



An Institute for Civil Services

IAS TOPPER'S

TEST COPY

VYOM BINDAL

RANK - 141

**POLITICAL SCIENCE
TEST - 1**

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.

(101)

Some answers are very good!
Try to improve the presentation of your content

Name RYOM BINDAL

Mobile No. _____

Date _____

Signature [Signature]

1. Invigilator Signature _____

2. Invigilator Signature _____

REMARKS.

GS SCORE

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SECTION A

 1. Answer the following questions: (150 Words Each) (10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) Discuss M.N. Roy's differences with the Comintern over the Colonial Question.
- (b) Bring out the relationship between Equality and Justice.
- (c) Alienation and its diverse interpretations.
- (d) Complex Equality
- (e) Socialist Feminism

Q. M.N. Roy was a great political philosopher who rose to be the member of communist international. However there he developed differences with Lenin on the colonial question.

Lenin wanted to extend support to various nationalist movements going on across the globe as he believed defeating the capitalist imperialism is first priority rather than a worldwide communist revolution.

M.N. Roy on the other hand believed that Lenin is playing with the ideas of Marx. M.N. Roy held that

Remarks

What was the
other difference
he had with
the Soviet
Communist
State?

GS SCORE

4 masses are ready to throw both the foreign bourgeois as well as indigenous bourgeois class, they possess the requisite revolutionary consciousness to establish communism.

Due to these differences he was eventually expelled from the Communist International and then he tried to join and influence Indian National Congress.

(v) Equality and Justice are two central concepts of political science, different scholars and schools of thought have explained their relationship differently:

1) Classical Greek scholars like Plato and Aristotle believe that justice lies in a hierarchical society. Aristotle even held

Remarks

that equal treatment of unequals is violation of justice.

2) Classical liberal scholars like Mill, Locke, Bentham give priority to liberty over equality in order to establish a just society.

3) Socialists and Communists believe that justice lies in equality of outcomes, they advocate not just political, but also economic equality as pre-requisite of justice.

Modern liberals and Social liberals particularly John Rawls believes that justice lies in establishing equality of opportunity and inequality in the society is only justified if it benefits the least advantaged section of society.

marks

Flawless now as mistake
Rest all is good

6

5) Amartya Sen's notion of justice is rooted in his advocacy of development of capability of each individual to live a life he values. For him mere equal opportunity without considering capability is injustice.

6) Neo-liberal scholars like Nozick in his theory of entitlement asserts that desire for equality had destroyed justice, hence state should not make any attempts to remove inequality. Hence, the relationship between equality and justice continue to be debated.

(c) Alienation is the Marxian idea which explains the ill effects of capitalist societies. Marx has held that in a capitalist society man suffers from following types of alienation:

- 1) Alienation from the process of production as mechanised manufacturing process of capitalism had killed the joy of creativity.
 - 2) Alienation from the fruits of one's labour as surplus value is expropriated by the capitalist class.
 - 3) Alienation from family and society as workers do not get enough time to socialise and spend time with family due to long working hours.
 - 4) In the end person is alienated from himself, and realises he had become merely the log in the wheel.
- The idea had been further expanded by Neo-Marxist scholars like Herbert Marcuse, Theodore Adorno who held the capitalism and science had led to instrumental rationality.

Remarks

Typo included
views of Frankfurt
school who made
Seeman
Adorno

(4)

It had killed the creativity and value system and made man one-dimensional that is focus only on one sphere of economics.

Hence theory of alienation provide Marxist critique to liberal claim of freedom in liberal capitalist societies. They say instead of freedom, alienation occurs in such societies.

- (d) The idea of complex equality is given the communitarian scholar Michael Walzer in his book "spheres of Justice". This theory holds that each sphere of life is autonomous, hence a universal idea of equality cannot be applied across all the spheres. Different spheres have different principles of redistribution for example, while elementary

education can be made universal, but not the technical education.

Michael Walzer also justifies the state intervention to prevent "systematic violations of justice", which happens when one entity takes all the goods in a particular sphere.

He also held that every good cannot be distributed in each and every sphere as all spheres are autonomous.

Hence, idea of complex equality challenges the notion of universal idea of equality and widens the equality debate. 4

- (e) Socialist feminist scholars like Iris Marion Young, Clara Fraser emerged as critique to liberal feminist who claimed civil and political equality for women.

Socialist feminists

Remarks

What-sense is this idea of complex equality of Paulsen (John)

what are its practical limitations?

held that mere voting rights and political equality will not liberate women. Rather they advocate economic equality of women.

