

# **GSSCORE**

**An Institute for Civil Services**

## **IAS TOPPER'S**

**TEST COPY**

# **KRISHAN KUMAR SINGH**

**RANK - 24**

**POLITICAL SCIENCE  
TEST - 4**



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# GS SCORE

TEST - 04

123.D  
2:58  
good

## 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.

- ① Try to work ~~out~~ on More Concrete  
conceptual clarity and Content Building.
  - ② Quote Contextual Scholars | keywords  
terminologies.
  - ③ Create dynamic Content,  
Apply theories.
1. Invigilator's Signature \_\_\_\_\_
2. Invigilator's Signature \_\_\_\_\_
- Name KRISHAN KUMAR SINGH  
Mobile No. \_\_\_\_\_  
Date \_\_\_\_\_  
Signature Krishan

**REMARKS****GS SCORE**

1. 100% correct  
2. 100% correct  
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20. 100% correct

**SECTION-A**

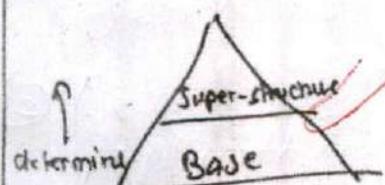
Attempt all questions:

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

- (a) Discuss Marxist Theory of State
- (b) Liberty and Equality as opposed to each other. Comment.
- (c) Highlight the characteristic features of contemporary political theory
- (d) Hannah Arendt's constructive view of power

1. a) Marxists view all institutions as totality of economic relationships. Thus, they propound "force theory" — state as coercive instrument of economic base (capitalists).

Marx believed that state serves the interests of bourgeoisie. Even Gramscians argue that state (political system) is controlled by civil society (ideological system) and economic base (production system).



} State and structure of coercion  
} civil society  
Economic base { structure of production

Remarks

Mention of State as product of two antagonistic classes

~~60/63~~

Marxists argue that state can only control on the "means of production" {economic determinism}

They argue that in a communist society, state won't be required at all {withering away of state?}

This is because of material equality and elimination of surplus value generation in communist societies.

The Marxist view has also been expanded to post-capitalist — eg.

Ralph Miliband's instrumental state in welfare states and Nicos Poulantza's

Bonapartist state that is relatively

autonomous (but supports capitalism in crisis)

Quot  
Poulantza  
Miliband  
Debate

Underline  
Key words

Remarks

further, post-colonialists like AGI frank (core-periphery dependency) and Homzo Alavi (underdeveloped state) have expanded changing role of state in developing world.

1.b) Both liberty and equality have remained conflicting values in political science.

classical liberals (Negative) prefer absolute liberty and only formal sense of equality (opportunity, legal, and moral). Libertarians too call for minimal state interventions. Friedman says that a society that puts equality over liberty ends up with none.

On the other hand, Marxists call for absolute equality of outcome, even if it comes at cost of people's liberty.

Remarks

Various scholars have tried to reconcile this contradiction between liberty and equality.

Ethical socialists (like R.H. Tawney) say that through Christian ethics, and moral values of altruism and cooperation, both liberty (democracy) and equality (philanthropy) could co-exist.

Positive Liberals (Green and Laski) says that positive liberty complements equality as state tries to act in public welfare.

Lastly, it is the social liberals like Dworkin and Sen who argue that both have no difference at all.

Amartya Sen says that development of capabilities (equality) leads to freedom of functioning (liberty).

Remarks

Ren

1. c) Political theory is defined as an impassive set of value-laden, empirical, and logical statements. It encapsulates both philosophical (normative) as well as scientific (descriptive) methods.

The political theory went through two waves of decline in 20<sup>th</sup> century — first by traditionalists (1960s) and second by behaviouralists (1980s). Piamenatz talking of present wave of revival says that it is not an escape mechanism, but an orders calling. Contemporary political theory is becoming more and more inter-disciplinary. It has integrated policy areas like economics (e.g. public technology) as well as new discourses on technology (like political ethics of Artificial Intelligence).

