



**An Institute for Civil Services**

**IAS TOPPER'S**

**TEST COPY**

**VYOM BINDAL**

**RANK - 141**

**POLITICAL SCIENCE  
TEST - 3**



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**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.

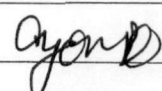
96

Your arguments are good  
Just need to add more content & variety

Name VYOM BINDAL

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

Date \_\_\_\_\_

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) Rawlsian critique of Utilitarianism.
- (b) Rights and Duties of the Sovereign as per Thomas Hobbes.
- (c) Discuss the major critique of Elitist theory of democracy.
- (d) Examine the various debates on 'Equality of Opportunity' in brief.
- (e) Major challenges and critiques of Multiculturalism.

(a) Rawls in his theory of Justice, 1971 had criticised the utilitarianism, which is a teleological theory proposing maximum good of maximum number as basis of state action. Rawls believe that right is prior to and independent of good, his theory is deontological i.e. gives procedure to arrive at idea of justice, but utilitarianism ~~is an~~ believes that pleasure is good and it is right to pursue pleasure.

Remarks

Simply focus on  
the fact that  
Rawls doesn't  
agree to the  
idea of sacrificing  
liberty of a few  
for the sake of  
many individuals

4



Utilitarianism disregards the prevailing inequalities, which has been criticised by Rawls in his difference principle, Rawls says that "a chain is as strong as its weakest link", hence Rawls prescribe that inequality in society should be so arranged so as to benefit the least advantaged, a concept immaterial to theory of utilitarianism.

Rawlsian idea led foundation for emergence of social liberals like Dworkin, Amartya Sen among others.

- (1) Thomas Hobbes is regarded as first modern Political thinker, he gave his theory at a time when life of people was under

Remarks

constant threat due to presence of multiple authorities.

As per Hobbes sovereign comes into existence as a result of social contract by people in state of nature to escape the state of war, chaos, disorder and perpetual fear of death.

Sovereign has primary duty of ensuring the preservation of life of people and enforcing a uniform law throughout the territory.

Sovereign has to ensure that its will prevail, even if it entails the use of coercive force.

Rights of sovereign: Sovereign possess absolute authority over the subjects.

No traditional or customary law or even

individual conscience can be limitation upon sovereign, as it represents the collective wisdom.

Justice lies in obeying the sovereign, except taking away right to life, sovereign has right to make any law, enforce any order.

However, as Saline rightly said, Hobbes absolutism is necessary adjunct to his individualism to preserve life. Hobbes laid foundation for emergence of modern Political system. (5)

- (c) Elitist theory of democracy propounded by scholars like Pareto, Mosca, Robert Michels believes that democracy is a myth, power always lies with elite,

Remarks

Correct direction  
Content lacking  
Need to add a lot  
more minute aspects  
of powers & duties  
of sovereign.



regardless of system of government.

However, Pluralists like Robert Dahl criticise elitist theory and believe that people exercise power in a democracy as a member of various groups if not individually.

Marxists believe that power lies with the capitalist class even in welfare state democracies, by virtue of control of economic structure.

Liberal scholars on other hand believe that democracy had resulted in the popular sovereignty, where power lies with the people rather than elites.

Hence the elitist view of democracy remains contested so as the

Remarks

Technically  
Elitist theory  
came after these  
three theories

you need to  
provide a more factual/functional  
critique

(4)

True nature of contemporary democracies

(A) Classical liberal argument believes in equality of opportunity in procedural sense, they are negative liberals and believe that state should ensure only maximum liberty, equality of welfare and let the people guided by their own choices.

Socialists and Marxists on the other hand give primacy to equality over liberty, for them mere equality of opportunity is not enough, there should be equality of outcomes.

Welfare school theorists or positive liberals like T.H. Green, Laski reconciled

Remarks



idea of liberty and equality by interpreting liberty as capacity, and role of state to develop capacity of citizens to enjoy liberty, as T. H. Green says role of state is to hinder the hindrances.

