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AIR 125 CSE
2023

POLITICAL SCIENCE

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POLITICAL SCIENCE

Time Allowed: 3 hr.

Max. Marks: 250

115.5

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.

1) Expand and Explain more relevantly
2) Structure your answer with Criticism
Commentaries of scholars

3)

1. Invigilator's Signature _____

2. Invigilator's Signature _____

Name Meenalika

Mobile No. _____

Date _____

Signature (Meenalika)

SECTION-A

Attempt all questions:

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

(10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) Gandhian theory of Trusteeship.
- (b) Mill's argument for Women equality.
- (c) Aristotle's classification of Governments.
- (d) Machiavellian perception of Human nature.
- (e) Arendt's critique of Modernity.

(a) Mahatma Gandhi has rightly been credited as the father of our nation, whose teachings continue to inspire us and our whole nation.

His believe in Truth & Non Violence

He was an ardent believer in truth pursuit as the purpose of mankind and serving God's creation as a major way in pursuit of truth.

He adopted the method of 'Ahimsa' in his pursuit of truth and called it the weapon of morally strong directed towards changing the heart.

His philosophy of Ahimsa is not just restraining from violence in deed but also in action and it also includes amassing more than

Remarks

what you need since it deprives other from the same.

Production by masses v/s Mass Production

from his concept of Ahimsa emerges in his core critique of modernity and he preferred production by masses rather than mass production which leads to unemployment

Trusteeship Theory

Since he knew that production by masses was not possible in contemporary situation, he came up with Trusteeship theory in which capitalist consider themselves not as owners of property but as trustee's of society's property.

They should keep as much as they need and give rest to those in need. This should happen by changing their hearts non-violently and this will turn class conflict to class cooperation.

His philosophy of Sarvodaya (universal upliftment) was inspired from the same. (Inspired by Ruskin's book Unto the Last)

Remarks

4

This theory continues to be relevant today as evident in compulsory Corporate Social Responsibility in the Companies Amendment Act, 2013.

b) J.S. Mill is one of the first thinkers who has openly advocated women equality in the past. He is said to belong to the liberal school of feminism.

In his words: "Most of the slavery has ended, only the slavery of women continues". In his work thinking, women are unequal not naturally but made to feel unequal since they are restrained within 4 walls of the household. He says: "women inequality is so universal that it appears natural but it isn't natural at all."

According to him equal political rights to women & letting them follow career is going to benefit not just them but entire society.

Subjugation of Women

Both

He suggests following benefits of women equality.

(i) Utilitarian Perspective : Since it will bring happiness to a larger number of people, it will serve the dictum of greatest happiness of greatest number.

(ii) Economic aspect : It will add to the talent pool of the community & help in further development.

(iii) Civilise mankind : Greater role of women will civilise the whole of mankind.

(iv) Destroys Schools of Despotism : Families act as schools of Despotism where children learn hierarchy and power culture which permeates to society.

So, it is rightly said, "If there is anyone who is liberal it is J.S. Mill" since his liberty is not just for man but equally for women.

(v) Having read 158 constitutions, Aristotle wrote his own book "The Constitution" in which he mentions various forms of Governments and also talks about the most

efficient one. Here is a table describing the kinds of governments he thought of.

Number of people ruling	Guided by people's interest	Self interest
One	Monarchy	Tyranny
Few	Aristocracy	Oligarchy
Many	Polity	Democracy

According to his analysis, Polity is the best kind of and most practicable form of government.

Monarchy: His topmost priority was to rule of one philosopher king but if passion dominates reason, it might turn to tyranny hence he did not support this.

Aristocracy: He believed rule by few rich would not be fair and also lead to instability since rich themselves do not follow rule in arrogance and are in conflict with poor.

Democracy: He thought too many ignorant people will result in unstable & inefficient government.

Polity: It was also rule by many, but not too many and this government would be by middle class who would be educated,

Remarks

follow rules and also would be equally a relatively more acceptable to rich and poor.

(d) Machiavelli belonged to an unstable period of human history and hence was a realist who preferred stability and security.

In his book "The Prince" where he is advising a king on how to rule he talks about human nature in realism. According to him following are his observations on human nature:

(i) Man is greedy, corrupt, deceitful and always looks out for his own interest.