For this they suggest moving away from idea of universal citizenship to differentiated citizenship which brings equality with equity and gives special economic rights to women for their economic upliftment.

Scholars like Jenins held that women inequality stems from idea of private property and capitalism, and women equality will automatically come in a communist society. Socialist feminists laid foundation for generating global consensus on facilitating economic empowerment of women.

Remarks

You need
to mention
more views
from within
the domain



2. Attempt all questions:

(a) Analyse the features, significance and criticism of the Pluralistic theory of state.
(200 Words) (15 Marks)

(b) Discuss in detail the concept of Nationalism by Aurobindo Ghosh. Also provide a critical examination of his contribution to Indian Political thought.
(200 Words) (15 Marks)

(c) Classical liberalism as per Michael Oakeshott is a philosophy of crude and uncritical individualism and in fact inconsistent with social democracy. What are the major arguments you can give to support his views?
(250 Words) (20 Marks)

(a) Pluralist theory of state is put forward by scholars like Laski, MacIver in line of opposing the idea of absolute sovereignty of the state.

Scholars like Austin, Hobbes held that state has absolute authority and demands unquestionable obedience, but this notion is contested by pluralist scholars who give following features of theory of state:

1) Since society is federal, authority must also be federal.

Remarks

- 4) State cannot fulfill all the requirements of the individual, hence state cannot demand complete political obligation by all the individuals.
- 3) State is only one among the several organisations of society, and individuals has obligation towards each social organisation.

Significance: pluralistic theory of state gave the idea of functional sovereignty in place of territorial sovereignty.

Pluralistic theory is more practical as sovereignty of state is compromised both internally and externally due to different factors.

Criticisms: Professor R. N. Gilchrist held

Remarks

while understanding
it correct
mention also the
various models of state
pluralist

7

that devolution of power to several centres of power will create conflicts and threaten the integrity of society.

Pluralists are criticised for neither fully destroying the idea of state nor fully preserving hence they want to have their cake and eat it too.

In face of these criticism, Laski later acknowledged that state is the key institution of the society.

- b) Surendra Ghosh gave his idea of nationalism in opposition to idea of India as nation in the making by moderate scholars like Surendranath Banerjee.
- ~~Surendra~~ Surendra believed in idea of cultural nationalism, he held that India's identity as a nation is

independent of historical evolution.

He held that India is nation from the very beginning on the basis of common culture, it has spirit ~~and~~ which never dies and it also has soul, which was earlier sleeping, but has now awoken.

Hence, Surobindo was influenced by Perceval's idea of cultural nationalism and neo-Vedantism of Vivekananda.

Surobindo projects India as mother goddess, and calls for nationalism is not merely a political programme, but nationalism as new religion, with dedication to the mother land.

C.R. Das refers to him as poet of patriotism and prophet of nationalism for giving a sanctified and exalted version

of Indian nationalism.

Anandmo's contribution:

Anandmo belonged to the extremist phase of Indian National Movement, and he contributed in raising idea of nationalism to the pedestal of religion, one which demands sacrifice and dedication.

He was also among the first scholars who demanded complete independence.

Moreover, his idea of nationalism was not narrow, he in fact believed in the idea of cosmopolitanism and essential unity of entire mankind. India's political independence is first step to achieve that.

However, despite his contributions he is also criticised for giving a

Remarks

Talk about
his view
on role of masses
(use of violence)

But all is good.

9

communal tone to nationalism.

His mixing of religion and politics, projection of India as mother goddess unconsciously sowed the seeds of communal discord and kept away Muslim masses from integrating into the fold of national movement.

- (c) Classical liberalism gives absolute preference to liberty over equality and creates a minimal state. Scholars like Herbert Spencer, even went to the extent of advocating social Darwinism where everyone should be made responsible for their choices, state should let the hungry and disable to die, as any intervention violates liberty.

Remarks

Palke about
Hobbes
who was
a part of
the protest
Spencer comes
after in
neoclassical

However, such ideas are criticised on following grounds:

- 1) Positive liberals interpret the liberty as capacity to do something. Hence they advocate positive role of state to help build up capacity of people.
- 2) Man is social by nature as also said by Aristotle. Hence classical liberal idea of absolute individualism neglects the fact that social interest is larger than the sum of interest of individual constituents.
- 3) Classical liberalism may lead to greater inequalities, neglecting of the humanitarian concerns and degeneration of society. It may even lead to revolution.

Remarks

as Aristotle held inequality is the cause of revolution.

4) Social liberals like John Rawls, Ronald Dworkin suggest that merit cannot be the sole criteria, as person cannot be made responsible for choices made under the unchosen circumstances.