The debate is taken forward by John Rawls, who believes in difference principle and Dworkin, who suggest equality of resources to overcome the natural disabilities caused due to brute luck. Amartya Sen further widened the debate by bringing idea of capability rather than mere resources, which entails building the capacity to do what one values. (1)

(e) Multiculturalism aims at producing a society

Remarks

The question is  
not on equality &  
liberty

But equality of  
opportunity

Read the paper  
again

from  
here

which celebrates diversity, however it is subject to criticisms such as:

- 1) Amy Gutman had criticised it because it leads to lack of universal consensus on any substantive idea of social justice.
- 2) Orthodox liberals had criticised it for being incompatible with liberty and suppressing individual freedom.
- 3) Feminists like Susan Moller Okin believe that multiculturalism through justification of cultural rights will perpetuate the sub-ordinate status of women.
- 4) Arthur Jnr criticise it for developing sectional tendencies, hence acting as a threat to national integrity and unity.

Remarks

pressed =

Brown Barry

Amartya - Sen

Chandran

Kutubkhos  
Scheerger

(9)  
marks  
critique

2. Attempt all questions:

- (a) In what theoretical sense has the state been described as a natural institution by the various scholars? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Discuss the power-knowledge relationship given by Foucault in detail. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Elaborate on the major beliefs of Radical Feminism and the contribution of major scholars from the perspective. What is Post Modern and Post Structural Feminism? (250 Words) (20 Marks)

(a) State is one of the central concerns of Political Science, traditionalists like Gellner believe that Political Science begins and end with state. Scholars like Plato, Aristotle believe that state is prior to individual as human being is social by nature. Aristotle believes that finest quality of human beings is expressed in state, which is politics, and without state a biological being is less than human.

Remarks



Shisdaic MaIntyre also says that  
 "separated from Polis, what could have  
 been a human being, instead becomes  
 a wild animal"

This idea is also expressed by Hannah  
Arndt in her theory of action, she  
 believes only when people act collectively  
 in public space they can be considered  
 as human beings in real sense; hence  
 state is a natural institution.

Communists also believe that individual  
 is encumbered self, i.e. he is impacted  
 by his social surroundings, Community  
interest is greater than individual interest,  
 which also points to natural existence of state.

Remarks

when you  
 started from  
 you need to discuss all  
 the features of organic  
 of state  
 & news of its  
 major proposals  
 (6)

However, liberal scholars like Hobbes, utilitarians like Bentham, does not subscribe to the view that state is natural.

For them state is mechanistic device created by man himself to fulfil his

desires and man is social out of

necessity, but not naturally. There is no interest greater than sum of individual interests.

Therefore the debate on true nature of state continues.

- (v) Foucault has given the unconventional and insensitive view of power which is quite different from conventional structural view of power.



Knowledge for Foucault is the accepted form of behaviour and the institutions and individuals who establish the accepted body of knowledge possess power.

Foucault believes that power is exercised as a technique by means of following three practices:

1) Dividing practices: It divides the people into normal and abnormal category on basis of accepted form of behaviour.

2) Scientific classification: Scientific knowledge is used to justify the exclusion of those not conforming to accepted norms for example: classification as psychopaths, considering homosexuality

Remarks

as abnormal.  
 3) Subjectification : It is technique of creating fear among people by punishing the deviant behaviour or treating it with chemical changes.

Foucault believes that power generates the discursive practises which control even the bodily integrity by means of disciplining power, power gets internalised.

what is the relation of Bio power?

There is no source or sink of power, it flows through society like the blood in the capillaries, everyone is carrier as well as subject of power.

Foucault's idea has given a whole new dimension to power, however, some scholars like Habermas criticize it for

good

Remarks

Don't just explain the nature of power. Focus relationship with knowledge

what is the reference of Panopticon here?