Remarks

Also, as JDB miller argued in "The nature of politics", today's political theory doesn't confine itself to man's relation with state. If accommodates newer actors like INCS, terrorist organisations, epistemological communities, that influence state power.

Contemporary political theory also retains some traditional features — like problems of political man (e.g. accommodating new or hybrid identities and refugee crisis) as well as study of power, state, and political institutions.

Lastly, it still emphasises on study of man's past, present, and future (giving empirical + normative theory).

~~Book~~

2.d) Hannah Arendt is a heterodox thinker who believes that power isn't confined to state, individual, or nature. Neither are ideas or violence determinants of power.

Instead, power is sui generis. If emerges when people enter the public realm and "act in concert". Power leads to solidarity and freedom (to do what one wants to do).

She says power is the real power, but is incapable of creating it. She says power leads to plurality and a world centred conception of citizenship ("men and not man live on this earth").

Remarks

6.0

Through her constructive theory of power, Arendt is emphasising on importance of civic virtue and reasoned action in public sphere {polis} as was earlier propounded by Aristotle.

~~Use keywords as mentioned by scholars with application part~~

Her conception is similar to Jürgen Habermas's idea of communicative democracy. In "ideal speech" environment, people cooperate and communicate on basis of public reason and reciprocity.

~~Useful scholars~~

Thus, Arendt provides a people-centric conception of power — an alternative to brutal attractives of totalitarian regimes of 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Remarks

Focus

## 2. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Explain the term Power. Also discuss the relationship between power, Legitimacy and Authority. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Marxist Criticisms of the Rawlsian Conception of Justice. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Rawls's principles of social justice are a corrective to the liberal-utilitarian principle of the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Examine. (250 Words) (20)

~~Paul Janet defines politics as shaping and sharing of power. Power (though a contested concept) has the same status in politics as money in economics.~~

~~Bertrand Russell calls power as "production of intended effects" in order to achieve a goal despite resistance. Power could be a relationship (strong & weak), a property of structure (e.g. Marx's economic base), or even capacity of an institution (e.g. state).~~

~~Besides, scholars like Foucault (post-structural analysis as "knowledge as power") H Arendt (people acting in concert), and~~

Remarks

Lukas's  
Three  
Principles

CB Macpherson (creative freedom to do what one wants to do), present alternate and constructive models of power.

Despite the salience of power in totality of all political relationships, Rousseau says that "strongest and most powerful can't rule unless they connect their strength into will and power into authority".

$$\text{AUTHORITY} = \text{POWER} + \text{LEGITIMACY}$$

Max Weber calls authority as a sword in a scabbard [legitimate power]. While traditionally, power signifies physical strength (carrots or sticks), it is legitimacy (ideological strength or soft power) that gives legit consent to the state [condition for political obligation].

Remarks

7.0

GS SCORE

Thus, Machiavelli emphasised on Prince to build authority through religion ("not just rule wisely, but give long lasting laws"). Weber says that states have built legitimacy through — traditional (divine right), legal-rational (constitution), and charismatic leaders.

Thus, while Power is what state uses to suppress, Authority is what eliminates state's need to suppress. (eg. Gramscian hegemony blocking growth of revolutionary consciousness in proletariat)

a. b) Rawls has proposed a grand theory of Justice (1971) "Justice as fairness" (1993). Samuel Freeman is first to reconcile contradiction between John Rawls and equality.

~~Explain three principles~~

~~Advantages~~

~~Key words~~

~~Original source~~

~~Very good~~  
~~Remarks~~

Rawls in his meta-ethical theory argued that "rational individuals" could devise the principles of social justice, even when they are arguing in self-interests.

He gives three principles of justice (in a lexical order) basic liberty to all, equality of opportunity, and difference principle for least advantaged.

Marxists criticise Rawls for ignoring that economic base controls the totality of all relationships. State is an instrument of capital and wouldn't work in interests of least advantaged.

Besides, they criticise Rawlsian lexical ordering (prefers liberty over substantial equality).

They say that welfare

is like charity for Rawls.

By relegating difference principle to third in order, Rawls has done too little for social justice.

Marxists have also criticised the Rawlsian theory for lacking value-neutrality. They argue that Marx Rawls wants to assert the supremacy of liberal democratic system in Western societies.

further, Gramscians and neo-Marxists emphasise that Rawls, through "welfare measures" wants to block revolutionary consciousness of masses.

2. c) Rawlsian grand-theory of Justice is on attempt to encapsulate the Kantian ideas of "human dignity" and "moral

Remarks propensity of all humans".

John Rawls in "Justice as fairness" calls Justice as first virtue of social institutions. (Just like truth is first virtue of system of thought). Rawls says that not an individual, rather a society should be just.

Underpinning his theory is the criticism of utilitarian outlook. Like JS Mill, he too has tried to give an "ethical correction" of utilitarianism (denounced as a pig's philosophy → Carl Lial).

Rawls says that each person has an inviolability founded on principles of justice that even welfare (greatest good) of society can't override.

Remarks

He ~~denounces~~ the greatest good principle saying that in a just society the rights of all would be settled and not subject to political bargaining.

Rawls says that man has no modus vivendi to enter the contract. man enters the contract ("a cooperative venture of mutual advantage"), so that scarce primary goods (e.g. money, status, offices) could be distributed in just manner.

Thus, when principle difference connects the entire society in one chain, starting from the least advantaged, Rawls gives the for weakest link first [inequality justified for welfare of least advantaged].

Remarks

*Ques  
AC hold  
Commentaries*

Despite his all-encompassing theory, social liberals (like Dworkin) criticise Rawlsian theory as just a superficial corrective of utilitarianism. His liberty and equality of opportunity principles (higher in lexical priority) maximise opportunities only for advantaged on the other hand, difference principle of substantive equality does too little ("welfare is like charity").

Wife Analysis and Explanation Agree  
Principles  
give Framed to Rawls' also  
other schools  
Act

Remarks

## SECTION-B

Attempt all questions:

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

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

5. a) Political theory involves both value-based as well as empirical-logical statements. While political philosophy has normativist outlook, political science has empirical outlook.

Normative approach focuses on what-ought-to-be (instead of what-is). It prescribes the standards for a good society. { e.g. Plato's philosopher King or Marx's communism as normative measuring standards }

Whereas, empirical approach focuses on study of observable facts (e.g. Lord Bryce

Remarks

says that "we need facts, and facts"). It suggests observation, generalisation, explanation, and prediction based study (behaviourism is a refined version of empiricism).

The book "philosophy, Ideology, and Science" argues that every theorist is a part-philosopher and part-empiricist.

One can't observe facts without establishing normative standards on ideas

of justice, equality, or liberty.

Similarly, a philosopher should also be aware of existing realities of world before prescribing on how to improve it.

① write more features  
Concrete with scholars views

Remarks

5. b) Ernest Barker says that Democracy isn't a solution but a way of seeking solution. Classical democrats saw it in a procedural sense — elections, government by consent, free speech, etc. But the practice of democracy remains for from ideal standards.

Elitists say that elitism isn't the core of democracy, but rather the power elite (e.g. military-bureaucrats) enjoy greater power because of their social status.

Joseph Schumpeter says that democracy is a marketplace for politicians and voters. It's entrepreneurs further asserts elitism in all societies.

(liberal democracies have pluralist elites while socialist states have monolithic elites).

Woke Within Box

criticising this notion, Robert Dahl  
proponents the Pluralist theory of  
democracy (in "Who governs").

