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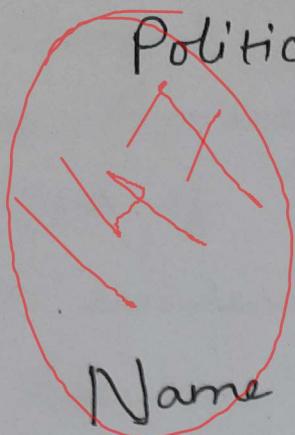
RAJHANS KUMAR SINGH

RANK - 619

**POLITICAL SCIENCE
TEST - 3**



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Political Science Test

TEST - 03

Name : Rajhans Kumar Singh

Mobile :

Date :

Signature :

Your answers
are lacking in critical
understanding of the
documents allotted
by total marks
allocated to the
question. You have
not explained
how much
you have
understood
and given
an appropriate
explanation.

Remarks

U.P.S.C.

1) a) Discuss Plato's theory of justice

The idea of justice is the core concern of political philosophy from Plato to Marx, Marx to Rawls and from Rawls to Amartya Sen. Plato has dealt the idea of justice in quite depth which is evident from subtitle of his book 'Republic' i.e. 'concerning justice'.

Plato wanted to make Athens an 'ideal state' which should be based on god's idea of justice, the perfect/ultimate idea of justice. Since soul is the reflection of god through reasoning we can know the idea of just soul i.e. each element at its specific place and non interference in each other domain.

He has extended the concept of just soul to the state also as 'state is individual writ large'

He has classified people into different classes on the basis of elements dominating their soul and provided each class with specific note.

Ruling class → Man of Reason
Soldier class → Man of Courage
Producer class → Man of Appetite

According to Plato if each class perform its duty it will lead to peace, harmony and excellance.

Plato's ideal state based on his theory of justice can't be accepted in contemporary world. What Plato is talking about is ideal but its practical form may be exploitative. Like India's Varna system is degraded to caste system which is not good for lower caste. Also

efficiency or excellance can't be the sole criteria of justice.

Discuss nature of human species / Justice as a moral norm / Relation to Social Ethics / Denounced the notion of Theory of Morality / Justice

U.P.S.C.

1) b) Aristotle on Government and its classification.
 Apart from being known as 'father of political science', Aristotle is also known as 'father of Comparative Politics' for his elaborate study of 158 constitutions and their classification.

He has used method of biology for classification. He treats constitution, government and state interchangeably because he did not permit any deviation between constitution and manner of government. He has classified constitution based on two parameter : (i) Objective of governance
 (ii) Number of persons ruling

No. of Persons Ruling	Objective of Governance	
	In interest of People	Self interest
One	Monarchy / Philos King	Tyranny
Few	Aristocracy	Oligarchy
Many	Polity	Democracy

According to him Monarchy / Rule of Philosopher king is best but not best practicable, as it may lead to Tyranny. Similarly he did not uphold Oligarchy or Democracy because it lead to sense of injustice for poor and rich respectively.

According to him Polity is the best Practicable form of government. It is rule of middle class in the interest of people. It is rule of many but not too many. Both poor and rich trusts middle class as they have reason as well as moderate wealth.

Thus we see the reflection of Golden mean in golden rule in his idea. It also shows that society with extreme inequality is not stable and prone to conspiracy. Explain the difference between Democracy and Oligarchy and support your answer with political example.

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1) c) Hobbesian Social Contract

The emergence of 'social contract' tradition in political theory is organically linked with emergence of capitalism as the economic system which is based on contract. This tradition takes 'mechanistic' view of state with the idea that 'man is prior to state.'

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Hobbes one of the foremost architect of social contract tradition has applied 'revolutionary composite' method of to prove that man is individualistic as well as utilitarian as he is nature. Since man is utilitarian by nature he will try to maximise his pleasure through the use of power.

Thus the state of nature will be war of all against all. The life of man will be nasty, poor brutish and short. There will be no security of life.