8

over-generalisation and being too amorphous, nevertheless his ideas remain relevant as suggested by Paul Kallinow.

2 (c) Radical feminism emerged as a narrative challenging the prevalent power structures which subordinate women, various beliefs of radical feminists are:

1) Patriarchy is the basic structure of society, which normalises the subjugation of women.

4) Carole Patman had criticised the social contract tradition and had instead discussed "sexual contract" as basis of state, which is common understanding among the males to exploit women.

Remarks



- 3) Scholars like Carole Hanisch had criticised the personal= Political distinction when she says "personal is political". They believe that women exploitation is not taken up in public space as it is considered to be private sphere, but in practise laws made by male-dominated state influence women.
- 4) Radical feminists believe that mere political and economic rights will not liberate women, rather they propose radical restructuring of society, and idea of differentiated citizenship based on principle of equity.
- 5) Kate Millet had exposed the myth of projection of "happy housewives",

Remarks

she had also raised the issue of violence against women.

Post-Modern feminists : Feminists like

Judith Butler believes that gender is a performative role, a body of knowledge is created which distinguishes the masculine and feminist qualities artificially, while no such thing exists.

Simon De Beauvoir also says that "one is not born women, but becomes women", their argument is that sex is biological, but gender is a social context, which assigns particular feminine qualities to women.

Remarks

2nd part of  
Post modern feminism  
is wrong. In fact  
specifically include some new  
view the institution of  
state

8



## 3. Attempt all questions:

- (a) What are the assumptions which Rawls makes while stating his theory of justice? Also discuss briefly the major critiques of his theory by diverse schools of thought. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) The ultimate goal of Post-colonial theory is combating the residual effects of colonialism on cultures. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) 'Central to neoliberal thought is the claim that individual should be free from interference of others'. Examine this statement in detail. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

(a) Rawls gave his theory of Justice as deontological theory centred on deriving the right procedure to arrive at universal idea of justice.

Rawls invokes the contractarian theory or a social contract to arrive at idea of justice, his theory make following assumptions :

- 1) Justice is arrived in a state of 'original position', behind the "veil of ignorance", which means that people who

Remarks.

all deliberating idea of justice are unaware of:

- Specific wants and preferences, inclinations and desires.
- Do not have any substantive conception of good.
- No knowledge about period of history and race.

But they do possess common sense and basic knowledge of economics, psychology. Reason behind such idea is to invalidate personal considerations and arrive at a universally accepted idea of Justice in distribution of primary social goods like liberty, wealth, self-respect etc.

Remarks

Add  
The discussion  
to primary  
everyone  
social goods &  
follows the  
reflective  
equilibrium  
idea of  
Rawls (from his book)

## Criticism of Rawls:

- Communitarians criticize Rawls for an atomistic conception of individual, whereas in practice man is always encumbered by his community, rights must serve a good purpose.
- Feminists criticize Rawls for disregarding the concerns of women, Rawls invite head of family for contract which is generally males.
- Amartya Sen had criticised Rawls as mere primary goods do not transform into capability due to parametric variations, he prescribes building capacity of individuals to live life of their choice.
- Neo-liberals like Nozick had criticised

Remarks

Shorten the arguments in Critique & try to bring in more diverse thought

Hampton's functional Critique

8

Rawls for putting natural abilities into common kitty, which are actually the entitlements of individuals.

However, despite these Rawls theory was a paradigm shift in Political Science and inspired many movements demanding Justice.

311) Post-colonial scholars challenge the prevailing influence and existence of colonial legacy on the cultural ideas of erstwhile colonies.

Liberal scholars like Lucian Pye, David Apter had given the Political development model for the evaluation of post-colonial societies.

These models, consider the Western

Remarks



values of democracy, Capacity,  
differentiation to be the ideal on  
which progress of post-colonial societies  
is to be judged.

