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AIR **15** CSE  
2023

POLITICAL SCIENCE

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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.

Name Kunal Rastogi

Mobile No. \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

1. Invigilator's Signature \_\_\_\_\_

2. Invigilator's Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Signature Kunal Rastogi

## SECTION-A

Attempt all questions:

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

(12.5 × 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 coercive apparatus.

Karl Marx in his Communist Manifesto envisaged state to be a two dimensional entity: one made up of Economic structure while the superstructure is of state. Hence state effectively is 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 Gramscian

Remarks

approach. Even though he considered economy to be basic structure, he envisaged state to be an autonomous identity giving arise to the bureaucratist.

Schoul.

State

Civil Soc.

Garrison approach

Economy

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

Ralph Miliband thinks state to be an instrument, which although appear 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 cultural 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. In order to create that order, Adam Smith supported above along with Rothbard & Bentham. Hence they promote liberty which is natural, whereas inequality is also natural. Here any attempt to artificially create ~~liberty~~<sup>Equality</sup> would result through laws or state in loss of liberty.

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

Remarks

preoccupied. Hence rule of Social Darwinism  
given by Herbert Spencer is governing factor.  
If artificial means are introduced to taxation  
establish equality like progressive taxation  
or redistribution, Nozick states it would  
be unproductive or robbery (Friedman) ~~to~~

Hence both classical liberalism  
and neo-liberalism 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 behavioralism. 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 theory. values based and~~

~~empiricism have collated together.~~

~~This is witnessed in Rawls's social~~

~~justice theory or Priority of~~

~~Equality by Derek Parfit or~~

~~Theresa May's Participative Socialism~~

~~The second feature is the~~

~~creativity and Creativeness~~

~~"Creative theory" which culminates~~

~~both epitomise the~~

(5) value laden

(1) observation

(6) pure science

(2) verification

(7) originality

(3) systematisation

(8) measurement

(4) moderation

Creative  
theory

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

Remarks

(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 She conceives Power to 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 concensus based action. If it is constructive in nature. Other people carry out actions not because of some external co-ercions, force, willful persuasions (Morganthau) but due to inner inclination and motivation.

Power is not a feature nor

force. They are the attributes of an illegitimate state & uncontrollable

Power is a human relative concept which uses social persuasion

deliberates, debates, speaks, conditioning

to convince others.

Hence outcome of

force (violence).

Max Weber

Both Bentham & Burnet Power is same

(legal) and Arendt Power is sudically convincing others but the way is what

different. This difference is what creates Arendt's conception of Power

an constructive incentive.

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.

Machiavelli on other hand believed coercion & using force to persuade others is power.

Max Weber stated Power

Remarks

to be bestowed on those who have legal authority & monopoly of the use over it. Hence the needs 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 permeating each other.~~

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

~~The above relationship is not unidirectional. When power is legitimised using social contract, Picktaud 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 theorem of Social Justice Rawlsian gives out a lexical order.

Remarks

giving priority order of

Liberty, Equality, of opportunity

inequality in favour of disadvantage

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

Karl Marx in his book "Criticism of a Communist Programme", starts by stating that in a Communistic 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 ~~capital~~ Marxist

Remarks

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

Thirdly, the intervention of state in granting equal fair opportunity is also scorned. 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 critics Rawls for spreading false consciousness in the form of Rational comprehensive doctrine of Social liberalism. Marxist criticism is founded on the bedrock that Rawls promotes the capitalistic way of life and hence any intervention other than its

Remarks

abolition would continue clan based exploitation.

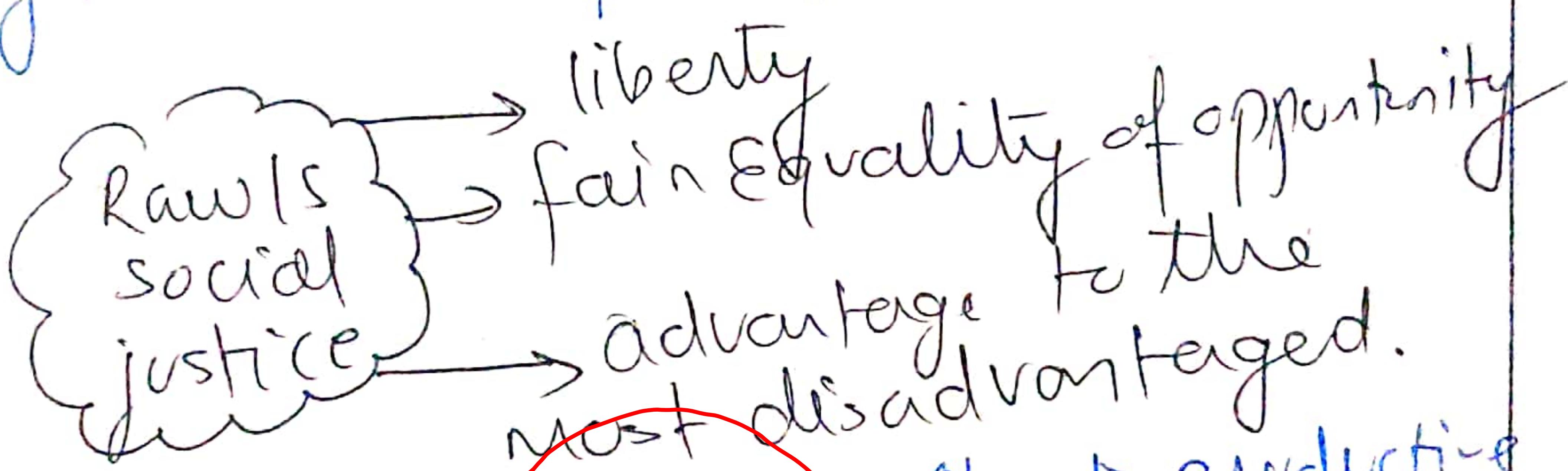
(c) Jeremy Bentham gave the concept of "Greatest Good to Greatest Number of people" using felicific calculus to measure the utility. This concept was extrapolated and used by welfare theorist as the foundational value of state.