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In order to overcome these short-coming of state of nature and enjoy the pleasure 'Men will enter into contract'. It will be contract of all with all in which men will surrender all its right to a third entity i.e. 'Leviathan' or state except 'Right to life'.

Thus we can see the impact of socio-political event (Puritan Revolution) on his theory of human nature. Later the social contract tradition is further explored by scholars like John Locke, Rousseau which take more optimistic and rational view of human nature and thus modified the contract between state and people.

~~Disraeli
the creation of state
sovereign / sovereign people
People of several / a variety of
religion / the terms of
the social contract~~

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

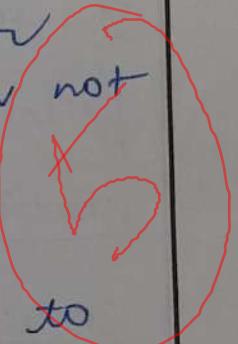
M. N. Roy was one of the most vibrant leading political thinker in the annals of modern Indian political thought. In the course of development of his political philosophy he voyaged from nationalism to communism and from communism to radical humanism, thus crossing one knowledge domain to another.

The philosophy of 'Radical Humanism' keeps individual at centre. MN Roy held that existing philosophies of liberalism and communism have fulfilled only the partial needs of human being. Freedom is much more than ending socio-political and economic deprivation, it also includes freedom from superstitions and supernaturality.

U.P.S.C.

He gave three components of Radical Humanism :

- (i) freedom : from all sorts of fear and insecurities
- (ii) Reason : Reason is not spiritualistic or metaphysical but materialistic in origin
- (iii) Ethics : Principles governing our social life based on reason not religion



Thus we can see a true desire to liberate person from all sorts of insecurities and ideologies and form a 'cosmopolitan union of truly liberated person' in the philosophy of

Radical humanism of MN Roy. Thus distancing itself from crude materialism and determinism of orthodox

Marxism

M N Roy has truly called himself an Alernative Humanist

Three stages of freedom as the levels of progress of remaining man

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

The idea of 'Gender' as a social or cultural construct is concept of radical feminist discourse. Rejecting the simplistic notion of applying liberal / social principles on women by liberal / socialist feminist they tried to deep dive into the origin of women's problem.

Radical feminist like Simone de Beauvoir held that 'Women are made, they are not born'. In her book 'The second sex' she has applied Sartre's concept of existence and essence. She held that there is nothing wrong with biological nature of 'Sex'. It is the conversion of 'sex' into 'gender' that is problematic.

Women are understood with reference to men. Society gives 'essence' of to the women. At each stage i.e. birth childhood, adolescence, adulthood she is forced to leave the claim of subjectivity. She explored various myth like 'motherhood' enjoyment and had criticised medical science & psychology for perpetuating.

Similarly scholar like Kate Millet and Shulamith Firestone held that Patriarchy is the basic structure and suggested dissolution of heterosexual marriage.

Thus they tries to expose the cultural construct of 'Gender' and present no 'sex' as natural and thus tries to emancipate women from patriarchy.

Discussing biological determinist women from masculinity/femininity cultural gender/sexual division of labour

U.P.S.C.

3) a) Discuss Aristotle's Theory of justice.
Also compare the notion of justice
as given by Plato and Aristotle.

→ justice is the prime concern of political
philosophy. from the rule of philosopher
king of Plato to 'Idea of Communism'
of Marx; from 'Difference Principle'
of Rawls to 'Capability Development'
approach of Amartya Sen the
underlying idea is to make society
just.

The Aristotelian notion of justice
is based on 'Principle of Merit', where
merit is a social concept. It is the
value society gives to a particular
work. According to Aristotle Reward
should be in accordance to Merit i.e.
importance of person's work for society.
He does not believe in absolute
equality rather prefers proportionate
equality.

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According to Aristotle :

"It is unjust to treat equals unequally;
it is equally unjust to treat unequals
equally."

