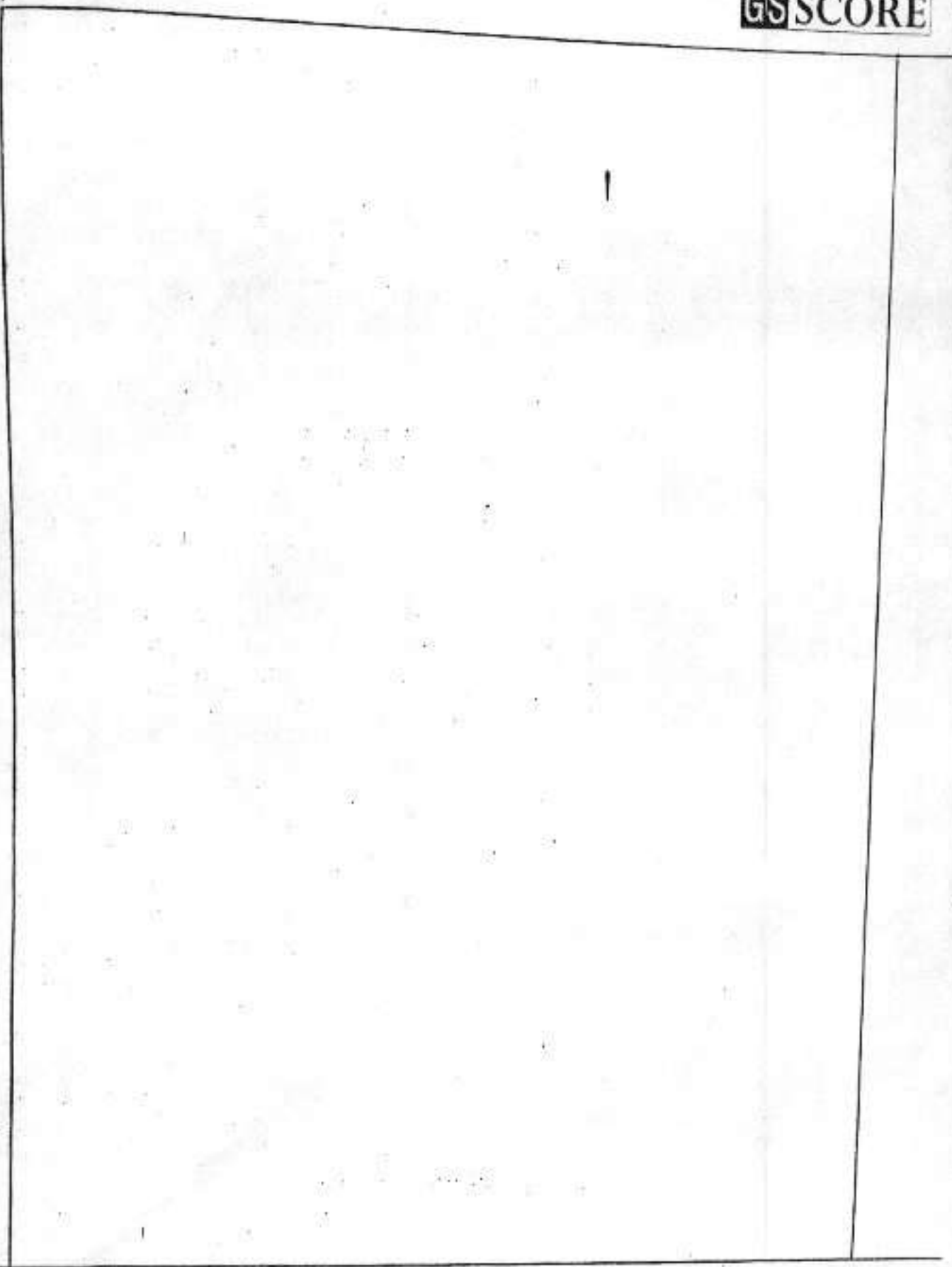
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Remarks

