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PSIR



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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.

Handwritten red scribbles and markings covering the page.

1. Invigilator's Signature _____

2. Invigilator's Signature _____

Name Kunal Rastogi

Mobile No. _____

Date _____

Signature Kunal Rastogi

SECTION-A

Attempt all questions:

1. Answer the following questions in about 150 words each: (12.5 x 4 = 50)

- (a) Discuss Marxist Theory of State
- (b) Liberty and Equality as opposed to each other. Comment.
- (c) Highlight the characteristic features of contemporary political theory
- (d) Hannah Arendt's constructive view of power

(a) The basic premise of Marxist theory, state is an instrument of the bourgeoisie class based upon the foundation of its co-ercive apparatus.

Karl Marx in his Communist Manifesto, envisaged state to be a two dimensional entity: core made up of Economic structure while the superstructure is of state. Hence state effectively is executive committee of the bourgeoisie. This instrumentalist approach was also used by Lenin & Mao where they used state's violent apparatus to sustain revolution. This conception was however transformed by Anarchism.

Remarks

approach. Even though he considered economy to be basic structure, the envisaged state to be an autonomous identity giving rise to the benign school.

State Civilian by Althusser multi-structuralism, where by transcendental state - is just one of the controlling superstructure.

However in contemporary time, two major debate has occurred between Ralph Miliband & Nicolas Poulantzas.

Ralph Miliband thinks state to be an instrument, which although appears to be neutral, but due to its composition (bureaucrat-elite) it favours capitalist.

Nicolas Poulantzas also conceptualise state to be neutral, but is inherently biased towards capitalist as they have more social & political capital.

Remarks

(b) Liberty and Equality as opposed or anti-thetical to each other is the conception of classical & neo-liberal

Classical liberalism is based on foundation of individualism, tolerance, spontaneous natural order. Hence they find liberty to be a natural concept.

John Locke envisaged political equality only, while rest of the dimensions should be liberally opened. Adam Smith supported above along with Rothbard & Benthham. Hence they promote liberty which is natural, whereas inequality is also natural. Hence any attempt to artificially create ~~liberty~~ ^{Equality} through laws or state would result in loss of liberty.

Similar is the viewpoint of neo-liberals who considered market fundamentalism, where merit is

Remarks

presented. Hence rule of social Darwinism
 by Herbert Spencer is governing factor.
 If artificial means are introduced to
 establish equality like progressive taxation
 or redistribution, Nozick states it would
 be unproductive or robbery (Friedman).
 Hence both classical liberalism
 and neo-liberals believe in absolute
 liberty and its consequence of inequality.
 However this inequality should be justified
 and not arbitrary. Hence Rawls Social
 Justice explains above.

(c) The contemporary Political theory
 is based on the precepts of post-
modernism & post behaviouralism. It
 has become an interpretative theory
 rather than based on some categorical
imperative or fact & observation
 based pure Science.
 The most integral

Remarks

feature of contemporary political theory is the natural synthesis and fusion of traditional and modern political theories. values based and

empiricism have collated together. This is witnessed in Rawls's social

justice theory or Priority view of Equality by Derek Parfit or

Thomas Piketty Participative socialism

The second feature is the ingenuity and Creativeness. David Easton

"Creative theory" which culminates both epitomise present

- (1) observation
- (2) verification
- (3) systemisation
- (4) measurement
- (5) value laden
- (6) pure science
- (7) originality

Hence contemporary political theory has evolved with the surrounding exigencies and has now become accadematic, creative, rational, value based cocktail of Post Modernity (Christopher Morris)

Remarks

MAXIMUM
SCORE

(d) Hannah Arendt is a phenomenological thinker who uses empiricism, historical values and human psychology to analyse & conceive reality.

One of her major works was analysing the notion of "Power" in her book "Human Condition".

For her, Power is not an artificial, individualistic or an objectified entity. Rather it is when humans interact with each other and act in concert to gain achieve certain tangible or intangible outcomes.

For her, she conceives Power to be based on the inter-personal relations just like Foucault. Power emanates from social interactions, communications. Hence power itself is legitimate as it is borne out of willful actions.