Similarly, the Marxist scholars consider  
all post-colonial states to be an instrument  
of neo-colonial domination, which are  
dependent on erstwhile colonial powers  
however, as pointed out by  
Neera Chandoke, Post-colonial states have  
different stages of evolution and cannot be  
put into a straitjacket, she has  
highlighted the limitations of present  
system of comparative Politics.

Scholars like Mahatir Mohammad and

Remarks

you haven't  
 mentioned  
 any of the actual  
 points & or any  
 of the actual new  
 arguments  
 from the approach

①



Lee Kuan Yew had propounded that "Asian values" like thrift, respect for family and authority, collectivism, are different from Western values, but not inferior to them:

Hence, Post-Colonial scholars aim at cultural decolonisation of these societies by presenting an alternative framework besides criticism of colonial model.

3(c) The neo-liberal school of thought came in backdrop of too much expansion of state and state making provisions from cradle to grave.  
Neo-liberal scholar Robert Nozick in

Remarks

his book "Anarchy, state and utopia", argued that "minimal state is inspiring as well as right". <sup>except</sup> he advocated that liberty is supreme and state should not interfere in individual's life, it should only be a dominant protective agency.

Similarly, Hayek also believes that any attempt by state to bring equality, open the door towards despotism, human being is rational, hence he must be left alone to take his decisions.

In the sphere of economics also, neo liberals believe in the presence of invisible hands of market, which takes care of optimal utilisation.

Remarks

of resources, person gets according to his merit and there no need for any external intervention.

Nozick in his entitlement theory also justifies the absolute right to property and calls progressive taxation as bonded labour, because it is involuntary in nature and is derived from coercion of the individual.

— Hence absolute freedom and non-interference in an individual's life is central tenet of neo-liberalism, however it is criticised by social liberals like Rawls, Dworkin, Amartya Sen who believe in giving a level playing field before letting meritocracy alone to prevail.

Remarks

## 4. Attempt all questions:

- (a) How did Ambedkar turn the Marxian base-superstructure model upside down in his critique of Indian society? What were the other areas of difference between the two approaches? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) What are the contemporary debates related to rights? Discuss with examples. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Discuss the major principles of Neo-Marxism and its relationship with Critical theory. What role is played by Nicos Poulantzas and Gramsci in formation of Neo-Marxian views on State? (250 Words) (20 Marks)

The Question is not demanding  
a general discussion on Neo-liberals  
but how they view Negative Liberty

Remarks



*Remarks*

*Remarks*

*Remarks*

*Remarks*



Remarks

*Remarks*

*Remarks*

## SECTION B

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

(10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) Radical humanist perspective of Freedom struggle by M.N Roy.
- (b) Integrationist tendencies and regional aspirations in the Indian state.
- (c) Discuss Advisory jurisdiction of Supreme Court with examples.
- (d) Political dynamics of Panchayati Raj
- (e) Party system is in transition in India

(a) M. N. Roy in his book "India in Transition" has given the radical humanist perspective of freedom struggle.

As per M. N. Roy, Congress led Mass movement is unable to establish a true democracy and empowerment of the people.

He prescribes freedom, rationality and morality should be the basis of any movement. Freedom struggle should not be a mere transfer of power from

Remarks

Don't describe his views. Instead describe his contribution to INM in detail

2



one elite to another, rather goal should be radical democracy, a cosmopolitan union of free individuals.

He was against mixing religion with politics and believed in the idea of secular morality. He was a materialist who considered satisfaction of wants as desirable. He was an advocate of partyless democracy for free India.

- (v) India is a cultural mosaic with huge amount of diversity in culture, ethnicity, language etc. yet exemplifying an integrationist tendency in form of "unity in diversity". Regional aspirations are raised in form

Remarks

of demands ranging from autonomy to sovereignty, for example, left wing extremism, demand for Bodoland, Gorkhaland and even demand for a sovereign greater Nagalim by the Nagas.