~~Good Points~~  
He says that power is dispersed  
in various interest groups in liberal  
democracy (rule of law and constitutionalism)  
[POLYARCHY is practice, democracy is ideal]

~~Reel Improving~~  
Accepting Marxists and Lindblom's critique  
he says "elected officials" and "corporate class"  
enjoy greater power in deformed polyarchal  
democracy.

C.B. Macpherson has called both these  
theories as procedural lacking normative  
elements (calls them Schumpeter - Dahl axis)  
in "The real world of democracy")  
instead, he argues for radical

Remarks  
democracy, creative freedom, and expanding  
developmental powers-

5. c) Aristotle was the first to argue in favour of "equality of opportunity" to all. He envisaged a capitalistic meritocratic system but limited his principle of equality only to men of property } { treat equals equally and unequal's unequally }

Later, classical liberals formally supported "equality of opportunity" to all [ involves all offices open ; meritocratic system ; no recognition of differences ]. They are supported by libertarians like Hayek & Nozick.

This view has been criticised by marxists who call for "equality of socio-economic outcome" { substantive equality only procedural civil-political equality }

Remarks

~~Discuss three Models by~~

~~Thomas  
Lloyd~~

~~Quote  
Examples~~

~~Like  
Affirmative  
Action~~

~~Positive liberals envisage responsibility of state towards the weak and deprived.~~

~~Social liberals like Dworkin (equality of resources) and Sen (equality of capabilities) give equality a broader connotation.~~

~~further, multiculturalists like Will Kymlicka and Brinkley Foreman call for special rights to minorities to accommodate differences.~~

~~Even feminists like Iris Marion Young call for differentiating equality (special treatment to minority and women by state) to equalize differences.~~

d) Justice is defined as the first virtue of social system. It is what reconciles the inherent contradictions in a just society. (good life)

feminists argue that Justice in society couldn't come without eliminating patriarchy that pervades in all power structures relationships.

Shulasmith firestone says that "politics of gender" is older than "politics of class" {deepest social cleavage}

While liberal feminists called for civil and political rights, socialist (liberal) feminists called for social revolution (sheila rowbotham, says only through revolution, women's social status improved in Cuba and Vietnam).

Remarks

~~Radical feminists~~ like Betty Frieden, Simon De Beauvoir exhort for fighting patriarchy in families and social institutions to ensure justice to women.

~~Susan Mollen Dakin~~ says that only when "Personal becomes us Personal" (from women be personal) is political could free. She points towards politics in family, cultural taboos, personal shaping political and personal as inhibitions on women.

finally, it is differentiated equality of Iris Marion Young ("State and Politics of gender") that promotes justice for women { differentiate equality through special treatment to equalize differences }

Remarks

## 6. Answer the following questions:

- (a) A comfortable, smooth, reasonable, democratic unfreedom prevails in advanced industrial civilization, a token of technical progress (Herbert Marcuse). Comment on One-Dimensional Thinking. (300 Words) (25)
- (b) Discuss Contemporary Libertarian Perspective of state. (300 Words) (25)

6. a) In 1920s, as Vladimir Lenin's USSR model became the ray of hope for marxist leaders, in US academic circles, frankfurt or critical school thought was also taking shape.

Critical school draws inspirations from the ideas of young Marx (theory of alienation in "Economic & Philosophical Manuscripts", 1844). They emphasise on role of culture, modernity, and science in dehumanising man of critical reasoning. Herbert Marcuse ("one dimensional man") is the most notable exponent on Critical school's view on one-dimensional thinking.

Remarks

Marcuse says that in post-industrial societies (both capitalist and Soviet), man has only one dimension, i.e. of a consumer. Man becomes a subject for industries to buy their goods.

Hence, humans are deprived of reason or critical thinking. They are "cogs in wheels" of a giant industrial machine [unfree] even if they are given the rights to vote.

Marcuse's views have been further elaborated by Theodore Adorno who says that pop culture, media, and modern science have alienated man from rational thinking in advanced societies.