Since power is outcome

Remarks

of concept
const.

of consensus based action It is constructive in nature. Other people carry out actions not because of some external co-ercions, fear, willful persuasions (Morganthau) but due to inner inclination and motivation.

Power is not violence, nor force. They are the attributes of an illegitimate state & uncontrolled nature.

Power is a human relative concept which uses social persuasion, deliberates, debates, speakers, conditioning to convince other.

Have out come of both Bertand Russel (violence), Max webber (legal) and Arendt Power is same. That's convincing others, but the way is radically different. This difference is what creates Arendt's conception of power as constructive in nature.

Remarks

2. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Explain the term Power. Also discuss the relationship between power, Legitimacy and Authority. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Marxist Criticisms of the Rawlsian Conception of Justice. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Rawls's principles of social justice are a corrective to the liberal-utilitarian principle of the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Examine. (250 Words) (20)

Power is a contested concept having no universal definition. However the end result all include what Bertrand Russel suggest: "influencing the decision of others to achieve a desired result"

Foucault and Hannah Arendt located power in the interpersonal social relationships and the associated knowledge about them. For Foucault "Knowledge is power" whereas for Arendt People acting concert is power.

Morganthau on other hand believed co-ercion & using force to persuade others is power.

Max Weber stated Power

Remarks

to be bestowed on those who have legal authority & monopoly of the user over it. Hence the means to attain power may be different, but end result is just the same.

Power, legitimacy and Authority are in a complex interdimensional relationship reinforcing as well as supplementing each other.

$\text{Authority} = \text{Power} + \text{legitimacy}$

The above relationship is not unidirectional. When power is legitimised using social contract, Pichardist revolution, spreading discourses it becomes authority.

on the other hand when somebody at a position of authority either due to Max Weber's traditional, charismatic or legal way, his/her commands are automatically obeyed

Remarks

because the subject of the power feels that the command is for his own good as it is proper, appropriate & desirable.

Hence, legitimacy gives power the face of authority, while authority itself gives power to an institution.

Therefore power is ^a central theme to political science and the ways to convert it into authority is the subject of discourses & ideologies.

(b) Rawlsian Concept of justice is based on the precept that inequality is natural and attempt to iron it out results in loss of liberty which is detrimental to Human society. Hence in his theory of social justice Rawlsian gives out a lexical order.

Remarks

giving priority order of



Hence this format continues to promote the liberal capitalistic order, which is the main attention of Marxist criticism

Karl Marx in his book "Criticism of a Gotha programme", starts by stating that in a communist society justice is not needed. As there is no alienation, freedom & self enlightened individual, requirement of justice is not there as there is no class struggle, conflict of human interest.

However since there is false conception of freedom in form of liberty in capitalistic society there is requirement of Rawls.

Secondly, since ~~equi~~ Marxist

Society gives to each of the individual according to their need, inequality is minimised and no conception of favouring the disadvantaged is required.

Kindly, the intervention of state in granting equal fair opportunity is also opposed. Marxist believe that state, being an executive committee of the bourgeoisie class is biased towards the capitalist (Ralph Miliband) and fairness cannot be achieved.

- Lastly Marxist criticise Rawls for spreading false conceptions in the form of rational comprehensive doctrine of social liberalism.

Marxist criticism is founded on the bedrock that Rawls promotes capitalistic way of life and hence any intervention other than its

Remarks

abolition would continue class based exploitation.