On other hand due to multicultural constitution, acomodative leadership, there is nation wide integration as expressed in peaceful transition of governments, wide participation in elections, respect for rule of law and a hybrid multicultural society respecting sentiments of each other.

As suggested by M.P. Singh and Sudha Pai, there is need for greater democratic

Remarks

what are the various factors which govern the rise of regionalist aspirations in the state? None (Daisy)

(4)

decentralisation to reconcile the regional aspirations with integrationist requirements.

(c) Article 143 of the constitution vests the Supreme Court with advisory jurisdiction, under which President can refer an important constitutional question to Supreme Court for an authoritative legal opinion.

However, opinion tendered by Supreme Court is not a judicial pronouncement and hence not legally binding. Also, Court is not bonded to give its opinion, except in cases of questions relating to pre-constitutional arrangements.

Remarks



In Bombay Union Case, President sought opinion of Supreme Court on ~~see~~ giving away territory to other foreign country, where Court held that it needs Constitutional amendment.

Similarly, Ayodhya dispute was referred to Supreme Court for its opinion but Court did not give its opinion.

Kerala Education Bill case was also referred to Supreme Court for its opinion regarding religious instruction in state institutions.

Hence, ~~adv~~ advisory jurisdiction serves as a mean to ascertain judicial opinion on important

Remarks

Give a few more examples of its controversial usage

4



constitutional matters.

- (d) Panchayati Raj in its present form is creation of 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitutional amendment Act, which envisaged an era of democratic decentralisation and citizen centric governance, by establishing Panchayati Raj institutions as body of rural local self government as directed by article 40 of the Constitution.

However, they became engrossed in political dynamics of the country, with MPs and MLAs as well as bureaucracy not letting them function autonomously, as they fear that Panchayats could emerge as alternate centres

Remarks

The Question is not on how these institutions are performing but how they are impacting on the political level at village & social cohesion

(2)

of power.

They are starved of funds, functions and functionaries especially by the state governments so that they remain in sub-ordinate position to state-level politicians. They remain over-structured and under-performing institutions.

It is necessary to revive them on basis of principle of subsidiarity, where lowest tier is considered most important tier of government.

- (e) Party system is not determined by number of parties, but parties having systemic relevance as per Sartori.  
Party system in India witnessed several phases such as

- 1) ~~Dom~~ Dominance of Congress till 1967, which is described as "Congress System" by Rajni Kothari, where Congress was party of consensus representing all shades of opinions.
- 2) [From 1967-1989]: This was mainly an era of "Confrontational Federalism" with ~~gover~~ Congress govt. at Centre and other party governments in states.
- 3) [From 1989 to mid 1990s]: It was an era of "extremely polarised Polity" in words of MP Singh, it was characterised by rise of regional parties, playing prominent role in coalition politics. After that coalition system became well institutionalised and stable, but current rise of BJP is challenging established norms and bringing new transition to party system.

Remarks

⑥ govt but analyse see background factors behind this transition



6. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Human Rights Commissions are most effective when their tasks are adequately supported by other mechanisms that ensure a government's accountability. Discuss. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) What is rationale behind the provision of Public Interest Litigation? What are its various criteria's evolved through time regarding admittance and entertaining of PIL by Indian courts? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) What do you understand by Prime Ministerial system of government? Provide arguments and examples how India is slowly marching towards it. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

(a) India established the Human Rights Commission by Protection of Human Rights Act, it established both National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) as well as state level Human Rights Commissions. They were set up with the objective to secure human rights of all citizens as well as non-citizens, however, despite few success stories as in case of Chakma refugees, improving condition of inmates, Human Rights Commissions

Remarks



achieved limited success because :

- 1) Its advises are mere recommendatory in nature and government is not bound by it.
- 2) Human Right bodies lack mechanism to enforce their decisions, they are usually constrained to take judicial route.
- 3) They cannot themselves investigate the Human Rights violation by armed forces, but can only seek a report, it is ironical, as major chunk of human right abuse takes place in conflict areas.
- 4) They cannot enquire into human rights violations after one year of the act.