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 difference 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 to not only improve

Remarks

Human condition but also Society

Secondly, J.D. Campbell &

John Saccoccia 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 Hume. Utilitarians sometimes compromise on liberty for greatest good, but Rawls in his Lexical order believe that human dignity should be 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

Answer the following  
(a) How do you do the cosmopolitanism?  
(b) How do you do the cosmopolitanism?

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 extortiorary power among individuals done through deliberation, public discussion and political empowerment.

The above is best achieved by what Joseph Bessen 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

public decision.

- (2) It provides legitimisation
- (3) The atmosphere is free of any external cohersion.
- (4) The debate is free & Honest.

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

Representative

Consensus

deliberative  
democracy

Dynamic

Ecological

Participative

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  
criticism

However the above has certain Lacræcæ

### 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 fervour.

③ It slows down the decision making process as extensive discussion takes place as anti-social elements may take advantage of free speech to spread malice & content.

Although discussions are very necessary for functioning and growth of democracy, but if its excess may be detrimental towards Gabriel Almond & Huntington's nation building. Hence participative democracy is better approach.

Remarks

(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 succesive 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 originally to solve

Remarks

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

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

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 light watchman state just to fulfill policing functions.

Social liberals and positive liberals like TH Green, Hobhouse & 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 Bertrand & JS Mill. They talk about welfare measures of the state following principle of "Greatest Good to Greatest number".

Hence "Service Consent" of state is basis of the political obligation. However Habermass states 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 Gaurav  
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  
contracting their

disincentive when the  
basis for political  
obligation is destroyed

legitimation crisis of the state.

This results in violent like French  
Revolution, Russian revolution

Hence, legitimacy crisis

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

Remarks

Attempt all questions  
Answer the following  
by Discrepancy

*Remarks*

## SECTION-B

Attempt all questions:

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

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

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

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

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

- (i) Socrates foundational assumption

Remarks

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  
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's like care study of Erich Fromm. Today's contemporary field of Behaviourism 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  
(b) Round

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. C B 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 a 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

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 Jacki 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 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 USA in third world.~~

~~Hence democracy in its practical form is not run by equally~~

Remarks

empowered rich

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 T D Campbell and John Sacchar, whereby the state as well as civil society is responsible for giving equality of ~~means~~ chances to get their predefined target.

Lord Thomas bifurcated this equality of opportunity into ① Competitive: social goods to be distributed on the basis of merit. Robert Nozicks theory of entitlement & John Lockes 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

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 Parfitt'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

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

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

The 1st wave feminist like Mary Wollstonecraft 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. Iris 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

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 essence. Simon de Beauvois states that "woman is not born, she is made" emphasizing that traditional social structures should be reformed ridding it of its "contrarian complex" & "patriarchal envy" (Sigmund Freud). Hence Betty Friedan in her book "Feminine Mystique" talks about radically restructuring social structure and feminine justice.

Fourth wave feminist talk about Ecofeminism (Vandana Shiva) & black feminism, whereby all sorts of discrimination are extension of Patriarchy and hence most.

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

7 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 them. It embraces 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 Margelit 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 and celebrating different cultures will help broader 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 due non-interference. This would, where no avoid in today's views, fundamentalism, sectarian leading to fundamentalism (ISIS, Christ church incident) is a breath India), multi-culturalism is a starting point. In this Mexican Young statesmen, fundamentalism rather than culturally relativism is the way forward. The scenario bring that fresh air from the

(b) C B 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 Redd  
will resulting in noble Savage personality

In creative freedom, man  
is allowed to pursue his innate  
human nature of innovativeness, ingenuity  
and vision. Individual are not just  
make a "cog in the wheel" rather  
they are empowered to pursue  
innovative.

Anne Mackee states that  
above is done by Macpherson by  
conjoining the process of production  
and labour. Macpherson, although  
believed in individuals 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

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

Hence Creative freedom of Macpherson is in quite sympathy 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 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 valuations.  
Explanation due to parametric justice is 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 communists believe in common ownership.

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 institutions. However, he 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 Social choice is better way to achieve social justice.

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 Rawl for his absolutist and individual conception of a phenomena which has multiple dimensions.

Remarks