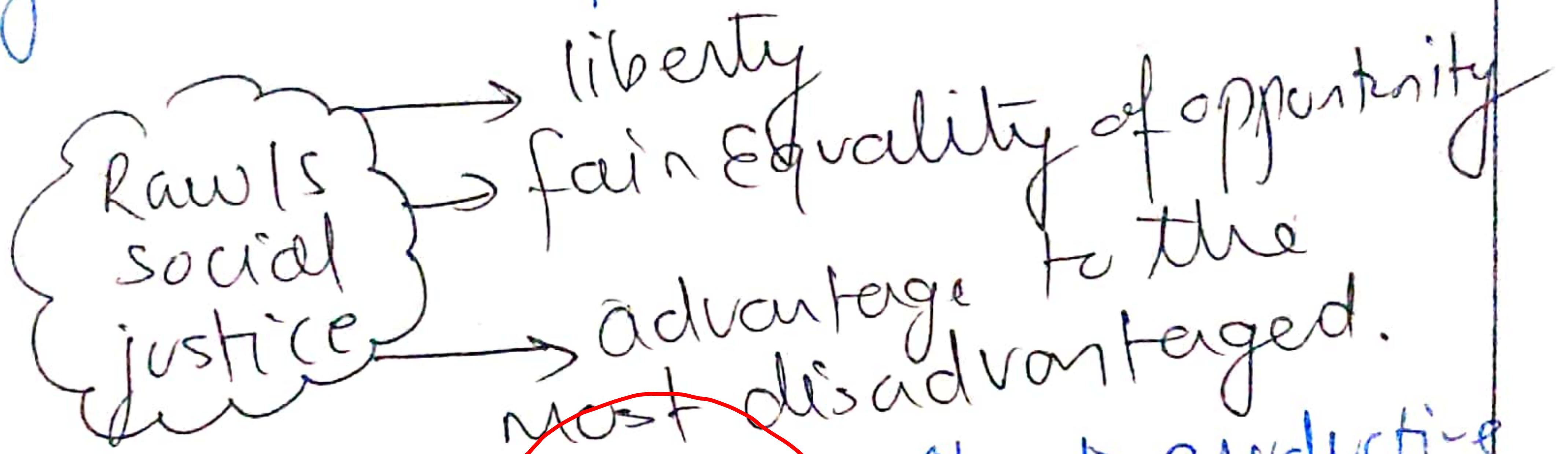
(c) Jeremy Bentham gave the concept of "Greatest Good to Greatest Number of people" using felicific calculus to measure the utility. This concept was extrapolated and used by welfare theorist as the foundational value of state.

According to above, the state should undertake welfare measures by using taxation methods, state interventions in economy and redistributing the proceeds of above among the greatest share of society. Here the redistribution is not done to give certain benefits to the poor, but to

Remarks

produce best utility for all the state.

The above concept was severely criticised by Rawls. for its monochromatic approach. Rawls also believe that state has to provide benefits to its citizens, but not in differece blind fashion. Hence he gave the concept of social justice.



Hence Rawls believe that productive capital in form of taxation should be taken from the rich but it should not be equally distributed among all. Rather, following TH Green positive liberalism it should be given to the poor not only improve

Remarks

3. Answer the following:
(a) How do you describe the cosm...
(b)

their condition but also Society

Secondly, ID Campbell & John Sacchar method of affirmative action considering poor as the subjects should be taken giving more benefits to the poor.

Thirdly there should be absolute liberty like Neoliberals Nozick, EA Hayerk. Utilitarians sometimes compromise on liberty for greatest good, but Rawls in his lexical order believe that human dignity should be of paramount importance.

Hence Rawls criticise Bentham principle on its foundational lines as done by Carlyle (Pigs philosophy). Moreover Rawls consider some principle like, liberty dignity to be categorical imperative whereas Utilitarian principles holds no such value except "Greatest Good to Greatest number"

Remarks

Greatest number

4. Answer the following questions:

(a) Write short note on Deliberative Democracy. Discuss deliberative democracy as discursive democracy. Also give criticism of Deliberative Democracy. (300 Words) (25)

(b) Analyse Contract theory as ground for legitimacy of the government and the obligation of the people to obey the government. Also discuss Legitimation Crisis Theory of Habermas. (300 Words) (25)

CB Macpherson defines democracy to be increase of development power and decrease in the extortionary power among individuals done through deliberation, public discussion and political empowerment.

The above is best achieved by, what Joseph Besset exclaims to be deliberative democracy. In this format all public decisions are taken after extensive public debate. Infact it is what provides legitimisation to decision.

Joshua Cohen gives five particular features of deliberative democracy.

① Deliberation is a continuous action undertaken at independent public spaces.

② Deliberation is necessary for any

Remarks

However the
critic

public decision.

- ③ It provides legitimisation
- ④ The atmosphere is free of any external coherions.
- ⑤ The debate is true & honest.

The above features are based on Habermass ideal speech condition and communicative action. Apart from above John Drezky has given certain additional

features



In nutshell, deliberative democracy promotes public discussion and debates before making any decision. discussions are not only legitimate but encouraged and promoted. It follows Arendt's Vita Activa (zoon Politikon) and tries to involve as many people as possible.

