

# **G|S SCORE**

**An Institute for Civil Services**

## **IAS TOPPER'S**

**TEST COPY**

## **LAXMAN TIWARI**

**RANK - 71**

**POLITICAL SCIENCE  
TEST - 3**



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## **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.

Name Laxman Tiwari

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

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature Laxman

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

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

## 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) Justice is the core concern of normative political philosophy. From Plato to Amartya Sen, scholars have been trying to propound perfect idea of Justice.

~~Plato wants to create for this~~  
Athenians as an 'ideal state'.  
 He propounds God's idea of justice  
 on the basis of dialectics.  
 dialectics with sophists to arrive at ultimate idea of Justice.

According to him, justice leads to happiness, excellence and peace. He says that justice has to be based on myth of metals.

Remarks

Acc to him, justice means proper specialisation of people on the basis of functions and non-interference. Justice never harms. It is a duty to make state ideal. Since state is a magnified version of individuals, people have to be just.

However, winspear, keil popper, Aristotle criticise his idea of justice as narrow and parochial. We cannot force someone to remain in one profession for entire life.

thus, whitehead rightly says that entire western philosophy is nothing but footnotes to plato as plato has propounded the idea of good political life.

(B) Aristotle is known as the father of political science. His approach is inductive as he has done exhaustive-

Remarks

- analysis of 158 constitutions of his time.  
 On the basis of this, in his book -  
'POLITY', he propounds classification of  
govt.

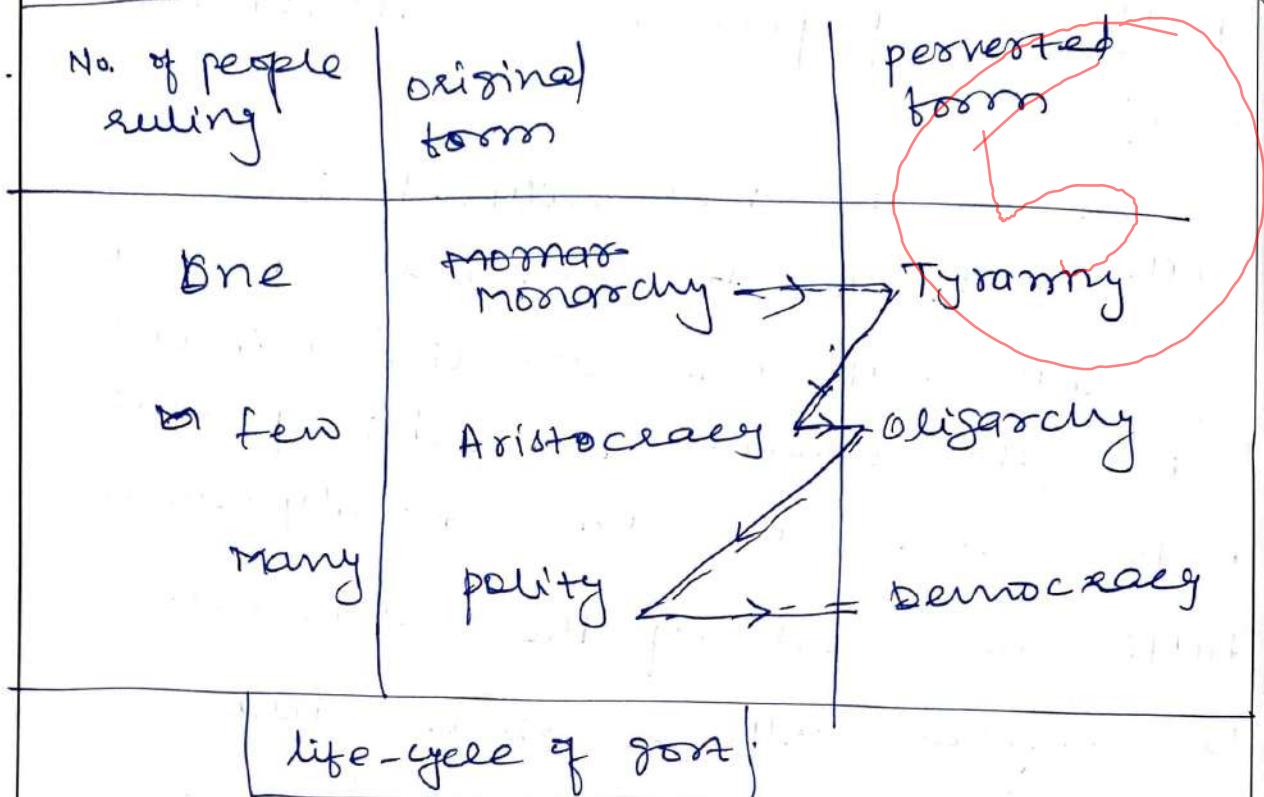
He gives natural view of state / govt. Acc to him, man is social by nature. No one can live without state. He traces the origin of state in the needs of man. Family cannot fulfil all needs of the man, hence he creates village, since village cannot fulfil all the needs, he creates state. State is the association of all associations.