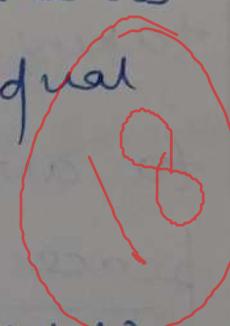
If a state go for discrimination against
the person who deserved to be treated
equally, such person will be tempted
to go against the state. The feeling
of inequality real or imagined is
the common cause of 'revolution'.

Similarly it will be injustice to treat
masters and slaves alike. It will
also lead to revolution of sedition.

In the realm of rectificatory
justice, Aristotle has given the theory
of proportionality i.e. punishment
should be proportionate to crime.

Although Aristotle's idea of
justice based on merit could be

a good idea of distributive justice in equal society. But in society like India 'merit' alone cannot be the criteria because level playing field does not exist. So 'difference principle' of Rawls based on idea 'justice as fairness' is applicable for unequal society.



Difference between Plato & Aristotle

Although both believe in justice is proper stationing at proper place but the idea of justice is performance of duties based on individual capacity to obtain efficient and excellance in society working by Plato.

While for Aristotle it is more to do with reward in proportion of one's contribution.

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while Plato gives moral and philosophical notion of justice, for Aristotle it is legal and rights-oriented.

While Plato has taken the idea of justice from soul, Aristotle has taken functional approach of justice to avoid revolution and maintain peace and stability.

Thus both has given their theory of justice according to their main aim which was to create efficient and ideal state for Plato while it was 'best practicable' for

Aristotle.

As aim & object Justice is action/ different types of Justice detailed comparison of Aristotle with Plato - support with critical comments

b) "Power is never localised here or there, but rather employed and exercised through a net-like organisation" (foucault). Comment

Power is the central concept of Political Science. However like all concepts power remains a contented concept. Different scholars have looked at power in a different way.

While conventional view like elitist or pluralist or even Marxist has analysed power as an 'instrument of coercion' i.e. ability to get things done by others even against their wish; Non-conventional view like Hannah Arendt has seen it as a 'means of empowerment'

Another non-conventional view of power is given by Post-modernist scholar Michael Foucault. He held that that 'Power is everywhere'. It is flowing

throughout the society in the form of capillaries or network like organisation. Power is multi-directional. It goes in all directions and comes from anywhere.

In his book 'discipline and punish' he has shown the knowledge power connection. Influenced by

Nietzsche's Genealogy of Morals first he gave the concept of discourse.

Discourse is the way of telling reality rather than telling reality. knowledge is a discourse. The discourse which gets support of majority becomes dominant discourse or 'regime of truth'

for eg: the discourse of normality, criminality or madness is determined by dominant view. It is the power of doctor / psychiatrist to determine normal or abnormal. Thus there is knowledge power connection.

Every age has its own discourse. If Christianity was discourse of medieval time than science is discourse of modern times.

He has also given the concept of disciplinary power and governmentality. He has held that now a days states started more humane approach to the criminals. The main purpose behind to enhance image of the state and makes the criminal body removable for the society.

Thus Foucault's analysis of power is considered as post-structuralist view of power. Instead of macro view he has given micro view of power. He is not limiting the understanding power to particular institutions or agents.

Inadequate

With such elaborate and in-depth analysis of evolution of power and changes in the way the power is exercised or embodied, Foucault has set another dimension in our understanding of power.

Thus power exercised through social relationship / power & resistance / how it positive / power flows / liberal democracy

5) a) Theory of Alienation and Theory of freedom
 'Theory of Alienation' and 'Theory of Freedom' are concept of Marxist discourse. It is a work of Young Marx which came into limelight into his economic and philosophic manuscripts' in 1930s.

Marx's concept of Alienation was inspired by Hegel who held that it is separation of man from universal spirit. Later Fuerbach held that it is because of religion man is alienated. Marx refined the concept and say that religion is just superstructure, we can change the alienation by changing economic structure of capitalist society.

He held that true nature of man is that he is creative and social in nature. But capitalism gives no scope to realise its true nature. In capitalism man is alienated:

i) from the product of his labour

ii) from process of production

- (iii) Alienation from society → no free time
 (iv) Alienation from himself due to above three.