Remarks

Both Marshall and Adorno say that this loss of critical thinking is because of cultural values of promoting scientific innovations, material fulfilment, and lack of dialogues in society [welfarism suppresses the demand for political freedom].

~~Good Quote~~  
Hannah Arendt has also called this one-dimensional thinking as the loss of the world (rise of okios over polis). She

~~Gandhi~~ says that totalitarian state could easily suppress "superstitious masses".

~~Gandhi~~ Just like critical theorists argue to change cultural values, Arendt also calls for stronger public participation ("Power as people acting in consent in public realm")

Remarks

~~Good Attempt  
Keep it Improving~~

6. b) ~~State~~ is defined as the institutional representation of authority.

Laski says that it is the only institution whose command is obligatory ("monopoly own violence")

But there are divergent perspectives on nature and scope of state.

Classical liberals (Locke, Mill, Acton, Paine) called for a limited state, which is just a necessary evil (to enforce contracts and maintain police order).

Adam Smith argued that state is just a referee, not captain and invisible hand of market has all the solutions.

Remarks

{ absolute negative liberty }

This view was criticised by Positive Liberals (Green, Laski) who called for state to enhance positive liberties for welfare of people.

Green said that "human consciousness postulates liberty, liberty involves rights, and rights demand state". Laski argued for state-led industrialisation and welfare measures of poor.

The Libertarian perspective of state, thus, emerges as criticism of welfarism of positive liberals (call it a "nanny state" or "cradle to grave state") to revive classical liberal thought.

Encapsulated in ideas of Reaganism (US) and Thatcherism (UK) along with John Williamson's Washington Consensus, it

Remarks advocates 3Ds (Disinvest, Decontrol, Deregulate) to state.

Avoid while outside Box

~~V. 1900~~ Robert Nozick ("Anarchy, State, and Utopia") says that one should be made responsible for their choices and state has no role in redistribution (only protects people's entitlements, e.g. property)

Friedrich Hayek in "Road to Serfdom" calls progressive taxation as bonded labour and social justice by state as a mirage. He says that market (not state), help "trickle down" all benefits to people.

Other scholars like Ayn Rand ("only right to life from which all rights flow") and Isaiah Berlin ("liberty and capacity are not same") also advocate minimal role for state. Herbert Spencer calls it just joint stock protection company.

Remarks

This view has been criticised by marxists (for empowering capitalist control), feminists (for ignoring questions on patriarchy), and multiculturalists. (state can't have limited role, rather protect minority interests).

John Rawls principle has tried to demonstrate that state could ensure both procedural (equality of opportunity) as well as substantive (benefit to least advantaged) equality.

R Dworkin (social liberal) says that people aren't responsible for unchosen circumstances and shouldn't be made responsible. In "Sovereign Virtue", he proposed resource egalitarianism by state.

Remarks

(29.0)

Lastly, Amartya Sen says that instead of withdrawing itself, state should try to expand people's capabilities { development as freedom}

Good  
Attarct

Keep it  
Important

(29)

→ Thatcherism  
Regionism  
Washington Consensus

Remarks

## 7. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Discuss the significance of Multiculturalism. Also Analyse the kinds of special rights for minority communities as sanctioned by Multiculturalism.  
(200 Words) (15)
- (b) Comment on Macpherson's Concept of Creative Freedom. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Examine Amartya Sen's critique of Rawlsian's approach to social Justice.  
(250 Words) (20)

7. a) multiculturalism promotes "politics of accomodating differences" that have been created because of homogenising tendencies of state or society.

\* Black life matters campaign  
Multiculturalism argues that universal citizenship is like colonies blindness. They say that diversity is welcome and uniformity is undesirable.

Civil rights becomes significant in today's increasingly diverse and pluralist societies.

It accommodates the interests of minorities while the same time recognise

the same time leading to ethnic conflicts or civil differences.

Refugee migrant issue

Will Kymlicka in "Multicultural odyssey" has given three-fold rights for minorities in multicultural societies, viz. a) self-governing rights, b) cultural and educational rights, and c) proportional representation in legislatures.