~~Succession of~~ Moreover, he says that chronologically, man is prior to state but logically state is prior to man. State is an institution of virtue which enables development of human personality. He takes functionalist approach.

He has classified -

Remarks

states are due to the basis of number of people ruling and form of govt.



thus, he says that polity is the best form of govt. It is the golden mean between oligarchy and democracy.

(C) Hobbes is a thinker of law and order and security. He belongs to the tradition of social contract. He has witnessed bloodshed during puritan revolution - 1641, hence he wants-

Remarks

- to achieve harm & order.

in his work 'Leviathan'

he goes for social contract in order to establish state. In his social contract, he has analysed humans, nature, state of nature & contract.

In the social contract, he emphasizes that man is utilitarian by nature and pleasure seeking. This nature present in state of nature creates ~~was~~ like situations where there is ~~war~~ of all against all.

~~to~~ There is not security of life & security of happiness. To end this insecurity, humans enter into social contract to create state.

~~to~~ Hobbes' social contract

~~lays~~ the blueprint of absolute state where people transfer their rights to the state to create all sovereign.

Remarks

-state which can provide security of life.

However, Mcpherson criticises Hobbes too providing justification through social contract to create absolute state. It creates evils like fascism. Similarly, Locke says that state of nature is peaceful and is a bliss.

Thus, Hobbes has tried to establish sovereignty of modern states so as to avoid clash between state & religion etc.

(D) MN Roy assumes a great place in the annals of Indian political philosophy. On the basis of Radical Indian philosophy, he has propounded idea of Radical humanism.

Radical means Radix i.e. Root. He wants to bring reforms from the root. He is.

Remarks

against Marxism which subsumes individual in the idea of class. He wants to create a chain of spiritually liberated ~~indivudual~~ individuals having no fear, no superstition.

He gives three basic principles of Radical humanism:-

(A) **Reason** - Rationality is essential to redress stigma and superstition. Science can be utilised to fulfil man's need.

(B) **Freedom** - Life is a struggle for survival, freedom forms the human nature. without freedom from necessities, freedom from wants, we cannot achieve spirituality.

(C) **Ethics** - whatever appeared rational to man during struggle for survival should be accommodated as ethics. Thus, M K ROG has

indeed tried to achieve cosmopolitanism and true democracy through Radical humanism and radical democracy.

Remarks

(E) Feminist scholars aim to achieve gender equality by eradicating discrimination based on gender, patriarchy. They differentiate between gender and sex.

Simone de Beauvoir in

her work 'Second Sex', she says that sex is a natural concept, it has nothing to do with discrimination while Gender is a socio-cultural construction to keep women subjugated. She says that genders like male/female/transgender are assigned by society. One is not born women, one becomes women.

Similarly, Betty Friedan, Silvia Smith Firestone say that political philosophy has been gender blind.

Gender-based discrimination is everywhere.

Cynthia Enloe asks 'where are the women'

Thus, Iris Marion Young demands differentiated citizenship to ensure gender justice and to eradicate distinction between gender & sex.

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)

① Justice has remained the core concept of normative political philosophy from

Plato to John Rawls to Amartha Sen.

As Amarta Sen rightly says that without Justice no society or state can evolve.

Aristotle is known as the father of political science because of his exhaustive analysis of 158 constitutions to propound his theory. In his celebrated work 'polity', he propounds proportional theory of justice.

Being a functionalist

& conservative, Aristotle divide his theory of justice in 2 heads:-

- ① Distributive justice
- ② Rehabilitative justice.

He says that it is unjust to treat equals unequally, it is equally unjust to treat unequalss equally. His theory of justice is intimately linked with his theory of equality.

He says that a slave and a master cannot be treated equally.

Moreover, the distributive justice says that state should allocate goods & services / values on the basis of deserving. If someone gets something which she does not deserve, it will create disharmony and resentment in the state. According to him, feeling of inequality (Real or perceived) is the core cause of revolution in states. for e.g. French revolution, Arab spring.

Similarly, in his reformative theory, he says that punishment should be proportioned to the

**Remarks**

proportion of harm done - Hence his theory of justice is based on his theory of equality and proportion.