Remarks

However the above has certain drawbacks
Criticism

① Charles Blattberg states that deliberative democracy tries to make politician out of everyone even though they may not be interested

② It makes citizens apprehensive towards each and every decision of state thereby weakening and straining the bond, eventually decreasing nationalistic fervor.

③ It slows the decision making process as extensive discussion takes place

④ Anti-social elements may take advantage of free speech to spread hatred & contempt.

Although discussions are very necessary for fracturing and robust democracy, but its excess may be detrimental towards nation building. Hence Gabriel Almond & Sydney Verba participative democracy is better approach.

Remarks

well

(b) Contract theory is based upon the considerations of the bourgeoisie class, whereby political obligation to the state is in the form of staying true and obligated to the contract.

This was first used by Thomas Hobbes in his book Leviathan.

The individuals, out of fear for their life and need for self preservation, signed the contract, transferring their rights, to give birth to the sovereign. Similar method was used by John Locke whereby signing of two contracts gave successive rise to civil society and political state.

Hence the contract theory is used by capitalistic scholars to explain the origin of state. The state generally originates to solve

Remarks

Contract theory
of state

certain problems, inconveniences, state of unfreedom (Rousseau) and in return gets certain powers and authority.

Hence conception of "Service State" on the basis of political obligation, as given by scholar Habermas.

Different types of Contracts are signed, delineating & demarcating different degrees of power. Classical liberals & neo-liberals only transfer minimum powers & create a minimalist state or night watchman state just to fulfill policing functions.

Social liberals and positive liberals like TH Green, Hobbes & Laski talk about greater intervention of state to regulate & control the socio-economic condition of its citizens. Skinner talks about

Remarks

regulation of markets whereas TH green talks about regulating the social structure & the life of individuals to enable them to perform task "worth doing"

Utilitarians also believe in contract theories like Bentham & JS Mill. They talk about welfare measures of the state following principle of "Greatest Good to Greatest number"

Hence "Service Concept" of state is basis of the political obligation. However Habermass state that such service can become difficult to provide in the long run resulting in crisis.

For classic liberals, as states provide security, slowly it may misuse its inherent monopoly of power resulting in violence, which may drive citizens to deny abiding

Remarks

by the Centre and

by the contract.

Similarly for utilitarian and positive liberals, progressive taxation on rich may result in their alienation.

Robert Nozick in his book "Anarchy, State & Utopia" terms progressive taxation to be bonded labour. This slavery might result in the rich dishonouring their contract.

When the contract is broken, the basis for political obligation is destroyed resulting in legitimization crisis of the state.

This results in violent revolution as seen in history like French Revolution, Russian Revolution.

Hence legitimization crisis gives a foundational basis and theoretical paradigm to explain the revolutions taking place in capitalistic nations.

Remarks

Attempt all questions:
Answer the follow

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U(b)

Remarks

SECTION-B

Attempt all questions:

5. Answer the following questions in about 150 words each:

(12.5 × 4 = 50)

- Discuss Normative Approach and Empirical Approach in Political Theory
- Elaborate features of Competitive Elitist Democracy and Pluralist Democracy
- Examine the various debates on Equality of Opportunity in brief
- Feminist perspective on justice

(a) David Easton defines Political theory as a discourse to explain a particular conception of Reality from a particular perspective. Thomas Kuhn in his concept of paradigm, conceives political theory to be a approach to explain existing paradigm of debate.

To explain the tangible reality, various methodologies could be taken, which can be classified into two categories.

Normative Approach: In this approach, certain categorical imperative or foundational assumptions are taken to explain reality.

(1) Socrates' foundational assumption

Remarks

and facts c
(b) Rour

was that ideas are permanent whereas reality is just transient resulting in his idea of "Reality is shadow of idea". Plato and Aristotle followed same

- (2) Rawls theory of justice considers Kant's categorical imperative of Human dignity
- (3) Robert Nozick believes in market fundamentalism

Empirical approach: This was started by Sophist like Protagoras who considered experience and observation to be reality. This was further propagated by David Hume & Berkeley who based their theory on observations. Hannah Arendt's political theory also based on study of phenomena like case study of Eichmann. Today's contemporary field of behavioralism is also based on above.