Post-colonialists like Jeff Spinner and Brijmohan Parekh have further expanded these rights. Spinner talks about historical injustices as criteria for group rights (e.g. reservation to SC/STs in India).

Parekh talks about thick multiculturalism with self-determination rights to immigrants through an open-intercultural dialogue. They have been criticised also for their politics of difference.

Remarks

~~egalitarians~~ (Brian Berry) says it weakens people's ~~solidarity~~ and rather call for politics of redistribution. ~~feminists~~ (Dakin) criticise their ignorance towards women identity behind cultural identities and legitimisation of inhumane primordial practices (leg. genital mutilation).

Amartya Sen says that it has led to ghettoisation while cosmopolitan Jeremy Waldren says that we live in age of modern hybrid identities.

Despite criticism, multiculturalism still remains the best tool to resolve differences (like refugee crisis in Europe).

b) C.B Macpherson believes in the constructive theory of power. He says that real power is when people could do what they really want to do.

Remarks

Macpherson in "The real world of democracy" criticises the Schumpeter-Dahl axis of democracy (circulation of power between pressure groups and political parties)

He says that real power doesn't come from procedural democracy (processes, rights, or institutions). It comes from enhancement of development powers.

In "Democratic Theory", he gives the concept of creative freedom. Like positive liberals (Green), Isaiah Berlin, and liberal-egalitarians (A Sen), he also argues for expanding capacities of people.

Macpherson says that state's extractive powers (like force), limit people's abilities to exercise their own will. Rather, state

Remarks

~~discuss Utility maximization through Extractive Development Powers~~

7.0

GS SCORE

should continuously expand people's opportunities. He advocates a radical democracy — more inclusive institutions, mass support for public programs, and culture of non-coercive and tolerant democracy to enhance developmental powers of the people.

Thus, like Hannah Arendt, CB Macpherson also analyses power and freedom through individual or the centre of analysis. Yet, it has been criticised as too abstract and hypothetical with no clear detail on what state should do.

7.c) Rawls in "A theory of Justice" has tried to propound a grand theory of Justice (Justice as fairness).

Remarks

Draw the line  
between  
the  
good  
and  
the  
bad  
(1991)

(1991)

He tries to devise a procedural aid  
redistributive theory of Justice following  
normative (Kantian influence) principles.

Rawls proposes a meta-ethical social  
contract (original position) where the rational  
men (behind a "veil of ignorance") try to  
discover principles of justice.

Rawls says that "let us all be  
selfish" and in his cooperative venture of  
mutual advantage, enlists three principles,  
viz. basic liberty to all, equality of  
opportunity, and difference principle.

Besides libertarians, communitarians, Marxists  
and feminists, social liberals (Sen and  
Dworkin) have strongly criticised Rawlsian  
theory of Justice.

Remarks

Add  
three  
principles

Keywords

Used by

Rawls

Criticized

these

points

Amartya Sen in his "Idea of Justice" says that there can't be an absolute conception of justice. Any theory could only remove injustices in society and not propose a grand theory of justice (as Rawls has done).

Sen further gives the example of distributing a flute among three children - Ann (who made it), Bob (who knows how to play it), and Carla (who has nothing). He says that a liberal would give it to Ann, utilitarian to Bob, and Marxist to Carla. There can never be a purely absolute yet rational idea of justice.

He also gives the dichotomy between Nyaya and Neeti in the arguments.

of Krishna and Arjuna in Bhagavad Gita.

~~good points~~

He says that ~~Nyaya~~ (just implementation) is more important than ~~Neet~~ (just principles or policies). Thus, revising Rawlsian argument, ~~if consequence is as~~ ~~improving~~ could be better in light of his suggestion to enhance people's fight poverty and families' ~~to states~~ ~~capabilities~~ ~~development~~ as freedom of functioning.

~~Sen's~~ ~~criticism~~