Criticising the concept of liberty as false consciousness he held that in communism men will attain perfect freedom.

Because in communism each will work according to his capacity and each will get according to his need.

True freedom is freedom from necessities which society will take care of in communism. Thus according to Marx man can work for his creative urge and truly realised his social and creative nature. That will be true freedom.

Although communism remained utopia but the 'concept of alienation' or true freedom really worked in modifying the working conditions of labour in western world.

Alienation from self & free labour / exploitation of workers / creation of human capital / freedom of self

b) Arendt's view on 'Banality of Evil'

Hannah Arendt is an orthodox heterodox thinker. Though she cannot be linked with any specific school of thought yet the common idea connecting her works is her emphasis on 'participation in civic affairs'

She gave the concept of 'Banality of Evil' in her book 'Eichmann in Jerusalem' in 1963. Eichmann was chief architect of Hitler's holocaust program against Jews. During his trials he held that he did not hate Jews, he was just following the orders and doing his duty.

Arendt held that such a grave crime can be done by a perfectly normal person if he/she does not understand the humane and moral consequence of his/her action. Eichmann was

innocuous person, operated without thinking
incapable of moral judgement.

In her words evils becomes
banal when it acquires unthinking and
systematic character. It becomes banal
when ordinary people participate in it,
build distance from it and justify
it in countless ways. Later it does
not look like evil, it becomes facelss

so in a way, she wants to oppose any activities which
is crime against humanity, name
name them, by participating actively
in civic affairs. for which she
gave the 'theory of Action'.

Three
Richmond &
behaviour/ how
normal people have
stopped living
their imaginative
responsibilities/duty is

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c) Locke on Defense of Property Rights

Locke, a thinker of social contract tradition is also known as 'father of liberalism'.

He is also called scholar of Bourgeoisie class or scholar of possessive individualism for his justification of the Absolute Right to Property.

Locke has taken optimistic view of human nature. He held that state of nature was state of peace and goodwill. Man in state of nature was enjoying natural rights. Man has formed a limited state to address some of inconveniences of state of nature.

Among the rights in state of nature most important was Right to life, liberty and property. At times Locke used the term Property in inclusive sense (include life & liberty).

Explains the tenets of the Lockian theory of the Right to Property with detailed political commentaries

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It shows that without property life & liberty carrier no meaning.

Locke held that Right to life, liberty and property are parts of man's personality. It is the product of man's labour. It is unreasonable to alienate man from his life, liberty and property.

He also held that property is source of good life. He put just three limitations on right to property i.e. labour limitation, spoilage limitation, deprive from earning property.

According to Locke the sole purpose of creating commonwealth is the preservation of property. Robert Nozick in contemporary times revived the argument of Locke in his entitlement theory of justice. Thus Locke defended the absolute Right to property.

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

Aristotle belongs to Socratic tradition of thought which held that state is natural and prior to man. Countering the sophist view who held that state is artificial and a product of contract Aristotle showed that origin of state is in the need of human.

Only the state is the institution which can fulfill all the requirement of man. It is in the destiny of man to live in the state. He held that "State come into existence for the sake of life and continues for the sake of good life." State is highest of all associations.

He held that state is not a family but rather family of families. Through this he has

U.P.S.C.

challenged the Plato's theory of state which considers it as a family and Philosopher king as head of family with absolute authority. He held that authority of statesman is different from authority of master. According to him state should not seek uniformity rather unity in diversity.

He also held that 'Polity' is best practicable form of government where different interests can be deliberated.

Aristotle view of Man as a political animal and ~~per se~~ organic nature of state was challenged later by social contract tradition thinker like Hobbes, Locke etc. Marxist held state as an instrument of exploitation. Thus the idea of origin, utility of state remain ~~open~~ debatable.

The Point mentioned remain open
you need explanation
Human being as social
Second State

U.P.S.C.

(iii) Marxist communism and Grandhian Ram Rajya was stateless. Both were anarchist who see state as an 'instrument of bourgeoisie class' and 'soulless machine' respectively.

(iv) Both were against the capitalistic mode of production which was exploitative and alienating.