Remarks

5) They suffer from Lack of funds, expertise and are mainly seen as parking ground for rejected Politicians.

All these factors led H.L. Patil to proclaim that NHRC is a "toothless tiger".

Human Right bodies can become effective only when accountability of government is fixed regarding the action taken on their recommendations and these bodies are reformed to make them more inclusive and empowered. (8)

6) Public Interest Litigation (PILs) originated in 1970s in India and is somewhat similar to Social Interest litigation in USA. It is based on the idea that

Remarks

what other  
role institutions  
can perform in increasing  
their efficiency?  
Academia  
Who  
Court Society  
etc.

any public spirited individual or group acting in a bona-fide interest can invoke jurisdiction of Supreme Court and High Court to protect the interests of others and public at large.

Upendra Baxi held that judiciary cannot be a mute spectator when legislature and executive abdicate their responsibility.

PIL help in preserving the fundamental rights of the marginalised and keeps in check the authoritarian tendencies of the government.

However, over the years, PIL had burdened the courts substantially and there are also frivolous litigations

Remarks



wasting the time of court.

To reduce this, court had evolved certain criteria such as:

- 1) In case of criminal matters, only the concerned party should approach.
- 2) PIL should not be used to settle the Political disputes, which are better solved in Court of people.
- 3) PIL should serve a larger public interest rather than a personal interest.
- 4) Court had severely admonished the use of PILs by corporates to settle the economic rivalries. <sup>need more guidelines given by court</sup>

PIL had opened a ray of hope for those deprived of justice, its misuse will only overload the system and

Remarks

Give some statistics regarding Preamble,

Names of landmark cases

View of SC Judges

Reforms proposed

7



deprive needy people, hence PIL jurisdiction must be invoked responsibly.

- (C) In a Parliamentary form of government, it is the Council of Ministers headed by the Prime Minister which exercises real power over the administration of country. In practice, Prime Minister as head of Council exercises considerable authority especially in cases of a single party dominant government. Scholars like Crossman, Machintosh refer to it as Prime Ministerial form of govt. where Prime Minister exercises the over-riding authority over his/her

Remarks

Council and makes governance person centric.

India witnessed this during era of Smt. Indira Gandhi, where she did not consult her cabinet even before recommending imposition of emergency. She used to operate a "Kitchen Cabinet", where pre-cooked decisions were presented to Cabinet as fait accompli.

In the present times with emergence of BJP as party with complete majority in Lok Sabha there are trends suggesting Prime Ministerial form of government. It is more so because victory of BJP is normally

= attributed to the charismatic personality of Sh. Narendra Modi.

PM Modi over-ruled the objections of External Affairs Ministry while announcing the grant of liberalised visas to the Chinese.

The shifting of Project Monitoring Group in PMO entails greater control of Prime Minister over functioning of other Ministries.

Also, direct communication of Prime Minister with officials of other Ministry regarding flagship projects also appears to reduce the collective responsibility. However, it is too early to conclude that India had moved to Prime Ministerial government.

Remarks

Don't just focus on  
PM Modi  
Draws this as a friend  
gives examples of other  
dominant PMs also

75

Remarks



Remarks

*Remarks*

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*Remarks*

*Remarks*



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*Remarks*

8. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Provide a critical appraisal of regionalism in Indian politics along with views of the scholars. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Discuss the challenges being faced by National Commission for Women which have led to it being called a "Spineless body"? What are the proposed reforms to improve its functioning and impact? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Discuss the Relationship between Environmental Movement and Economic Development in India. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

*Remarks*

<i>Remarks</i>		

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*Remarks*



<i>Remarks</i>	

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*Remarks*

Remarks	

*Remarks*



<i>Remarks</i>		