5) Classical liberals ignore the prevailing inequalities and difference in initial endowments e.g. social disabilities attached to dalits in India, which need special treatment.

6) Liberty in absence of equality will degenerate into the license of few and concentration of the power of the state.

Remarks

Try to separate by define what is social democracy (then identify with classical liberalism)

3. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Analyse and discuss views of Hobbes and Isaiah Berlin on negative liberty.
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Elaborate on the contribution of Machiavelli to modern political thought.
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Discuss the evolution of pre-Marxian socialist thought. To what extent did Marx agree or disagree with the pre-Marxian socialist ideology?
(250 Words) (20 Marks)

(C) Marx was not the first socialist but there did exist a pre-Marxian socialist thought, in broadly two strands:

1) Luddites, who wanted to bring about the socialism, ending the workers exploitation, but they lacked the scientific understanding of capitalism. Hence their actions were merely violent outbreaks rather than a revolution.

2) Others like Robert Owen, Charles Fourier did possess scientific understanding of

Remarks

Capitalism, but they believed in appealing to conscience of the capitalist class, setting up co-operatives to ameliorate the exploitation of workers. They did not advocate the ~~Maoist~~ violent overthrow of capitalism.

Mao's idea :

- Mao called earlier socialists as "utopian socialists" as he believed that violence is midwife of change.
- He referred to his theory as praxis, which is theory accompanied by action. He said scholars of the world had tried to interpret the world but what matters is to change it.

Remarks

need
to be separately
discuss nature of
some pre-Marxian workers

6

- Further, Marx called his socialism as "scientific socialism" based upon sound understanding of capitalism.
- Marx did not believe in gradual transformation of capitalism as advocated by earlier socialists, rather he believed in a violent revolution led by the proletariat class to overthrow capitalism and also establish a classless, stateless society.
- Hence, Marxian ideas mark a watershed movement in the history of evolution of socialist ideas.

(v) Machiavelli is a thinker of era of transition from medieval ages to modern ages. He was among the first scholars

who gave valuable ideas about the modern political thought which include :-

- 1) Machiavelli established the nationalism and absolute sovereignty of state. His aim was unification of Italy, hence he justified that within a territory there can be only one sovereign.
- 2) Machiavelli advocated separation of politics from religion, hence he contributed to the idea of secular state.
- 3) Machiavelli advocated "dual morality" for the king, i.e. political actions cannot be judged on basis of morality, for him end justifies the means. Hence he laid way for idea of realism.

Remarks

1) Machiavelli prescribed monarchy as desirable form of government where people are not virtuous, and republic where people are good. Hence, he linked form of government to nature of people, hence a rudimentary form of Political Sociology.

2) Machiavelli advised Prince never to confiscate property of his subjects, hence he contributed to the ideas of capitalism which holds right to private property as inviolable.

Above ideas of Machiavelli shows his contribution to modern political thought. He influenced a generation of realist thinkers, even Gramsci who wrote "Modern Prince".

Remarks

good examples
write one paragraph
how his overall impact
contribution has impacted
the direction of WPT

8

(a) Hobbes view on negative liberty?

~~Hobbes~~ Hobbes believed in the idea of absolute state, hence he said "liberty is where law is silent".

As per Hobbes, people can enjoy only that much liberty as is granted by the state.

State has right to pass any law or give any order to preserve life and no one can oppose it. Even individual conscience cannot be pleaded as defence against the violation of law of sovereign.

Reason behind such analysis is the Hobbes's believe in selfish and passion driven human nature. He needs the check of

Remarks

absolute sovereign on his liberty so as to prevent anarchy, chaos putting human life into threat.

Isaiah Berlin on negative liberty:-

Berlin believed in the idea of minimum state, which performs only limited functions of maintaining law and order, enforcing contracts.

Individuals possess absolute liberty to do whatever they like as human beings are rational and clearly understand what is best for them.

Berlin believes that liberty and equality are two incompatible ideas and any attempt by the state to bring equality,

will curb liberty of individuals and pave the way for emergence of an authoritarian regime.

Hence, even though both the scholars favour liberty but their content and interpretation of negative liberty is different.

