

# **GSSCORE**

**An Institute for Civil Services**

## **IAS TOPPER'S**

### **TEST COPY**

### **SARA ASHRAF**

### **RANK - 316**

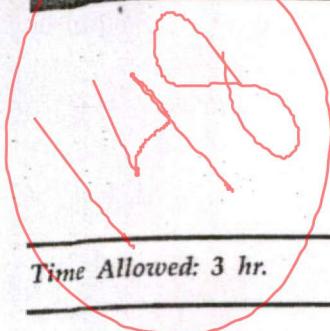
### **POLITICAL SCIENCE TEST - 3**



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**GS SCORE**

TEST - 03



## 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. Invigilator's Signature \_\_\_\_\_

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

Name Sara Ashraf

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

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature Sara Ashraf

**REMARKS****GS SCORE**

## 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.

(a) Discuss Plato's theory of Justice.

Plato takes a broad view of justice as 'right conduct' as opposed to narrow view of justice or just behaviour.

Plato's views on right conduct comes from his conception of Just soul and Just state. As opposed to

Classical Liberal and neo-liberal views that society is <sup>not</sup> just / unjust rather it is a feature of individual. Plato

Remarks

 Justice at both levels - individual and State: A 'Just Soul' is one where wisdom and Reason dominate courage and appetite. While, 'Just State' follows principles of 'Non-interference' leading to harmony and 'proper stationing' leading to excellence. We can draw parallels between Plato's justice and India's concept of Dharma - "following law of one's being".

Plato considered justice as the supreme virtue.

(b) Aristotle on Govt. & its Classification -

Aristotle's 'Polity' deals with core concerns of the state - constitution, revolution, citizenship etc. He gives his 'Theory of State' and his Remarks

~~Discuss the classification & explain the nature of various forms of Polity~~

after analyzing and classifying

158 constitutions into their Normal & Perverted forms.

ex: Monarchy ~ Tyranny,  
Democracy ~ Mobocracy.



Aristotle's goal to find the "best practicable" govt. gives it as "Polity".

Polity can be considered "Golden Mean" between Oligarchy and Democracy. It is rule by "Middle Class" as both rich and poor were susceptible to crime — due to arrogance and ignorance respectively.

This Polity of "Rule by Many But not too Many" influenced Thomas Aquinas and Cicero.

Mixed Govt. Aristotle also earned the titles of "father of Political Science" and

"father of Comparative Politics" for his contribution.

Remarks

(c) Hobbesian social contract

Hobbes' belonging to Social Contract Tradition gives his conceptions of State of Nature (on) and Human Nature. Both determining the contours of Hobbesian Social contract.

He defined his Social Contract as "contract of all with all".

It leads to creating an Ultimate Sovereign - Leviathan. Hobbes concentrated all powers in this Leviathan.

Each give up all their rights to this soe Leviathan except the right

Remarks

to Self-Preservation. Since Hobbes' central concern is safeguarding Right to life. Creating conditions on Leviathan to not to arbitrarily take away life of an individual. Only strictly adhering to the "Procedure established by Law".

On any arbitrary transgressions, Hobbes granted right to Resist against the failed state. Leading to renewed social contract.

Hobbesian social contract comes in contrast to Lockean social contract which creates a limited "Nightwatchman State".

Despite relevance of Hobbesian Social Contract can be seen in the Westphalian Treaty of 1648.

Remarks

(d) Discuss M.N. Roy's concept of Radical Humanism.

M.N. Roy's concept of Radical Humanism stems from his theory of Radical Democracy. He defined his Radical Humanism as "Cosmopolitan Union of Free Persons".

Roy's wishes to form a Cosmopolitan Union is his inspiration from Marxian Proletariat Internationalism.

And "free Persons" described is a broader sense.

Roy criticised Modernity for suppressing Rationality of Man. He viewed science

Remarks

as liberating force'. And focused on propagation of scientific study.