(ii) As for him, man is ungrateful and would not remember any support provided by Prince. "A man might forget the loss of his father, but never forgets the loss of property". Hence Prince should not rely on return of favour in future.

(iii) Man is guided by self interest and individualistic, as in public realm. Hence Prince shouldn't confuse religion / ethics with polit

Remarks

They should be kept separately.

(iv) Man is ~~ungrateful~~ also fearful. Though he is ungrateful but he is also fearful and seeks protection. Hence he suggests, Prince to exploit this opportunity. In his words, "it's better to be feared than loved."

(v) Machiavelli also believes in inequality of attributes and thinks some are capable of becoming Prince and ~~these~~ ethics of those rules are different from common people. For them, "ends justify means."

Hence, Machiavelli holds a very pessimistic view of human nature, one who cannot be trusted.

(c) Hannah Arendt is one of the only well known women political philosophers who can not be put in one single school of thought describing her thought as "thinking without barriers" herself.

In her books like "On Totalitarianism" and "On Human Condition" she talks about

Remarks

the problems which continue to be relevant even after ~~few~~ more than 60 years when she talked about them.

In her book Totalitarianism, she talks about the roots of totalitarianism and says it is being sustained by myth and tyranny. Talking about how such myths (like Hitler's racial superiority) are sustained, she holds modernity responsible for the same.

According to her modernity has made human beings politically passive and have made only one aspect of their life important that is economic aspect. She also

She also thinks that man has become a consumer and political participation is limited only to listening to what media houses produce which kills creative & critical reasoning.

She finds fault in Enlightenment Project which established that it's not important to study past to understand Present.

Remarks

All for
Key words
700 Political
7. History
Banks of

2. Answer the following questions:

(a) Sir Syed Ahmed Khan as a reformer.

(200 Words) (15)

(b) Elaborate on the idea of alienation and "one dimensional man" from Marxian point of view.

(200 Words) (15)

(c) M.N. Roy's divergence from traditional understanding of Marxism. Explain.

(250 Words) (20)

a) Sir Syed Ahmed Khan is remembered even today for his contribution to social reform not just in his own Muslim community but also India as a whole.

At a young age he started Aligarh movement to introduce modern ideas & education to Muslims without compromising their allegiance to Islam. He believed education to be an important tool. He can be considered a reformer in following aspects:

(i) Education - He started Mohammedan Anglo Oriental College later known as Aligarh Muslim University because he believed in the instrumental role of English education in getting jobs and also reforming mindset.

(ii) Social reform - He worked against practice of polygamy and encouraged widow remarriage.

Remarks

in Muslims. He also supported women education. He was labelled as an "atheist barbarian" by Muslim orthodox community but he said "I am not worried about my life but I am worried about the future of our (Muslims) children".

He used to say that, "We don't need to show the face of Islam to the world, we need to show the face of true followers of Islam as compassionate, knowledgeable, tolerant & pious."

(iii) Secular: Till 1887, he promoted secularism in India. He used to call Hindus & Muslims "two eyes of a beautiful & bright India". So inclusive was his approach that, he appointed many Hindus & professors & headed Hindi & Sanskrit department in AMU.

But, later he became instrumental in shaping the idea of Two Nation Theory. He has been criticised as a British loyalist who taught Muslims to be loyal to English. He was also afraid of Hindu majority. Conflict between Hindi & Urdu and English principals like Theodore had a role to play.

Remarks

(b) Young Marx in his Economic & philosophical text talked about the revolutionary concept of Alienation which continues to hold relevance in a neo liberal world order.

According to Marx, increasing capitalism was leading to dehumanisation and a feeling of alienation among men. Both capitalist & labour class were alienated but it was the young proletariat class that felt more alienated than because bourgeoisie class still had scope of enjoyment.

By alienation, Marx implied alienation from creative & social nature of Human being.

According to Marx, proletariat men faces alienation at four levels:

- (i) Alienation from the process of production : Production & creation should bring happiness & contentment but production in capitalism, so mechanical that labour has become 'cog in the wheel'.

Remarks

(ii) Product of his labour : He is not even able to see the final shape of his labour, hence is alienated.

(iii) His own human nature : Since survival has become a struggle, man is left with no time to explore his creativity or spiritual nature.

(iv) Complete alienation : Because of all the above three man completely feels alienated from himself & society.