You need to find common ground b/w the two

Analyse how both are more concerned with scope/extent of liberty rather than source of liberty

①

4. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Explain the term "Liberal Democracy" and also assess its major critiques.
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Analyse how Gramscian views have influenced the Marxian views on false consciousness.
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Discuss the views of Post-modernist group inside the Feminist ideology.
(250 Words) (20 Marks)

Remarks

- *Remarks*

Remarks

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Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

SECTION B

5. Answer the following questions: (150 Words)

(10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) Locke as an individualist out and out.
- (b) Platonic classes and justice in the ideal state.
- (c) Multiculturalists perspective on Human Rights.
- (d) Over himself, over his own body and mind individual is sovereign (Mill), comment.
- (e) Comparison of Aristotle and Marx in terms of 'Revolution'.

(d) C. E. Vaughan had called Locke as individualist because of the following reasons:

- 1) Locke believes in theory of natural rights, whereby individual possess certain rights irrespective of the state.
- 2) Locke believes in social contract tradition whereby individual is prior to state and state comes into existence as a result of contract.
- 3) Locke justifies absolute right to property, which rules right of state to arbitrarily deprive a person of his property.

Remarks

4) Locke establishes a constitutional state and even give right to resist against the state, in case it violates terms of contract, disruption of legislature etc -

5) Locke's idea of toleration and separation of state from religion is also aimed at protecting individual liberty in matters of belief and conscience.

6) Locke says that state is a trust and people are trustee, hence state enjoys only limited delegated rights.

For the above mentioned features of Locke's theory he is been referred to as individualist.

(vi) Plato believe that both at the level of individual as well as the state there are three types of feelings or people

- respectively which are:

- 1) Reason is possessed by golden souls, they have true knowledge to recollect the idea of Kingdom of God.
- 2) Courage which is quality of silver souls. These people are suitable for performing military duties.
- 3) Man of appetite or bronze souls. This is the class suitable for production.

Justice as per Plato: Justice for Plato is established when all the three classes work in a hierarchical yet harmonious manner.

Men of reason constitute the ruling class in form of Philosopher King of Queens. Second in hierarchy comes

the auxiliary class of men of courage who perform military function.

Producers class or men of appetite are not fit for rule, hence they should only carry out the production work.

Plato had prescribed an elaborate system of education to filter out the quality of souls.

However, Aristotle criticises Plato on basing his idea of justice on arbitrary classification of soul. Marx also criticise him for giving disproportionate reward to mental work of ruling class rather than manual work of producer class.

(c) Multiculturalist scholars question the liberal perspective of universal human

Remarks

What you describes Justice provides at state level
what about Justice at individual level?

Rights disregarding the cultural content.

Multiculturalists believe that human Rights should take care of cultural differences rather than imposing a uniform version of rights on all.

Liberal Multiculturalists like Will Kymlicka has prescribed following rights for national minorities:

- 1) Rights of special representation in the national legislature.
- 2) Right of self governance if confined to a particular territory.
- 3) Protection to the culture.

Bhishnu Vasekh further proposes an inter-faith dialogue to arrive at universal consensus on Human Rights while keeping in focus the dignity of individuals.

Remarks

You need to compulsorily mention views of ~~the~~ new ~~author~~ author will

5

12/11/2022

Multiculturalists oppose the melting pot culture and assimilation of different identities, as it makes humans only efficient machines destroying their creativity which comes from culture.

But scholars like Amy Gutman, Teddy Waldron criticise multiculturalism from preventing emergence of global hybrid culture and isolating the communities from one another.

- (d) Mill is one of the greatest scholars who justify maximum liberty for the individuals. Mill held that since every human being is rational and possess reason, he should be free to make his own choices without any external

restraint by the state.
 Hence Mill said that "All restraints
qua restraints" is an evil. J.S. Mill
 was therefore a scholar of negative
liberty, and believed in ~~the~~ idea of
 minimum state intervention. He linked ^{the} liberty
 Mill held that "No state becomes great
by dwarfing its own people", hence everyone
 should enjoy liberty. However, despite his
 advocacy of negative liberty, Mill also led
 to beginning of idea of state intervention
 in individual action. He said that in
other regarding actions state can impose
restriction on the basis of "harm principle"
 that is one's action should not violate the
 liberty of other individual.

Remarks

Why is so important for Mill
 that he individual is
 sovereign

6

2) Aristotle held the cause of revolution is inequality whether real or perceived hence state should ~~not~~ never allow inequality to take root. Marx held that reason behind revolution is class division of society into the capitalist and the worker class.

For Aristotle, revolution can be done by any class, but for Marx, revolution is carried by the proletariat class.

Aristotle prescribes the idea of equal treatment of equals and unequal treatment of unequals to prevent revolution. But for Marx, revolution is inevitable in a class divided society due to antagonistic interests of workers and capitalists.