However in contemporary times, both the above approaches have fused together to give rise to David Easton's "Creative theory" which are both value

Remarks

and facts driven.

(b) Rousseau defines democracy as a form of government run by the consent of the people expressed through their General will.

The question arises, how to gauge the general will of the people. CB Macpherson gives two generalised models.

(1) Elitist democracy: In this form of democracy the state in carrying out its public policy is influenced by the Elites where power is concentrated. Pareto describes it as playground of elites, where decisions are taken by the aristocrats and state is just reduced to execution mechanism. Robert Mitchell describes the above phenomena as "iron law of oligarchy". Above strand of democracy is generally seen in Third world countries where tribal warlords.

Remarks

empowered
rich

industrialist, military personnel are the Power Elites (C Wright Mills) and their decision is accepted by man populace because of their lack of Empowerment

Pluralist democracy: In this format

given by Robert Dahl based on Laski theory of pluralistic

"Sovereignty", the state is neutral entity influenced

by the various pressure groups into which society is organised.

The Civil Society is an aggregate and not amalgamation of various pressure

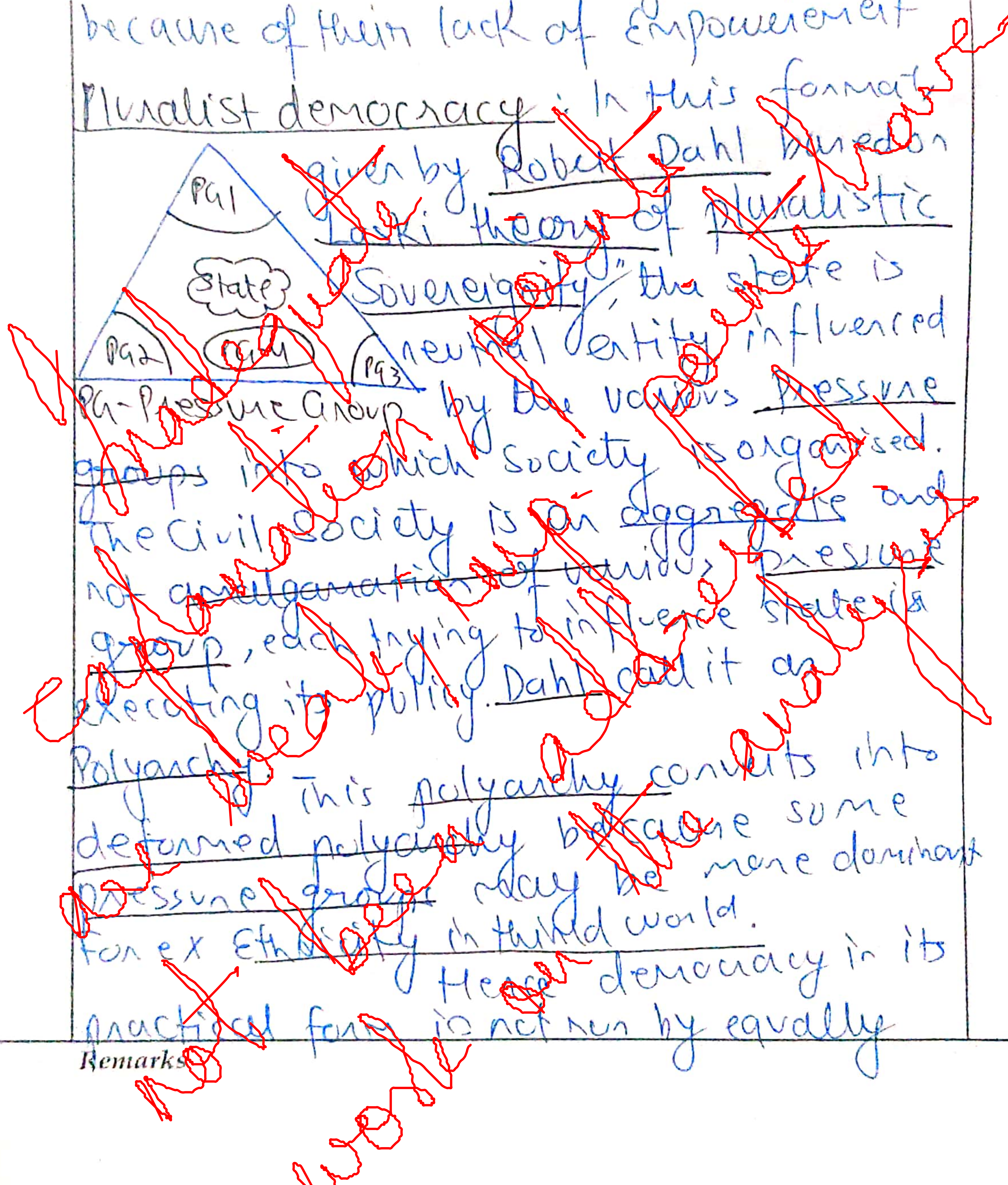
group, each trying to influence state in executing its policy. Dahl call it as

Polyarchy. This polyarchy converts into deformed polyarchy because some

pressure groups may be more dominant for ex Ethnicity in third world.

Hence democracy in its practical form is not run by equally

Remarks



empowered individuals, but by either the rich & powerful or the combination of certain individuals, which become powerful.

(c) The concept of Equality of opportunity was first given by TD Campbell and John Sacchar, whereby the state as well as civil society is responsible for giving equality for ~~needs~~ chances to get their predefined target.

This equality of opportunity is bifurcated into

① Competitive: Social goods to be distributed on the basis of merit. Robert Nozick's theory of entitlement & John Locke's labour is based upon above.

② non-competitive: In this the state intervenes to provide certain affirmative actions to help the disadvantaged. For example Reservation in India.

Remarks

The basis of...

③ ideal: in this the state undertakes a calibrated approach in helping not all but certain sections of society so that least amount of productive capital is utilised for greatest benefit

Rand's theory of social justice is one such example, where state selectively intervenes to aid most disadvantaged. Derek Parfit's Priority of Equality is another such mechanism

Hence equality of opportunity has been a contested concept. However almost everybody agrees that there should be fairness in granting opportunity. The only debate remains, what is fairness? Hence above three notions can be taken as a guide and implemented on the basis of contextual reality

Remarks

The The

(d) The basic theoretical paradigm of feminism is the unfounded discrimination and violence forwarded to women by the gendered society due to past socio-cultural anthropological norms

Hence justice is demanded in the form of abolition & eradication of this discrimination

The 1st wave feminist like Mary Wolstonecraft, envisages justice as political equality with men in the form of equal voting rights & suffragates.

The Second wave feminist dig deeper and demand for socio-cultural rights. This Marion Young & Sheila Rowbotham urge the society for ending domestic violence, female infanticides, female foeticides.

The third wave feminist want multidimensional justice. They want to end the existing social order

Remarks

Answer the following
(a) A comfortable industry

which creates a gendered society. Susan Moller Okin states that "Personal is Political". That is household life should be discussed in public to eradicate it of its meance. Simone de Beauvoir states that "a woman is not born, she is made" emphasizing that traditional social structure should be reformed ridding it of its "castration complex" & "penis envy" (Sigmund Freud). Hence Betty Friedan in her book "Feminine Mystique" talks about radically restructuring social structure as feminine justice.

Fourth wave feminist talk about Ecofeminism (Vandana Shiva) & black feminism, whereby all sorts of discrimination an extension of patriarchy and hence must end.

Feminine justice has not been a static concept, but an evolving dynamic one with a central characteristic of opposition against gendered society.

Remarks

treating woman not as second but Secondary Sex

Answer the following questions:

- (a) Discuss the significance of Multiculturalism. Also Analyse the kinds of special rights for minority communities as sanctioned by Multiculturalism. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Comment on Macpherson's Concept of Creative Freedom. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Examine Amartya Sen's critique of Rawlsian's approach to social Justice. (250 Words) (20)

(a) Multi-culturalism is a phenomena first explained by Will Kymlicka in his book "Multi-cultural Citizen". Multiculturalism denotes not only accepting the presence of different cultures, but promoting embracing and celebrating them. It takes integrationist rather than assimilating approach to weave a society harbouring various cultures.

The foundation of multi-culturalism can be found in Charles Taylor work, whereby he asserts that modern liberal & socialist states invariably support the majoritarian culture, thereby discriminating against minority & slow erosion of their way

Remarks

of life.

As Margalit states that man is anchored to his culture, hence multi-culturalism tries to protect the essence which gives meaning to existence.

This not only saves the individual but also entire humanity. As Bhiku Parekh suggest that no one culture can claim to protect and portray entire humanity, so promoting and celebrating different cultures will help broaden human intellect & understanding of reality.

considering all above points will Kymlicka, in his book suggest certain rights to be given to minority cultures in order to not only protect them but help them flourish.

① Self Governing Rights: The minority cultures, must be allowed to protect themselves by having the ability to administer

Remarks

main educational institutions, language, script and traditions.

② Representative Rights : Minorities should be given right to elect their leaders, no matter how small their population are.

③ Cultural Rights : The social customs, traditions, norms must not be looked with a narrow sense of superiority, but with tolerance. This would make sure that, cultural minorities receive their due non-interference.

In today's world where narrow sectarian views are dominating, distance leading to fundamentalism (ISIS, christ church incidents, lynching in India), multi-culturalism is a breath of fresh air. In's Madan Mohan Malaviya states that multi-culturalism rather than cultural relativism is the way forward to continue bringing that fresh air.

(b) CB Macpherson, a social liberal, talks about the human capacity to Creative freedom as opposed to narrow Capitalistic notion of freedom.

According to Capitalist, liberty or freedom is the ability given to a person so that he can make his own choice by exercising self determination.

However due to the Society created by Capitalist of Hedonism, materialism, the only logical choice for individual is to go after materialistic pleasure. This results in what Marx and Seeman call as alienation.

Macpherson tries to revive and restore Humanity essence of freedom. It is based upon Eric Fromm's Conception of man, who is Social and Creative as well as Rousseau's

Remarks

State of nature based upon Reid will result in noble Savage personality

In creative freedom, man is allowed to pursue his innate human nature of innovativeness, ingenuity and passion. Individuals are not just made a "cog in the wheel", rather they are empowered to pursue their innate talents.

Anne Mackee states that above is done by Macpherson by conjoining the process of production and labour. Macpherson, although believes in individual's right to his product, but not in the form of Lockean idea of possessive individualism but via the JS Mill's "developmental individualism". Hence Macpherson envisages freedom, not from any particular

Remarks

Disc

illwill of society, but from all these sources which act as hindrances to the free flow of ideas. It could be capitalistic way of production, Communist subjugation of individual for revolution, neo-liberal subjugation of individual for market.

Hence Creative freedom of Macpherson is in quite symphony with MN Roy Radical Humanism, which ~~for~~ states that freedom is not means but an end in itself.

(c) Rawlsian approach to social justice is based upon the foundation of Immanuel Kant's categorical imperative of human dignity resulting in the following principles of Social Justice

- ① Equality Principle: There shall be equality of liberty for all

Remarks

② Difference Principle

(a) There shall be fair ~~Equality~~ of opportunity for access to all social goods

(b) ~~Inequality~~ Inequality should be such that it complements the most disadvantaged section of society

Rawls considered the above as universal comprehensible doctrines because they were achieved using a pure procedural theory employing original position using veil of ignorance.

However Amartya Sen refuted the above on following grounds

① All objective reality have subjective explanation due to paradigmatic variations. Even the case of universal justice is same, as different societies have different forms. Marxist believe in substantive justice whereas liberals believe in procedural justice. on the other hand communitarian

Remarks

believe in complex justice

② Rawls believed, that this form of Social justice, where state has a big role could only be achieved with perfect state institution. However Sen believed that it is not state, but the society which should be impartial and fair.

③ Rawls believed in Rational choice. Sen on the other hand believed Justice like Self is also a situated concept and hence Social choice is better way.

④ Politics of Community who play a vital role which was completely eliminated using veil of ignorance by Rawls. Hence Amartya Sen uses a fusion of liberal communitarian arguments to criticize Rawls's absolutist and universal conception of a phenomena which has multiple dimensions.

Remarks

Rawls is not the best