In modern times scholars like Herbert Marcuse have elaborated this idea in their concept of 'one dimensional man', which talks about man for only seeing himself as a consumer of goods & ideas in the economy and is not able to see multi dimensions as a social, political & spiritual being.

Remarks

(C) M.N. Roy - Manuendra Nath Roy is called as father of communism in India. He is called as "symbol of revolution in the East" by Lenin.

M.N. Roy had a journey from a radical Marxist to radical humanist due to different phases in his life.

Initial Phase: He was called in Comintern and was active communist leader but had differences with Lenin over methods of communism. While Lenin believed that communists should collaborate with anti colonial struggle but he was completely against any collaboration with Bourgeoisie. Hence his ideas were initially accepted but he was later expelled. He is said to have committed the guilt of heteronomy.

Later: He tried to contest elections & gradually realised the impracticability and faults of Marxism and moderated his philosophy from that of radical Marxism to Radical Humanism.

Remarks

He shared with Marx, the importance of rationality and importance of rationality. but differed with him, on various points. In "Radical Humanist" he says that,

"Marx not only took me out from the lingering of the past but also gave me a new faith & direction"

In his later books, he diverges from his earlier idea. In "Scientific Revolution & Beyond Communism", he says that "Marxism is just a method and a strategy and it is not ~~irrefutable~~ irrefutable"

Some of the points made by Roy are as follows:

a) Criticism of Dialectics : He says that, Marx has given a lot of importance to matter and says that ideas don't matter but ideas are

Remarks

equally relevant. In fact dialectical materialism itself is an idea.

b) No importance given to culture: He says that economic aspect is not the only aspect and ideologies are equally important.

c) Criticises Marx for not adding a humanist aspect in his theory.

Hence comes up with his own theory of Radical Humanism with human being at the centre.

Highlight & mark
Concept like
Scientific socialism
Lithers theory of state
Historical Materialism
Humanism Principle
"Surplus"
work on structure

Remarks

3. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Elaborate on the major grounds of difference between the two major thinkers of Social contract tradition, John Locke and Thomas Hobbes. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Discuss the major arguments given by Radical Feminism. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Gramsci's theory of revolution as an extension of core Marxian rationale has its own merits as well. (250 Words) (20)

a) The Social contract tradition is the core theory of how state came into being. While early thinkers considered state as natural and something that existed before human being, social contract tradition presents the idea of state as a social contract between individuals for protection.

There have been three major thinkers in this tradition in the line of Hobbes, John Locke, Rousseau.

While both Hobbes & Locke, present state as a social contract there is a major difference between both on following lines.

Purpose of State
 i) While Hobbes state comes into being as a necessity. ~~(as men are naturally live in absolute state)~~
 Locke's state comes into being as a matter of

Remarks

Convenience. Hobbes believes passion takes over reason and state of nature ^{not} peaceful but Locke thinks reason is over passion and generally state of nature is peaceful.

b) Theory of Right: Hobbes promotes theory of legal rights. People have only those rights that state has allowed. Locke believes in natural rights of life, liberty & property which can not be taken away at any cost.

c) Right to Resistance - Hobbes gives right to resist only when right to life is prohibited arbitrarily but Locke gives wide right to resistance in case any of the natural rights & legal rights are threatened.

d) Liberty: Hobbes provides liberty only where law is silent. For Locke, liberty is an inalienable natural right.

So, while Hobbes can be called an individualist who ended up being absolutist, Locke is an individualist in & out.

Remarks

② Radical feminism is the second wave feminism that started after 1960s. It is called Feminism in real sense since it is women's theory given by women themselves. Major arguments given by Radical Feminists can be clubbed into four:

a) Sex v/s gender : They differentiate between sex biological term sex and gender cultural construct of 'Gender'. Sex is the natural identity given by birth but Gender is constructed. For ex - what a girl & boy is a biological term but girl looking pink more and boy blue, girl being timid & shy & boy being brave & strong are results of Gender. Most of the inequality is because of gender. In words of Simon De Beauvoir "One is not born a woman, but becomes a woman" (Second-Sex)

b) Patriarchy : They define patriarchy as

Remarks

authority of males in every area from family to public realm. By assigning certain roles to women and relegating them to household, control is exercised over them. Patriarchy permeates everywhere from female harassment at workplaces to family functions at home. A Kamla Bhasin is a well known scholar in this field from India.

c) Personal is Political; Since long patriarchy was justified by differentiating between personal & political. But radical feminists have broken this tradition by proving that politics is everywhere & power play in personal sphere restricts women. Kate Millet in her book 'Sexual Politics' goes on to say "politics is not just between people, politics is also between sexes." They substantiate this.