Remarks

(4)

Should have done a comparative analysis
Also need more points

6. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Explain the term "Party as Vanguard of the Proletariat". (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Comment on the assertion of Laslett that Filmer and not Hobbes was the main antagonist of Locke. In what sense does Locke differ radically from both Hobbes and Filmer? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Discuss the relationship between emergence of Mass societies and Alienation on basis of views of scholars. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

Q1) Lenin was first to apply the Marx's idea of revolution in practical sense while carrying out the Russian revolution. Marx held that workers will develop the revolutionary consciousness of 'class for itself' on their own due to extreme exploitation in a fully advanced capitalist society. They will overthrow the capitalists, establish dictatorship of the proletariat as a transition phase and will ultimately set up a classless communist society. However, Lenin was carrying out

Remarks

revolution in an industrially backward
Bolshevik Russia.

Lenin held that workers
will not be able to develop consciousness
on their own, hence he introduced
the idea of Communist party working
as the "vanguard of the proletariat",
which will help develop the revolutionary
consciousness among the proletariat

class. Communist party will be organised
on basis of democratic centralism and
all people are expected to follow the
party discipline in order to bring the
Communist revolution.

Besides that, unlike
Mao who never believed in idea of
state, the Communist party will use

Remarks

What will be
the exact
role of
party before
during
after the
revolution?

(2)

state apparatus to uplift working class
~~ad~~ and export communism to other
countries.

Lenin also incorporated the
 peasant class as secondary participant in
 revolution. Hence, idea of "Party as the
 vanguard of proletariat" came in the
 context of practical difficulties faced by
 Lenin in implementing the Marxian ideas

Q Locke in his first treatise had criticised
 the Filmer's patriarcha which establishes
 an absolute state on basis of theory
 of divine rights of King.

Locke primarily criticises the irrational
absolutism of Filmer, which bases the
 authority of state on irrational ground
 of divinity, power by God and authority

of state being equivalent to that of father in the family.

Some scholars, believe that Locke was actually criticising Hobbes idea of an absolute sovereign state as established in his book *Leviathan*. ~~It~~ But since *Leviathan* had become controversial, Locke chose to criticize Filmer's patriarchy which also establish absolutist state.

However, as pointed out by Peter Lascellette, ~~a~~ Filmer and not Hobbes was main antagonist of Locke. It is because ~~Hobbes~~ idea of absolute sovereign is based on social contract and people's consent, rather than the irrational idea of Filmer.

Differences from Filmer: Locke

believes that state is outcome of social contract made by people and enjoy only delegated rights. Sovereignty lies with the people. Hence he totally disagrees with Filmer's notion of divine authority of the state derived from God.

Differences with Hobbes :

Hobbes in his Leviathan, establishes an absolute state, giving no right against the state except the right to life.

However, Locke believes in idea of a constitutionally limited state. Unlike Hobbes, Locke believes that people continue to enjoy natural rights even after formation of state. Locke also gives right of resistance against the state in case it

disrupts legislature, fails in execution or put the people under foreign rule.

Also, an idea of pre-political state of nature Locke differs from Hobbes. Hobbes believe life in state of nature is short, nasty and brutish. But for Locke state of nature is a state of peace, goodwill and mutual ~~are~~ cooperation.

However, it can be said that that Locke fundamentally differs from ideas of Filmer, but with Hobbes his disagreement is not fundamental, in fact he seems to have extended the Hobbesian idea of state. (12)

- (c) Marxist scholars that capitalist societies leads to the alienation of the individuals which ~~dissolve~~ dissolve

Remarks

Very good understanding
keep it up

their class identity, critical thinking and converts them into mass.

Nicole Poulantza, held that capitalist state converts class into mass by -

- 1) Recognising the rights of the individual
- 2) Creating a popular national culture which leads to isolation of people from their class identities.

Alienation eclipses the critical thinking capacity of the people and make them head followers of a particular ideology or leader



You need to include
views of a lot of
most marxist thinkers
Refer links



Remarks

7. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Bring out the relationship of religion with politics as per M.K. Gandhi and also point out his views on caste system and the larger scheme of Social equality.
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Discuss all the major arguments given by Mill in defence of protection of Individual liberty.
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Discuss in detail Hannah Arendt's views on Totalitarianism.
(250 Words) (20 Marks)

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

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Remarks

8. Attempt all questions:

- (a) The understanding of the concept of "Class" and "Class War" is central to understanding of Marxian philosophy. Discuss. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Discuss in detail the major aspects of theory of state given by Aristotle. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Discuss all of the salient features of Kautilya's work in Arthashastra which show his expertise on administration and realistic approach to public affairs. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

Remarks

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Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks