

# **GSSCORE**

**An Institute for Civil Services**

## **IAS TOPPER'S**

**TEST COPY**

# **KRISHAN KUMAR SINGH**

**RANK - 24**

**POLITICAL SCIENCE  
TEST - 3**



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# GS SCORE

TEST - 03

3:01 hours.

## 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.

*Your answers can be further improved with critical comments & analysis.*

*Some of your answers be best if*

*written with the right question.*

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

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

Name Krishan Kumar Singh

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

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature Krishan

**REMARKS****GS SCORE**

Some points  
are more necessary  
to the answer than  
others / make sure the  
good mention the  
imp. points

## SECTION-A

Attempt all questions:

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

(10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) Discuss Plato's theory of justice
- (b) Aristotle on Government & its Classification
- (c) Hobbesian Social Contract.
- (d) Discuss M.N. Roy's concept of Radical Humanism.
- (e) Sex is to Nature as Gender is to Culture. Comment,

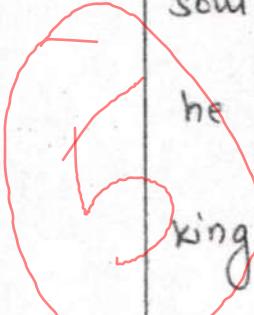
1. a) Plato is called the father of Political Philosophy. He calls Justice as the highest of all virtues — essential to maintain relation between temperance, prudence, and courage in a "good society".

He criticises Cephalus (paying dues), Polemarchus (good to good and bad to bad), Thrasymachus (might is right), and Glaucon (legal theory) for their ideas on justice

In Republic, he calls Justice as "Dikaisyne", an essential condition for excellence or human happiness (eudaimonia).

## Remarks

*Discuss how it based on the inner nature of human spirit / relation to social ethics / leads to division of labour*

 Plato's radical theory likens a "just soul" to justice in social organism. Thus, he says that in a just society, "philosopher king" with reason (dominating courage or appetite) should be the ruler.

He also advocates proper stationing and graded equality — thus, one's work to be linked to quality of their soul (eg. appetite dominance means produce class). His theory has been criticised as utopian, rigid (like caste system), and paradoxical (ruler has no desire to rule).

1. b) Aristotle has done a comparative and historical-empirical analysis on study of governments (studied 197 constitutions).

Remarks

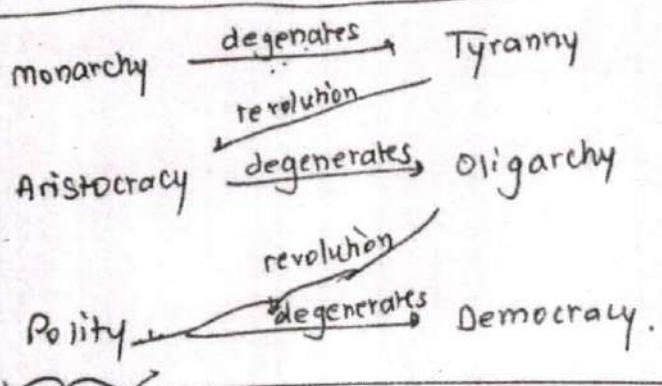
He says that instead of a superior transcendental idea of justice (e.g. Plato), all

governments could have some justice immanent in them. He says the degeneration and revolutions are inevitable.

Aristotle says that while Platonian monarchy is the ideal "good government", it is not practical (depends on finding just ruler and reason should be without passion).

He thus, advocates Polity — rule of middle class (with stakes in system) as one that encapsulates "civic reasoning" and "primacy of public interests".

ARISTOTLE's SIX-FOLD CLASSIFICATION OF GOVERNMENT



Remarks: good societies

corrupt & selfish societies.

Capture the categorisation & significance of each category  
Support your answer with critical comments

Hence, Aristotelian analysis factors in the role and nature of different government and advocates maximising "reasoned action" in public sphere.

1.c) Thomas Hobbes ("Leviathan") was a British philosopher who first enunciated the idea of social contract. Hobbesian human nature is extremely materialistic, power-seeking, and insecure [man as animus-dominandi — apehite oum reason].

Thus, his state of nature is a state of war of all against all with no scope of trade, art, industry, or commerce. Thus, Hobbesian man has no choice but to enter into a <sup>social</sup> ~~sovereign~~ contract.

Remarks

*Dissent of  
relation of  
Sovereignty/  
actions of sovereign/  
Scope for revolt of  
rebellion*

In the social contract, man becomes social (civil society) and political (commonwealth) at the same time "I give up all my sovereignty at the condition that you give up yours"

JF creates an absolute sovereign ("command of sovereign law").  
Man can't resist sovereign, except on threat to self-existence.

Carole Pateman calls Hobbesian social contract as sexual contract (man of property only). Rousseau & Sabine have criticised absolutism of sovereign.

conservatists criticised it as a false and philosophical anthropology (fruitless as book of politics and useless as book of history). Yet as

wayfuu says, it is an attempt to understand man's reasoning in toughest circumstances.

1. d) M Jayapalan calls MN Roy as most scholarly of Indian leaders while Sudipta Kaviraj calls him a remarkable failure (could never implement his ideas).

Roy's radical humanism is an attempt to understand man in its most radical or innate sense — without hyphenating with any identity of caste or religion. In his theory, he emphasises on freedom, Reason, and Ethics in man. Man wants both Intellectual freedom (from superstitions) as well as social freedom (from capitalist exploitation and colonial rule).

## Remarks

*Three stages  
Critique of Marxism /  
Freedom as ideal of  
civilized society /  
Humanist model /  
Progress of science*

He says that man developed reason through his quest for survival and thus advocates scientific temper and spirit of inquiry.

He also talks of an ethical and moral conception of life — that is based on secular principles (not religion).

To achieve it, he advocates a modern radical partyless democracy — with primacy to education, modern production, etc.

1. e) The Radical feminists have tried to bring out the dichotomy between Sex and Gender.

While sex is a biological term (men and women), gender has cultural context driven by patriarchal authority.

Remarks

Simone de Beauvoir says that one is not born a woman, but becomes a woman as cultural aspects of motherhood all attached to her. This relegates her to inessential and incidental second sex status: further, era figures says that the social, cultural, and political taboos ensure that women remain perpetually suppressed. of gender as deepest social cleavage }.

Thus, radical feminists argue to uproot patriarchal notions in society & personal families (Oakin's Personal is Political) to end Sex V/S

Remarks

Gender dichotomy

disrupt biological determinism / social construction of gender / masculinity / femininity / cultural differences

## 3. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Discuss Aristotle's Theory of Justice. Also compare the notion of justice as given by Plato and Aristotle. (300 Words) (25)
- (b) "Power is never localised here or there, but rather employed and exercised through a net-like organisation" (Foucault). Comment. (300 Words) (25)

3. b) Foucault has provided a micro-analysis of power through his post-modern and post-structural theory of power.

He calls power as meta-power. It is diffused in knowledge, discourses, and systems of thought. Foucault says, "Power is everywhere, it is like blood that flows in our capillaries".

Foucault's power is shaped by existing systems of knowledge. He gives the example of Panoptican theory — where knowledge of central watch tower, disciplines the prisoners to comply.

Remarks

knowledge of individual

→ perception of individual

→ conduct of individual

Perception of others

knowledge of other

### Effect of power in the society (foucault)

In his "Discipline and Punishment", he says that today's apparently reformatory and humane methods of punishment, generate support (power) for criminal justice system.

Similarly, in his "Madness and Civilization", foucault says that medical science and psychology determine who is mad and who is sane.

To foucault, knowledge is power.

Power isn't a coercive power that is

Remarks

just a property of the state. Rather it is a necessary and productive force that pervades in all elements of society (a net like organisation).

foucault calls it as "Bio-power" or "disciplinary power" that controls both the body as well as minds of the individuals. It becomes an essential condition of governability.

foucault's theory finds parallels in the works of critical theorists who emphasise on the role of culture

shaping structures of power (e.g. Theodore Adorno on role of folk culture, medicine, and media)

## Remarks

Desire  
No objective knowledge!  
Critical commentaries  
Exercise through  
relationship  
Social relations  
Power flows  
Liberal democracies  
& biopower

If has also been criticised as an abstract view of power. Marxists argue that it ignore the role of class while feminists argue it is ignorant to patriarchal structures.

Despite differences, Foucault presents a completely new view of power that pervades in all social structures.

2.a) Aristotle is called the father of political science. His book "Polity" encapsulates three core ideas — eudaimonia (happiness), arête (virtue through golden mean) and phronesis (. practical wisdom).

These three ideas form the basis for Aristotle's theory of justice.

Remarks

R

Aristotle's theory of justice is based on principles of equality and proportionality. He says that "equals should be treated equally and unequals unequally." Inequality is a cause of revolutions.

He also advocates proportionate justice. Thus, in distribution of goods, he calls for a meritocratic system. For punishments (retribution), he says justice is punishing as per the degree of crime.

Aristotle is a common-sensical thinker and practical wisdom pervades his theory of justice. He justifies slavery, male supremacy, and proper stationing as natural and just.

Remarks

Aristotle's idea on justice stems from his theory of ideas. He believes that state should have justice immanent within it, not be justice itself.

He criticises the Platonian "transcendental theory of Justice". Aristotle believes that Plato tries to fit society in a logical mould (a hierarchy under philosopher king) but society is too complex (has diversity of opinions).

While Plato's theory of Justice likened a "just soul" (reason dominates appetite and courage) to social organism (philosopher ruler rules warrior and producer class), Aristotle advocates "continuum of Justice".

Remarks

Unlike Plato, Justice in the society of Aristotle is not co-dependent on a "philosopher king". Aristotle says that "Rex lex" (reason without passion) over "Lex Rex" (no law).

Hence, Aristotelian idea of Justice gives birth to civic republicanism, rule of law, and deliberative democracy. He says only in "polity" does reasoned action could take place.

At the same time, his conservative theory of Justice ends up justifying realities which ought to be removed (e.g. slavery or male-supremacy).

Remarks

Even though Plato's theory of Justice relies excessively on "correctness of human soul, soul", it might appeal to philosophy who prefers philosophical abstracts and normativism.

To the contrary, Aristotle's Polity will appeal more to a political leader of real world with a pragmatic bent of mind.

*Discusses as aims & object different virtue in action / compare types of Justice / compare Aristotle & Plato with the role of critical movements*

Remarks

## SECTION-B

Attempt all questions:

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

 $(12.5 \times 4 = 50)$ 

- (a) Theory of Alienation and Theory of Freedom
- (b) Arendt's Views on Banality of Evil
- (c) Locke on Defense of Property Rights
- (d) Discuss then characteristic features of Aristotle's theory of state.

5. a) Young Marx in "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts" (1844) gave the concept of alienation. He calls alienation as the most critical impediment in man's quest for freedom in capitalist society. Marx says that man wants to enjoy the fruits of his labour, but he has to fulfill the dictates of the capitalist. He just becomes a cog in a wheel, an appendage of a machine. He is deprived of his social nature, as he is left with no time or money.

Remarks

*The loss of identity  
loss of freedom explain  
the levels of alienation  
poorous individualistic  
view of freedom  
humanity's leap*

man in capitalist society, thus becomes  
perpetually dissatisfied, dehumanised, and  
thus alienated from society, himself, and  
his fruits of labour.

Marx calls this as the fundamental  
cause of Capitalism's fall along with its  
unsustainability (Ricardo's falling profit theory).

In "communist manifesto", he says that  
workers of world unite, since you have  
nothing to lose except chains.  
Marx believes that only in communism  
man is free as he could produce  
whatever he wants ("man should produce  
in order to make history").

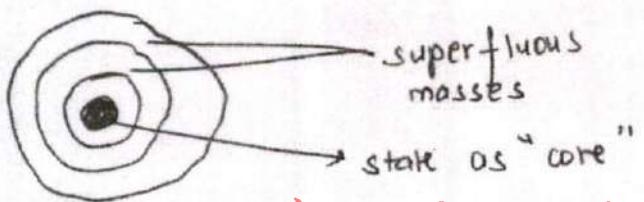
Hence, he urges the alienated have-nots  
to become a class-for-itself by developing

Remarks  
revolutionary consciousness and overthrow  
 capitalism → to attain freedom.

b) Hannah Arendt is a phenomenological thinker who has done a detailed analysis of fascist - Stalinist brutalities of 20<sup>th</sup> century.

She says in "Eichman in Jerusalem" that totalitarianism normalises evil. It makes superfluous masses to uncritically commit unprecedented criminalities on their own people.

Giving the example of Eichman at Auschwitz concentration camp, she says that totalitarianism has dehumanised man. He is no longer capable to think with reason.



ONION-LIKE  
STRUCTURE OF  
SOCIETY [ARENDT]

Remarks

*Explains Eichmann's behaviour / how normal people have lost their imaginative capacities*

Even when millions of Jews were persecuted by Nazis, instead of questioning the state, people supported it. She calls it normalisation or banality of evil.