Remarks

Argument by proving how domestic violence in personal sphere affects political sphere, how women not having a say in law making that affects personal space has an effect on their lives ...

Differentiated Citizenship & Differentiated Rights

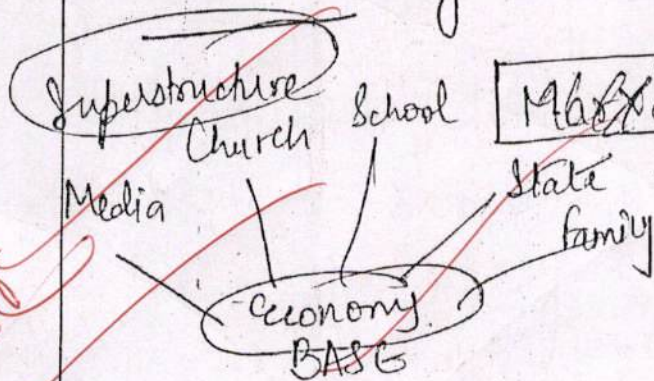
Since women are at risk, they need to be treated differently, hence there is a need for ^{special} provisions for women.

In conclusion, radical feminism stands for sisterhood & collective womanhood; they stand for complete liberation for women to be what they want to be and end to heterosexual families as centres of subjugation.

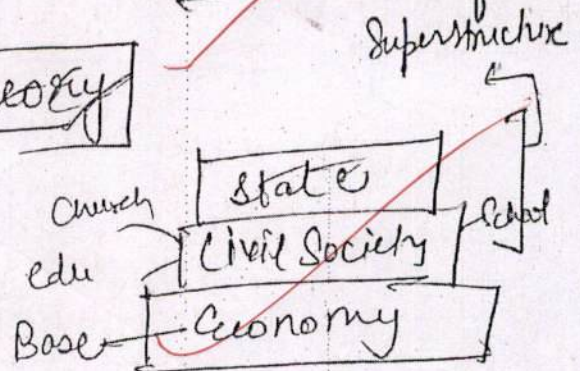
Remarks

c) Gramsci has given new life to Marx's theory of Communism. He has defended and saved Marxism from being labelled as economic determinism.

Marx's Theory



Gramsci's Modification



Marx believed that economy is the base structure and all the superstructures are mere reflections of the base. So a capitalist who controls the economy also controls all the superstructure.

So, in order to bring communism, proletariat has to take control of economic structure & overthrow superstructure. Marx also believed that capitalism is full of contradictions.

Remarks

and once it is advanced, consciousness of exploitation will increase to that level, that revolution would be obvious next step.

But, as history unfolded US which was an advanced capitalist state did not face revolution but a feudal state in Russia went through Russian Revolution.

It is to resolve this anomaly irony the Gramsci came up with his extension of Marx's theory.

Following are the key aspects:

- (i) Importance of civil society: According to Marx, only economic structure matters but according to Gramsci ideological structures are also important. He emphasises the role of civil society in manufacturing consent. According to him intellectuals in civil society who are perceived as neutral,

Remarks

are actually instruments of capitalist class and used to make capitalism a common sense in the mind of proletariat who no longer wants to overthrow the capitalism, but himself wants to be a capitalist.

i) In the same line, he brings out the importance of mass media & education in building a hegemony of capitalist class.

ii) Role of State: For Marx, state is the instrument of coercion of capitalist class, but Gramsci believed civil society has the main role as a 'shock absorber' and state works as the last resort. Hence he suggested proletariat to have its own intellectual.

Merits of Gramsci's observations

His extension helped in explaining revolution in Russia but not in US. Also, it reemphasized the importance of Marxist theory of economy as the base structure and goes on to explain how soft power is used to legitimise economic inequalities in capitalist system. It reaffirms the view: "In every epoch ideas of ruling class, are the ruling ideas."