Roy claimed freedom lies not in choosing religion but "freedom lies in rejecting religion".

Roy rejected religion as basis of ethics rather reason as basis of Man's morality & ethics. His views come near to Locke who stated reason in man teaches him not to harm the other in life, liberty and property.

(e) Sex is to Nature as Gender is to Culture. Comment.

The debate between Sex and Gender

Remarks

is the core concern of Radical feminism. It defined sex as biological and physiological, while gender as construct of culture.

This difference leading to superiority of male and inferiority of females. Sex and Gender are result of the 'gendered society' whose Basic Structure is patriarchy, perpetuating construct of gender creating myth of 'Essential Female Qualities'.

Simone De Beauvoir exclaimed "one is not born but rather becomes a woman". The issue of debate today is not limited to feminism but also for Transgender rights.

Remarks

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)

(a) Aristotle's Theory of Justice stems from his Theory of Revolution and Theory of Equality. Justice has been a core concern in political science. According to [Rawls] "justice is the first virtue of social institutions just as truth is the first virtue of any system of thought".

Aristotle's idea of justice is Proportionate Justice — in both spheres — of social and legal. In social sph. he suggested distributive justice —

Remarks

however reward of each must be commensurate to their contributions. Similarly, in legal sphere, he suggested to award punishments in proportion to the crime.

Hence, his ideas on Distributive Justice and Rectificatory Justice come close to Liberal idea of Proportionate and Formal equality.

~~Aristotle's motivation behind his theory of justice was no one should have feeling of inequality - real or imagined.~~

Remarks

~~Different views  
of justice in Plato  
with critical  
tree / between  
with critical~~

for Aristotle. It was this feeling of inequality which leads to Revolution and instability in society hampering the ultimate goal of Eudaimonia (happiness).

For Aristotle "If it is unjust to treat equals unequally, it is equally unjust to treat unequals equally" this idea of justice even justified his theory of slavery.

Aristotle's views on Justice can be drawn parallel to Plato's (his master) views on Justice. Plato's occupation with idea of Justice gave rise to his conceptions of 'Just state',

Remarks

'Just soul' and Theory of Philosophus or King. He even named his book

"Republic : Concerning Justice".

Both Aristotle and Plato believed in natural inequality. If Plato gave Myth of Metals, Aristotle justified slavery.

Both suggested work be done according to one's capacity. Plato gave concept of 'Non-interference' and 'specialisation'.  
(Auxiliary class)

However, in contrast, Plato afforded everyone opportunity to become ruler (Philosopher King/Queen). But Aristotle, kept slaves, women and foreigners.

Remarks

out of his theory of citizenship.

Despite the contrast, both belonging to the Socratic Tradition had deep concurs for justice.

(b) "Power is never localised here / there, but rather employed or exercised through a net-like organisations". (Foucault). Comment.

The above statement defines post-modernist views on Power. Power in politics is making someone do / accept something which they would otherwise not do".

Lyotard defined Post-modernism as irreducibly towards meta-narratives.

Remarks

Similarly, its views on power is also different from prevailing notions. It viewed power as never localized concentrated in a single authority like state. Rather every element in society possess power.

Foucault claimed power flows in society like blood in capillaries. It can come from anywhere and go anywhere. He gives the example of Panoptican Society, inspired by Bentham's Panoptican Prison system.

The fear of being watched everytime in Panoptican society has led

Remarks

individuals to develop Governmentality -  
 a disciplinary force where each  
 corrects its behaviour without much  
 interference.

Further, Foucault suggests "Knowledge-Power Connection". Before theories are  
 written with a perspective to gain  
 power / maintain hegemony. Like  
Edward Said exposes through 'Orientalism'.

Foucault's views on power can be  
 considered a Golden Mean between  
 Conception of power by Marxist School  
 and Hannah Arendt. While former  
 views power is always coercion. Arendt  
 viewed it as empowerment.

Remarks

Foucault also viewed Power as both Coercion when exercised by State and empowerment when exercised by the Individuals.