(v) Both wants to create a classless, equal and just society.

However there are stark difference too:

(i) While Grandhi believe in non-violence (Ahimsa), Marx held that 'violence is midwife of change'

(ii) While for both of them ends are same but Grandhi believed in continuity of means and ends

(iii) While for reforming capitalism Grandhi appeal to conscience of capitalist evident from

his theory of trusteeship, for Marx it is through violence by developing class consciousness of workers.

- (iv) While Gandhi has considered religion as a source of moral & ethical principle for Marx it is false consciousness.
- (v) The marxist differentiation of people in terms of two classes depending on relation with economic production does not find resemblance in Gandhian theory who was working for upliftment of all.

Thus (vi) Gandhian solution to any problem was spiritualistic (like hate evil not evil doer), while determinism is the main idea of Marx.

Thus while both Gandhiism and Marxism is relevant even today but we find that differences between them is profound while similarities are superficial.

b) Analyse how Gramian views have influenced the Marxist views on false consciousness.

→ Gramsci is the second greatest philosopher in Marxism after Marx. It is said that he saved Marxism from being considered as crude economic determinism.

He has analysed the failure of worker's class consciousness in advanced capitalist society and came to the conclusion that Marx's understanding of history was inadequate. Marx has neglected the role played by superstructure considering them as a mere reflection of base structure that is economy. Gramsci held that superstructure is structure in itself.

It plays a role in maintaining capitalism.

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Through his theory of hegemony he held that ruling/capitalist class does not rule by economic domination only but through ideological domination. also. It is an exercise of soft power. It implies manufacturing consent in favor of rule of dominant class.

It appears to the dominated class that the promoted cultural values are in their interest only. for eg: In India, Indians believed that British Rule is blessing in disguise. According to Gramsci, capitalism survives because it has become common sense. According to him workers in those countries doesn't want to end capitalism, he only dreamt that he should be capitalist.

Gramsci suggested working class to build counter-hegemony by taking traditional and organic intellect along with them.

Thus while Marx rejected the role of ideology or cultural values as false consciousness. Gramsci has provided the required reform in Marxist thinking which was later used by scholars like Nicole Polkunov or Ralph

Miliband in analysing contemporary period and concept like 'managerial revolution'. Thus Gramsci view has a profound impact on Marxism.

has a profound
third force of
invisible
attack
civis
strength / ever
position / building
capacities

Explains the
Points You
Mentioned

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- 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.

The concept of 'state of nature' belongs to social contract tradition thinkers. They try to explain the reason behind the political obligation of people towards state i.e. the legitimacy of social contract. For this they first analyse 'human nature' then state of nature without any sovereign authority; then they tries to prove the legitimacy of social contract by showing the discrepancy in state of nature.

Hobbes, one of the greatest political philosopher, has analysed the human nature through

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resoluteive composite method of Cratiles.
since man can only understand the motion
of particles in his brain, he is selfish
in nature. He also proved the
individualistic and utilitarian nature
of man as he seeks pleasure and
avoids pain.

But with limited resources and unlimited wants, man will seek power so that he can enjoy the pleasure forever. Thus man's life will be continuous search of power in the state of nature. If one gains power other will feel insecure, so the state of nature will be war of all against all.

There will be no scope of arts, letters, industry, innovation etc., the life of man will be ~~nasty, poor~~^{good & desire}, ~~short, brutish~~^{long & natural}

e will be no ~~sup~~^{sup},
try, innovation etc., the life of
will be ~~nasty~~^{Good &}, poor, ~~short~~^{long}, brutish
~~disorder~~^{conflict}, ~~evil~~^{natural}, ~~anarchy~~^{right}

U.P.S.C.

So man decides to enter into contract, in which he surrenders all his right to a third entity i.e. Leviathan except Right to life. Leviathan is a sovereign entity with enforcing power.

However the state of nature as well as human nature was criti- cized by later scholars like Locke, Rousseau which holds an optimistic view towards human nature as well as state of nature.

Since every thinker is a child of his times, we can see the influence of chaos due to Puritan Revolution on the views of Hobbes. He held that 'g and fear are born together'. So his prime concern was to have life security.

Still Hobbes is acknowledged as one of the best author English race has ever produced. Karl Marx held that he is father of all of us.

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8. a)

The theories of non-interference were found to be inadequate.... Examine problems associated with classical liberalism. Also explain how does Positive Liberalism justify the value of distributive justice.

Classical liberalism is considered as the ideology of emerging bourgeoisie class. They held that man is individualistic, utilitarian and rational i.e. able to protect his interest. They view society as 'aggregate of individuals' and held that society is market place where man goes for satisfaction of his interests.

According to them state is necessary evil and emphasized on the idea of 'minimal state'. for eg: Adam Smith held that state should referee rather than ~~enforce~~ captain.

U.P.S.C.

According to them Liberty is absence of interference of state. If steps are taken to bring equality in social and economic terms, it will reduce liberty. Thus liberty is anti-thetical of equality.

Later classical liberalism comes under the shadow of utilitarianism which vouches for maximum good for maximum. It was extreme form of materialism, where every action is guided by pleasure and pain.

It has led to highly unequal society with highly exploitative condition of workers due to profit motive of capital class. Utilitarianism was criticised as 'pigs' philosophy.

Also socialist challenger force the classical liberalism to mould its values and understanding and there comes the emergence of positive Liberal

U.P.S.C.

JS mill or TH Green. They tried to borrow the concept from idealism and try to mould liberalism based on human dignity. They redefined the term liberty as capacity. When state intervenes it does reduce liberty rather enhances it.

They believe that liberty can be balanced with equality. As held by TH Green "individual is free only when he has capacity to fulfill the laws of his being. We need There is a need for affirmative action or positive discrimination in favor of weak to establish level playing field in the society. Thus they justify the value of distributive justice which is society should be based on merit but state should invert

in capacity building of poor. Then it gives rise to the idea of welfare state.

Late welfare state also increased in its function came to known as 'nanny state' which has given rise to neo-liberalism based on Market fundamentalism.

Then positive liberal tries to address the problem emerged due to non-interfering state of classic liberals based on concept of human dignity of Emmanuel Kant.

Dissent concentration of hard-core liberalism or clamorous of few! attacks on positive liberalism & idealistic revision with detailed critical comments.

U.P.S.C.

प्रश्न संख्या
(Question No.)

- b) Modernity is characterised by the loss of the world Analyse Arendt's conception of Modernity. Also criticize Arendt's interpretation of modernity.
- Hannah Arendt is the only woman recognised as political philosopher. She is a complicated thinker because we cannot put herself into any specific school of thought. She described her thinking as 'thinking without barriers'. She gave her own meaning of already established concept. Her methodology is phenomenology i.e. understanding by reason, experience and observation.
- She has given her conception of Modernity in her book 'The Human Condition'. She described modernity as loss of world. She metaphorically explain beginning of modernity with 'Nuclear Explosion in Japan'.

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Thus modernity killed humanity. Modernity has made economic sphere of life as the most important sphere. There is restriction or elimination of public sphere of action and speech in favor of private world of introspection and private pursuit of economic interest.

Thus it is victory of 'animal laborans' over 'homo faber' and the classical conception of man as 'soon politikon'.

She held that this modernity and neglect of political participation has given rise to totalitarianism and end of freedom. Modernity has broken tradition where part is no longer relevant to understanding present.

However Arendt's critique of Modernity has some shortcomings too. As she has taken a over-restricted view of social in her assessment.

By insisting on a strict separation between the private and public, between political and social she is unable to account for the essential connection between these spheres. Many so-called private issues have become public concern in today's world.

Still the conception of modernity by Hannah Arendt re-emphasizes the need of participation in civic affairs which is a common thread connecting all her concept be it totalitarianism analysis or concept of 'Banality of Evil.'

~~Explains
world of earth
alienation / rise of totalitarianism with evil.
Social age of totalitarianism with
detached criticism from
critical movement~~