Remarks

SECTION-B

Attempt all questions:

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

(10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) Annihilation of Caste.
- (b) State of nature for Hobbes is state of terror.
- (c) Spirituality as force behind nationalism. (Aurobindo)
- (d) Ambedkar-Gandhi debate on caste.
- (e) Platonic scheme of Education.

1) The term Annihilation of Caste comes from the title of the book of one of the most fierce changemakers of modern times, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar has been called as "Modern Manu" and "Mook Nayak" for his ability and courage to fight for one of the most depressed sections of society:

Belonging to 'Mahar caste' one of the untouchable caste of Maharashtra, he talked about reasons of how untouchability is sustained in Indian society.

He held Hindu scriptures like Vedas responsible for systemic oppression of Dalits. In his words, "Unless we apply dynamite to Vedas, untouchability

Remarks

can not be finished. He held the theory of Varnashramadharm proposed by ancient Hindu scriptures like Manusmriti responsible for untouchability. Varnashramadharm gave primacy to Brahmins & Kshatriyas ~~and~~ equating them with head and arms of God and legitimised oppression of Shudras by equating them with feet of Brahmins.

System of Endogamy (marrying within one's caste) was another manner of maintaining caste segregation.

Hence, B.R. Ambedkar believed, the only solution to untouchability is Annihilation of Caste as exemplified by him by burning Manusmriti publicly i.e. complete destruction of caste.

b) P. Thomas Hobbes is one of the classical social contract thinkers. He is said to belong to utilitarian school of thought. His theory of State of Nature is rooted in human nature.

Remarks

Human Nature : According to him human nature is individualist and utility driven. A person can understand his pain and pleasure but not of others and would always want to increase his/her own pleasure.

State of Nature : It is a hypothetical situation in which it is assumed that there is no state / authority and man is on his own.

Acc. to Hobbes : "In State of Nature life is a continuous pursuit of power, which only ends with life itself." This implies that since every there is no one to protect man. He looks for his own protection & security and wants to increase his power. Since every man is thinking in the same manner, there is a constant security dilemma in state of nature.

According to Hobbes, it's a state of anarchy and terror where no one is able to enjoy since life is constantly threatened.

Hence, all men collectively enter into a contract to create an absolute state to end

Remarks

submit their rights to him in return for protection of life

As Hobbes say, ~~"Man can either be a God or a beast"~~

~~"There is only two"~~

As Hobbes say, "Man can either be a God or a beast but not be a man without state"

(C) Sri Aurobindo is called as "The Greatest Indian Sage". Born and brought up outside India, he was highly intrigued and inspired by the scriptures and ancient religion of India. Hence, he came to strongly believe in the idea of spiritual nationalism.

In words, "Nationalism is not a geographical idea or fraction of imagination, it is a religion to and faith towards our nation & fellow human beings."

He did not believe in aping British culture and sought Indians to believe in their own culture. His demand for Swaraj was also rooted in the same.

Remarks

According to him Independence was important for India because, spiritual development can only happen once a person is free to think and happy.

He also thought that India has a role to play not just in its own liberation but the whole of mankind since spiritual liberation is far important than material advancement and once India is free it will play a role in spiritual advancement of the world.

In the later stages of his life, he came to regard boundaries as irrelevant and talked about universal oneness spiritually.

(d) Mahatma Gandhi, also known as Father of Indian Nation and Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar famously known as "Father of Indian Constitution" are two personalities our nation is indebted to and when we look at their thoughts we realise they differed so much on so many issues.

Remarks

On caste

- 1) According to Gandhi, caste has a functional utility in Indian society and Varnashramdharma is a beautiful concept of social order, but Ambedkar was for complete annihilation of caste system since it wasn't about the concept but context and for him it was used by Brahmins to systematically deprive Shudras. In fact he criticised Gandhi for not following it himself.
- 2) According to Gandhi, untouchability was not the foundation of Varnashramdharma and it came later and can be reformed, but Ambedkar believed it was the premise of caste segregation and had to go, for he believed that "to create new, old must go."
- 3) According to Gandhi, the Vedas are a source of learning and change of mindset can happen, Ambedkar suggested complete putting dynamite to Vedas.