 Foucault views of power as a 'free-flowing' entity comes in contact with [Gramsci] who viewed power is always limited in society and can be held by only few.

Today, when we see "interpellated men" being reduced to just "one-dimension" of man as consumer, views on Foucault's power become relevant.

Remarks

No objective  
discourse  
knowledge  
through relations  
social relations / life  
power flows /  
democracy + to  
power

## 4. Answer the following questions:

(a) The basic cause of human misery and the 'sin' of modern civilisation is the advent of technology and industrialisation. Discuss the Gandhian critique of Industrialisation. (300 Words) (25)

(b) "Covenants without the sword are mere words and of no strength to secure a man at all". Comment. (300 Words) (25)

(a) Gandhian critique of Industrialisation is based on his critique of Modernity grounded in his conceptions of Ends & Means, Ahimsa (Non-violence) and Sarvodaya.

Gandhi's critique of Industrialisation is misunderstood. He was only opposed to mechanization in India's context because India has surplus of labor. Unlike Western countries like UK whose small population supported mechanization and industrialization.

Remarks

However, Gandhi was an ardent critique of culture of consumerism, reducing man to 'Economic man'.

It violated the "idea of 'Swaraj' (rule over self). Swaraj imply control over one's desires & greed. While industrialization survived on mindless consumerism, leading to human misery.

Gandhi suggested a 'sin of modern civilization' as "wealth without work." As advent of technology and industrialisation violated his principle of 'Bread & Labour'.

Remarks

Further, the sin was imbibed in violation of Ahimsa. The exploitation of nature and its resources leading to violence. Gandhi defined Ahimsa as wider view and not just narrow sense.

Gandhi proclaimed that if others also follow the same civilising model, "more earths would be required".

Gandhi's critique of industrialisation comes close to Hannah Arendt's critic of modernity - where consumerism has reduced men to "unthinking masses".

Remarks

However, Gandhi's critique can be considered a counter-hegemony deconstructing the Myth of Colonial Civilising Mission and Benevolent Despotism.

Today, when scientists fearfully predict overtake of human world by AI,

Gandhi's critique of modernity is seen materialising.

~~Desire  
advancement  
based on inequality  
abolition of industrialisation  
civilisation / peasant economy  
civilisation / peasant economy of machine  
of the equality / life~~

Remarks

(b) "Covenants without swords are mere words and of no strength to secure a man at all". Comment.

The above quote of Hobbes delineates his differentiation between Legal theory of Rights and Natural theory of Rights and Law.

Hobbes belonging to School of Legal Positivism only believed in such law as sanctioned by the Sovereign / State. On the other hand, Natural laws are based on nature (Reason of Man). Legal Positivist [Bentham] had critiqued natural laws

Remarks

as "nonsense, upon stilts".

Hobbes, similarly called laws derived from Nature as "counsels of prudence". As they lack enforcement and are uncertain. It also lacks punishment i.e. swords becoming mere words.

For Hobbes, only that law is law which comes from the state and which comes with a power of punishment. It is ultimate and Certain since it is codified and carries punishment.

Remarks

for Hobbes, laws must carry punishments since it is the "dilemma of life" that man has reason, but man also has passion.

Disregarding sources of law as reason, or intuition, Hobbes had suggested "law is command of the sovereign".

The criticism to Hobbesian theory of law comes from Conservative school for which source of law also comes from society, culture and traditions - e.g. Personal Laws in India.

Remarks

Despite, the criticism, Hobbesian views on law formed basis for Monistic Theory of Sovereignty

and further inspired Westphalian nations states. The debate continues even today between scholars of statism and Human Rights

*difficult distinction  
between contract  
covenant conditions of  
nature/ peace as the  
basis/ consent/ ratione  
Remarks*

## SECTION-B

Attempt all questions:

5. Answer the following questions in about 150 words each: (12.5 × 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.

(a) Marxist discourse separates the conceptions of Alienation, Freedom and Liberty. Since, liberty is taken by Liberal school, Marxist do not prefer the term.

Marxist separate Theory of freedom from Theory of liberty. Or criticised liberty or liberal conception of freedom as False Consciousness. While

Freedom is freedom from Necessities

- from Want and Hunger. It is to earn this daily bread that made man

or 'Economic Man' perpetuating exploitation

Remarks

~~of alienation~~ of ~~have~~ Note (property-less) by the Capitalist.

As a result of this economic structure, Man becomes alienated and estranged at four levels - Alienation from Product of his labor as he doesn't possess enough to be able to afford it. Alienation from process of production due to mechanization. Alienation from social relations due to laborious working hours. All lead to man reduced to a mere cog in the wheel leading to Alienation from oneself.

As suggested by Max Horkheimer and Theodore Adorno we are moving in Reverse Dialectic - man moving towards slavery owing to capitalism's extractive nature today.

Remarks

(b) Arendt's views on Banality of Evil

Hannah Arendt wants to find out the reasons which made evil appear banal / normal, in her 'Eichmann in Jerusalem'. Banality meaning normalcy.

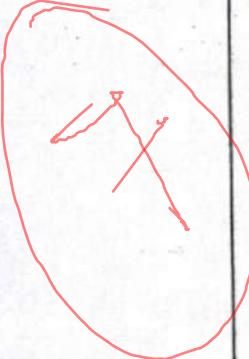
As a <sup>Jury</sup> judge present during trial of Eichmann - an official during Nazi Germany, Arendt suggests it is the existing bureaucratic culture of blind obedience.

Eichmann's ~~evil acts~~ of killing of Jews were not racially or ideologically motivation. Rather, the ~~impetus was promotion~~

Remarks

such blind obedience to superiors  
orders have led to destruction of  
Creative Imagination of minds.

Bureaucrats have lost the ability  
to analyse moral consequences of  
their actions.



It is the result of unfettered  
adherence to norms of value-neutrality,  
amorality, professionalism and hierarchy  
as suggested by Weber's theory of  
Bureaucracy. It is mildly followed in  
the West.

As a result of such banality of  
evil, today we see emphasis on values  
and Emotional Intelligence for Bureaucrats  
and other state officials

Remarks

## (v) Locke's Defense of Property Rights

John Locke belonging to school of Classical Liberalism confers upon his individuals certain inalienable natural rights of life, liberty and property.

Right to Property is ultimate for Locke as he also included in it rights of life and liberty. So sacred that Property rights are not transferred upon 'social contract'.

Locke claims that "the sole purpose for creation of Commonwealth is protection to life, liberty & property."

Remarks

Discuss  
the limitations  
in details/ detailed  
view of Neighbour

State acts as trust and people as trustees. Locke called its State as "a matter of convenience". Hence, created only 'Nightwatchman State'.

And according to its individuals' right to Revolt in case of transgression of property rights.

Marxist school would criticise such a state as "instrument of the Bourgeoisie" (propertied class), created to rule in favor of the rich.

Despite, Locke does impose certain restrictions — should be fruit of one's labor, no right to spoil and shouldn't lead to conditions of monopoly/ oligarchy.

Remarks

(d) Discuss characteristic features of Aristotle's theory of state.

Aristotle's theory of State results from his theory of Constitution. He analysed 158 constitutions to find the "best practicable form of state".

Aristotle called it 'Polity' - a "golden mean" between Oligarchy and Democracy. It is rule of few but not too few and rule of many but not too many.

Further, it is rule of Middle class. Aristotle viewed both rich and poor susceptible to crime. Rich out of arrogance & poor out of ignorance.

Remarks

~~State~~  
~~rule of middle class~~  
~~highest human~~  
~~second best~~  
~~state~~

Here, Aristotle's main concern is to ensure stability and avoid chances of any revolutions.

To avoid any kind of revolution -

even a slightest change, it was suggested to follow eliminate inequality real / imagined. Such a state to

adhere to proportionate equality.

This views come similar to Liberal School of formal equality.

Also, only native-born Greek adult male

holding property qualify as citizens.

further, its essential character being a

Rule of Law and not rule of wisdom.

This theory of state inspired Aquinas and Cicero's mixed form of govt.

Remarks

## 6. 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)

(a) Similarities between and dissimilarities between Gandhi and Marx are several. They are similar with respect to their ends and differ on their means.

Both belonged to different time and space but offer opportunities for comparison.

Both belonged to tradition of Eng "Enlightened Anarchism". They viewed anarchy as absence of sovereign - an over-arching authority.

Remarks

Their anarchy was peaceful. Coming close to [Locke's] State of Nature as state of "peace, goodwill and mutual assistance".

Gandhi's "Ramrajya" and Marx's "Communist State" both are state-less societies. Hence, both are critiqued for being utopias.

But both differ on reaching the state-less society. While Marx called for International Proletariat and Revolution. Gandhi wanted it to be a gradual and peaceful process.

Remarks

Gandhi strictly adhered to Ends-Means continuity. For him, "you can't expect Rose flowers by sowing seeds of Babool".

Further, to end the "class struggle" and contradiction between labor and Capital, Gandhi suggested "Trusteeship model" under Satyagraha while Marx suggested violent overthrow of Capitalism leading to Socialism.

While Gandhi suggested appeal to Conscience of Capitalists to keep only what's required and distribute the "Surplus Value" towards welfare of all.

Remarks

Marx classified into such methodologies as perpetuating False Consciousness and preventing 'Class in Itself' from becoming 'Class for Itself'.

However, both their contributions,

Marx was called a God and

Gandhi "father of the Nation".

The dreams of both remain unfulfilled.

Remarks

Dialectical  
View of history  
Human nature / Economic  
Equality / Moral emancipation /  
Human nature  
Theory

Q. (b) Analyse how Gramscian views have influenced the Marxian views on false consciousness.

Gramscian views belong to the Critical School. It is critical to Orthodox Marxian views and refers to itself as Neo-Marxists.

Marxist school defines two types of Consciousness — True & False. True Consciousness is of ones class and one's interests. It is when a "class in itself" becomes "class for itself". Class is the only real identity.

While, False Consciousness is low-level of consciousness of national identity or gender identity etc.

Remarks

of Power  
Fascism  
Capitalism  
Manufactures  
Consent

Marxian view economic structure as base only influences consciousness. While Gramscian views suggest role of cultural and ideological factors in shaping "interpellated human beings".

further, Marxian disregarded any role of intellectuals to bring true consciousness. Whereas, Gramscian views suggest subaltern should create nexus with organic intellectuals creating "counter-hegemony" against the capitalist.

It was the influence of Gramscian view giving Marxian views from "Economic determinism" as suggested by

Remarks

[Max Weber].

(c) Hobbes belonging to the social contract tradition gives his view on State of Nature<sup>(SON)</sup> and Human Nature, both inter-linked.

Hobbes described his anarchical SON as "war of all against all". Since Man is inherently utilitarian, selfish and insecure & power-seeking. Power becomes a zero-sum game in SON.

As a result, the life of Hobbesian individuals in SON becomes nasty, poor, brutish and short. Since Hobbes's central concern was right of self-preservation.

Remarks

No desire for power & no right of self-preservation

Hobbes creates "Leviathan" - ultimate Sovereign after the Social Contract - of "each with all".

Hobbes' son comes in sharp contrast with "Enlightened Anarchism" of Locke, Gandhi and Marx. They view stateless society (son) as a state of peace, goodwill and mutual assistance.

It is further criticised by feminist School - Carole Pateman who gave the 'Sexual contract', blaming social contract tradition for ignoring women's views.

Despite, we can see relevance of Hobbes' son in International Politics where absence

Remarks of over-arching authority leads to states into conflict.