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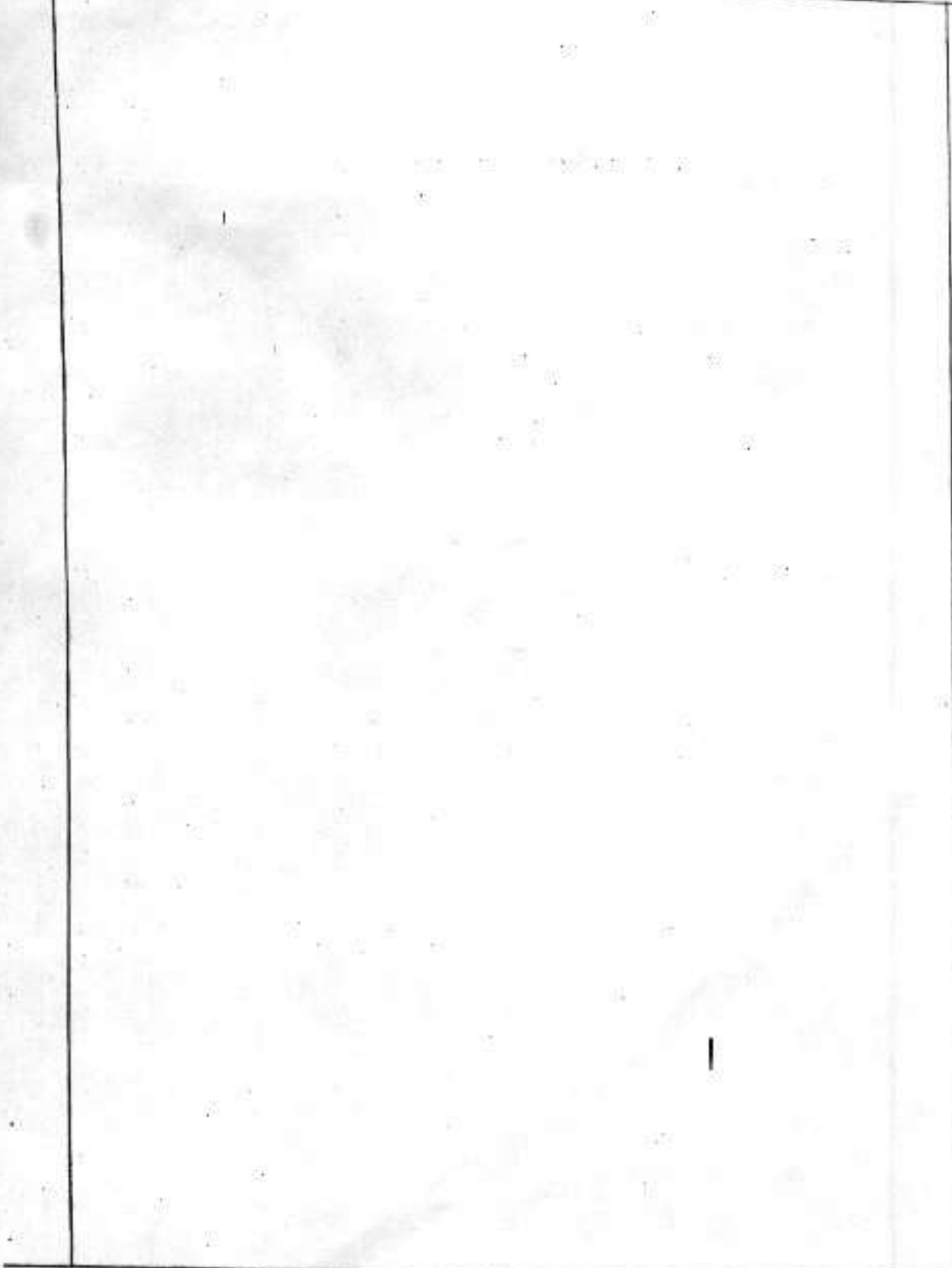
GS SCORE



emarks

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marks



Remarks

marks