Remarks

2) Gandhi believed in social reform & change of heart and was completely against institutional structures like separate electorate for empowerment of Dalits. But Ambedkar was a pragmatist and believed that social reform is slow and an illusion and separate electorates are a necessity to take Dalits out of million years of subjugation. It can be said that their different backgrounds were responsible for their different perspectives. While Gandhi ji belonged to Vaishya caste and grew up in Vaishnavite tradition, Ambedkar was a Mahar and had seen dark side of caste system.

5. c) Plato's Republic can be called a treatise on education. He has dedicated $2/3^{rd}$ of his book to education. He wanted to treat mental maleady with a mental medicine and hence elaborated on a scheme of education necessary for an effective state.

Remarks

Necessity of education — Important for soul
functional utility of education

Therefore he suggested public education
universally available to all.

Education system

Elementary Education

Upto 18 years + 2 years military training

Later Education

20-35 years — philosophy & mathematical education

Components of Elementary education : Music and gymnastics were important component to teach values of calmness & temperance. It was important to teach children not to be afraid of death. Two years of military training prohibiting all kinds of self indulgence to bring discipline.

Late Education — At age 20, there was a selection. Those not selected go for military and not undergo education in advanced mathematics & science until the age of 30. Then there will be another selection. Selected ones will go for study of philosophy & metaphysics and also partial experience with ruling. After 35 years till 50 years, they will serve junior position in administration and hence prepared as philosopher king. Criticised for being discriminatory, elite, highly focussed on Maths.

Remarks

7. Answer the following questions:

(a) Aristotle's views on nature of state.

(b) Plato's arguments for denying family and property to guardian class.

(c) Gandhian approach on Communal Unity.

(200 Words) (15)

(200 Words) (15)

(250 Words) (20)

a) Aristotle had an organic theory of state.
According to him state is created by its
various organs. Individual created by
God come together to form family,
families come together to form village
and villages come together to form
State.

Just like organs in a human body have no
importance & relevance without state,
just like that various organs of state
including individual, family & village hold
no relevance without state.

It is because of this reason that state's
authority should be respected and it
should be obeyed.

Remarks

Aristotle's theory of state is very close to Kautilya's theory of 'Saptanga state' which presents state made of 7 organs.

Aristotle has been criticised as Also his state is ruled by middle classes under a law and not by a philosopher king since law represents supremacy of reason over passion.

He present Polity as the best kind of form of government.

Highlights
May as Political
Aim

Remarks

b) Plato's Republic King was based on the rule of a Philosopher king who would be devoid of all material interests. In his words "all troubles of states will cease if philosophers become kings, rulers or rulers by some divine ordinance undertake philosophy."

Based on this premise, he designed his state. In this context he talked about family & property for ruling class. In his view, family & property brought nepotism, favouritism and egotism to the ruling class and they are not able to live and rule altruistically. Hence, ~~all~~ all rulers should live in military like barracks & should only have as much as is needed.

He also thought that owning property will lead to overcoming of reason by passion,

Remarks

which will compromise or the fairness of rule and also disturb self discipline of the philosopher king.

→ He suggested only occasional mating for them to produce best breed but no family.

His views have been criticised by many.

One of the most popular critique was his own disciple Aristotle according to his

families were most very important for the primary learning of love, sacrifice & cooperation. Moreover he believed that

property brings in motivation to do better and

managing property is important to live well,

which is important to rule.

Remarks

c) Mahatma Gandhi believed in universal peace & brotherhood. Having read many religious texts, he believed that all religions preach the same message of truth & non violence, though he was mainly inspired by Hindu Sanatana Dharma.

His conception of "Ramrajya" was the example of communal unity proposed by him. It will be a stateless society where everyone would feel responsible for the community & other fellow human beings.

Gandhi's concept of Sarvodaya also spoke volumes about his ~~concern~~ the communal unity he proposed. The concept of trusteeship which promoted class cooperation over class conflict & classless society where everyone's respected & manual labour would bring about sensitivity & empathy in people.

Remarks

Most importantly, he believed that everyone is a child of God and serving God's creation is a pursuit of truth. Evils like untouchability are unfair & should be eradicated and all religions should teach the message of love & tolerance. So through truth & Ahimsa, all communities can live together.

7.0
Add other dimensions
like - Trusteeship
- Antygo Lagh
- Mass Production rather
for masses
- for machine
- Purity of Means

Remarks