Arendt says that the root cause is erosion of public sphere (polis) with the rise of modern economy (oxios). People are content with satisfying their appetites ("become superfluous masses")

Instead, she advocates Power, when people act in concert. The real human action to Arendt is "when words and deeds have not parted company; where words are not empty, deeds not brutal; where words are not used to hide and deeds not used to suppress".

Remarks

5. c) John Locke is a scholar of possessive individualism. He is both a normative (individualism as not a sin) and methodical (individual as centre of analysis) scholar of liberal thought.

The defense of property is the chief cause for commonwealth to come into existence. He says that people's right to property are inviolate ("life, liberty, and estate as natural rights").

Locke envisages an meritocratic capitalist economic order where his "economic entrepreneur" individual could enjoy the fruits of his labour. He says the god has given life to man to make virtue out of it.

*Explains / defines / explains the concept of property and its limitations or*

Locke also advocates unlimited private property rights to individuals. He says that "god made everything in common, but nothing could remain in common, as many industrious with seal their labour".

Property rights are central to Lockean analysis. Anticipating Nozick's entitlement theory, he also proclaims a limited state

His government is formed through a civil contract (majority consent with tacit consent of minority) and could be resisted if state encroaches on people's property rights.

The core reason for Locke's strong defense of property is his emphasis on man's reason. He says man through reason

**Remarks**

"could discover natural laws ("articles of peace") and "improve his material well-being".

5. d) Aristotle belongs to the school of political idealism. He believes in teleology and deductive logic. At the same time, he also advocates practical wisdom, moderation, and common-sensical attitude.

Aristotle says that man is by nature a political animal and state is the highest expression of man's political sociability. { "place where reasoned action or civic virtue could originate" }

Besides, he feels that state is prior to man { teleological }. Anyone who lives without state is either a beast or god.

Remarks

*he believes how state is manifested / second best state / self sufficing institutions / political commentaries*

Aristotle's state is also the one that ensures justice in society. He says that state comes into existence for sake of life and continues for sake of good life.

He says that state should have a continuum of justice immanent in it and hence calls Polity as most practicable state.

Polity — rule of middle class with stakes in the society ensures that state acts in public interests not self-interests { like oligarchy for rich or democracy for poor }.

Aristotle's emphasis on civic republican state also lays foundation for modern

#### Remarks

ideas of constitutionalism, rule of law, and deliberative democracy.

Answer the following questions:

(a) Examine the similarities and Dissimilarities between Gandhi and Marx.  
(250 Words) (20)

(b) Analyse how Gramcian views have influenced the Marxian views on false consciousness.  
(200 Words) (15)

(c) The state of nature is a war of every man against every man. In the light of the given statement, discuss Hobbesian State of Nature. Also Give Criticism.  
(200 Words) (15)

6. a) It won't be wrong to say that the two thinkers who had the greatest influence on 20<sup>th</sup> century world were Marx and Gandhi.

Marx was a political theorist ("Das Capital") who propounded a Communist revolution in capitalist societies. Whereas, Gandhi was a political leader, a crypto-anarchist and pacifist, who led the Indian freedom struggle.

M Marx believed that matters shape history. He called ideas as "false consciousness"

Remarks

and religion as "opium of masses". He urged the workers to unite ("proletariat as class for itself") and overthrow capitalism through a violent revolution.

Gandhi too was a critic of capitalist society. But he said that

capitalist control on society could be peacefully if their soul or reformed conscience could be aroused through Satyagraha [advocates trusteeship theory and dignity of labour]

Gandhi felt that religion is what purifies the human soul and create a

cooperative spirit [kingdom of god is within us]

He denounces a violent revolution and rather calls for pacifist path of Ahimsa.

Remarks

desires  
determinants  
of human  
history/  
Science of  
Economic  
History/  
Western  
Democracy/  
dictatorship

On the conception of future society, both prefer a stateless model. While Marx's material distribution witnesses away in communism eliminates the need to distribute surplus, Gandhi feels state won't be required at all for moral people. [pacific anarchism].

marxist material outlook and Gandhian spiritual outlook converge at one point, i.e. on alienating and denumanising impact of capitalism.

In "1844 Manuscripts", Marx says capitalism makes humans a cog in a wheel and erodes their social nature. Gandhiji ("Hind Swaraj") also calls modern capitalism as satanic because of its isolationist and

Remarks

material effects.

Despite similar concerns for society  
 (reformation of weak and oppressed), both  
 are polar opposites in the methods and  
outcomes of analysis.

The success of Gandhian model (India's  
 1947 independence) and failings of Marxist  
 model (no "real communism", Stalinism, fall  
 of USSR in 1990) show that "truth alone  
triumphs".

b. b) Gramsci is a scholar of "alternate  
 communism". Joseph Femia says that  
 he was the first to end Marxist obsession  
 with economic determinism and enter the  
realms of culture.

Remarks

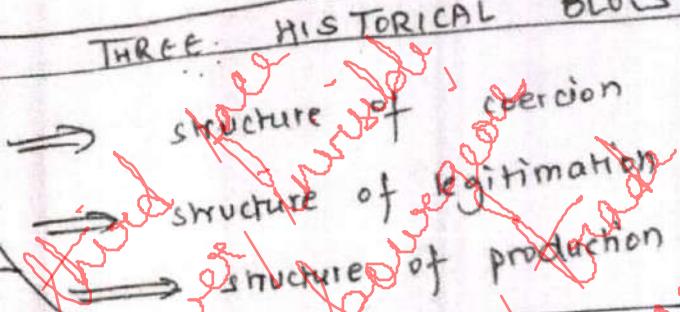
Marx said that ideas, culture, and religion is false consciousness. To him only matter is the moving force of history.

Gramsci says that if revolution was epistemological in Marx ("capitalists dig their own graves"), why "western societies didn't see any communist revolution."

He says that Marx has under-emphasised on the role of culture in giving hegemony to the rule of capitalist class. It results in reconciling the oppressed (have-nots) with their oppressor (haves).

### GRAMSCI'S THREE HISTORICAL BLOCS.

STATE  
CIVIL SOCIETY  
Economy  
Remarks



*Stances of power / bare force*  
*Power / Ideology*  
*Union Consciousness / Critical comments*

Gromsū calls Civil society (cultural or ideological apparatus) as site for manufacturing consent. The organic intellectuals are the architects of hegemony (eg. doctors, lawyers) and produce theories to support capitalism.

They control traditional intellectuals (eg. church, schools) who then perpetuate the historical dogma of traditional capitalist control. { make it worldview of masses }

He says that communist revolution isn't possible without first subverting the ideological apparatus. He advocates a "War of Position" (establishing counter-hegemony of subaltern class) before war of manouvre (direct struggle).

Thus, he says that culture instead of being a false consciousness, is a potent force that prevents "revolutionary spirit" from emerging.

Remarks

6.c) Oakeshott in his essay "Scrutiny" says that Hobbesian political historicism and realism is the best study of human mind and its intentions.

Hobbes believes that man is animus-dominandi ("appetite over reason"). He is power-seeking ("continuous desire for power that ends only in death") and materialist ("maximise felicities and minimise pain"). Man is always insecure too ("fear born together") of his life and pleasures.

Thus, in state of nature, man wants to maximise pleasures as he is insecure about their loss. Thus, it leads to a constant struggle for power.

Hobbesian state of nature is a state of war of all against all. There is no scope for trade, art, industry, and commerce.

## Remarks

*Direct how the derived from nature may give rise to civil diversity + division for comp. adherent conflict*

The life in this state is poor, nasty, brutish and short.

Thus, man's desire for apetite leaves him with no choice — but to give up all his sovereignty to a third party in return of right to self-preservation.

Rousseau ("social contract") says that Hobbes has made a flawed analysis of cooperative human nature. It has led to absolutism and tyranny under sovereign.

Sabine says that Hobbes is true neither to loyalists (divine theory) or parliamentarians (democracy). He constructs a "philosophical anthropology" of human history which is abstract and unnecessary.

Yet, Cl Wayper says that "individual is the end of Hobbesian state?" His coherent analysis of state of nature shows that people could maximise pleasure only when they leave state of nature.

Remarks

8. Answer the following questions:

- (a) The theories of non-interference were found to be inadequate to achieve the social and economic reforms of classical liberalism. Examine the problems associated with classical liberalism. Also explain how does Positive Liberalism justifies the values of distributive justice. (300 Words) (25)
- (b) Modernity is characterized by the loss of the world, where the past no longer carries any certainty of evaluation. In the light of given statement, Analyse Arendt's Conception of Modernity. Also criticise Arendt's interpretation of modernity. (300 Words) (25)

8. a) classical liberalism emerged in the ideas of John Locke ("Second Treatise of Government"). It encapsulates in it the ideas of humanism, materialism, separation of religion and utilitarianism.

Classical liberals believe in autonomy of individual ("capable of moral and economic reasoning"). John Locke's man was "economic entrepreneur" (man as his own destiny maker)

They called society as a market place and state as an instrument of utility. Thomas Paine called state as a "necessary evil" who could only be a referee (enforce order), not captain.

Remarks

{ limited state theory }

Classical liberals (eg. Adam Smith) felt that markets have all the solutions to socio-economic problems. They felt that "invisible hand of economy" and state mercantilism would enhance standards of living and enterprising abilities, thus reducing inequalities.

Yet, the 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe remains a manifestation of its associated problems. It led to rising inequalities, materialist outlook, and collusive corruption (state-business nexus). Marx said that it promoted the capitalist oppression of the proletariat (how vs how-nots). Karl Lai called utilitarianism as a pig's philosophy that justified greed.

Gandhi said that it made state and society, a "soul less machine", leading to eradication of religion, values of public ethics, and

Remarks

spirit of cooperation. MN Roy said that capitalism was the root cause of global colonialism (expanding resources and markets) pointing towards core-periphery linkages.

With rise of Fabianism in Europe (1880s) positive liberals gained prominence. Drawing from Kantian values, they advocated human dignity and moral propensity of all ("greatest good" can't sacrifice interests of some)

TH Green called for a positive role of state as enabler of opportunities. He said, "human consciousness postulates liberty, liberty involves rights, rights demand state".

Green felt that liberty is not just withdrawal of state, rather state giving capacities to individuals to fulfill the ideal of their being

Remarks

Discuss concentrated wealth on liberal slogan attack on liberalism/revision of liberal idealist provision

further, HJ Laski ("Grammar of Politics") calls for universal democracy (right to vote to even poor) and state-led industrialisation to promote redistribution.

Positive liberals argued that will not force is the basis of state. State commands because it serves the interests of weak and suppressed.

Thus, the positive liberal view (eg. UK's Labour Party) became a strong counter-narrative to classical liberal view for socio-economic reforms.

8. b) Hannah Arendt is a heterodox thinker. She believes in thinking without boundaries and hence, it is difficult to categorise her as either liberal or anti-liberal.

Remarks

Hannah Arendt has done a phenomenological analysis of modernity. She has tried to analyse it through the prism of Stalinist brutalities of 20<sup>th</sup> century ("no word in dictionary to describe atrocities").

She is inspired by similar criticisms of Walter Benjamin (hermeneutics) and Martin Heidegger (phenomenology). In "Between past and future", she calls modernity as the "loss of the world". She says that modernity in new age has destroyed human condition and promoted totalitarianism.

If has led to the rise of social — where okios (socio-economic sphere) has triumphed over polis (political sphere).

JF means that man as animal  
laboran has won over man as zoon politikon (appetite dominates reason). Thus,  
it has promoted "world alienation" (loss  
of social nature of man).

Modernity begets totalitarianism, as per  
Arendt. JF changes history to fabrication,  
solidarity to isolation, and plurality to  
conformism. man becomes "homo economicus".  
Just a thinking man of profit.

In a totalitarian state, people are  
just superfluous masses, deprived of any  
critical thinking and normalised to evil.

In "Eichman in Jerusalem", she says that  
this dehumanised man, uncritically supports  
state's atrocities.

Hannah Arendt says that only when men seek Power — it leads to freedom, of real interactions and plurality of arguments { polis over okios }

Her view has also been supported by Gandhi in "Hind Swaraj" through his thoughts of modern capitalism as satanic (material, isolated, and dehumanised man).

Marx's theory of alienation also shows the degrading effects of modern capitalism on man's social nature. Frankfurt theorists like Herbert Marcuse call it the "one dimensional man".

Yet, liberals and neo-liberals (e.g. Nozick, Ayn Rand, Friedman, Berlin) have criticised her excess.

Remarks

*Direct public action of earth & world alienation piece of manipulation of public opinion*

her monocausal explanation of fascist-Stalinist origins.

Eric Fromm says that totalitarianism emerges not because of modernity, but because of "fear psychology" of people to relegate decision-making to state.

Jagdish Bhagwati in "why growth matters" has emphasised on importance of markets, modern innovations, and technology to support economic growth [that improves standards of living and strengthens democracy].

Arendt herself advocates American Revolution as a "quest for freedom" (polis). Despite civil and economic rights, US has also provided modernity

Remarks in socio-economic sphere to its people.