Amartya Sen criticises Aristotle's theory of justice as formal & procedural. Acc to Sen, Aristotle theory is applicable in those societies where level playing field exist. In case of India where society is so diverse with inequality due to historical caste system, we cannot apply his theory of justice. It will lead to more injustice and inequality.

Ronald Dworkin criticises Aristotle's theory for depriving slaves from getting justice. Similarly, Carol Pateman, a feminist scholar, says that Aristotle's theory eliminates women from participation in city state, hence it is narrow and masculinist.

Remarks

Plato has propounded his notion of justice in his work 'The Republic'. He wants to make Athens an ideal state, so he propounds ideal theory of justice.

According to him, justice aims to achieve happiness, excellence and harmony. So he propounds that there should be functional specialisation on the basis of quality of soul and there should not be any interference by anyone in other's domain. To achieve justice, he further says that there should be communism of property & family.

However, Aristotle's theory does not deprive anyone from property and family. Acc. to him, a man of property is a man of reason. He says that Plato's theory is non-practicable as we cannot limit someone.

**Remarks**

in one profession on the & arbitrary basis of caste

thus, Aristotle and Plato have helped evolving the concept of justice. Recognising their contribution, Whitehead says that entire western philosophy is footnotes to Plato & Aristotle.

(B) power is central theme of political science. Maxi rightly says the this discipline is all about study of shaping & sharing of power.

Foucault, a post-modernist, gives non-conventional theory of power. His approach is sociological view. Against Hobbes Juridico-discursive, Foucault gives Juridico-legalistic view of power. He has analysed power at micro-level.

According him, power is not concentrated at one place, it come from everywhere and goes to everywhere.

Not only people are the site where power is exercised but they are also the embodiment of power.

In his work, the archaeology of knowledge, he says that discourse is the medium through which power is exercised. Everyone is a part of discourse. Even King is also a part of discourse. Power flows in the society like blood in capillaries. Power is productive.

Moreover, in his work 'History of sexuality', he give concept of disciplinary power. Acc to him, it is perfect economy & technology of power. Just as Bentham has given the concept-

Remarks

of panopticons where state observe everyone at single gaze, it enables people to discipline themselves. further, in his work

'Bat Birth of prison', he gives idea of 'Biopower' where state enjoys people's support which makes it smooth to exercise power. The practices of public hanging, torture have been replaced by peaceful rehabilitations through jails to achieve biopower.

Foucault says that power is present everyone, every person is trapped in the grid of power.

However, his approach has been criticised by Elitist scholars like CW Mills, Max Weber, Schumpeter. They believe that power is concentrated-

Remarks

-in the hands of elites like big corporates, top politicians etc. power in the hands of people is a misconception.

As per Robert Michels, Iron law of <sup>A</sup>  
Oligarchy prevails where power is monopolised by a small section of minority.

~~Thus, Foucault's sociological analysis is more relevant to understand exercise of power. For instance, civil societies influencing govt's policies, pressure groups fulfilling their interests etc support Foucault's dynamic view of power.~~

Remarks

## 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) TIMES magazine says that Gandhiji's popularity is only next to Jesus Christ.  
Gandhiji deeply believed in spirituality and was against Bentham's utilitarianism.  
Bipin Chandra says that Gandhiji's approach towards freedom struggle was near to Antonio Gramsci. Gramsci had held that subaltern class should go for 2-level war - war of position (counter hegemony) and war of manoeuvre. Gandhiji's criticism of modernity was his war of position to challenge concepts like white man's burden and civilising mission.

Gandhiji called technology and industrialisation as satanic in his-

Remarks

work 'HIND SWARAJ'. He was influenced by Edward Carpenter's analysis about ill-effects of modern medicines. Gandhi was not against industrialisation just because it was western in origin. He was cautious about the negative externalities of such model of development.

Acc. to him, modern model of industrialisation is based on concept of utilitarianism which seeks to achieve greater happiness for greater number. It has led colonialism, imperialism and evils like Nazism & fascism. Such mode of thinking culminates into exploitation of fellow human being by another feeling. Moreover, technology and industrialisation are against:-

Remarks

- Environment & ecology
- Animals
- Social equality
- Swaraj, acc to him, if entire world follows this mode of development, then we would require more earth: ~~Ecological destruction led by industrialisation and consumerism will become a threat to humanity in long run.~~

Moreover, Gandhiji held that production for masses instead of production by masses leads to development of instrumental rationality where people are busy in satisfying their material needs. It promotes inequality and leads to destruction of social harmony- critical school of marxism (Habermas, Horkheimer)

also propound that industrialisation has led to development of nexus between science and bourgeoisie which promotes one-dimensional man.

Remarks

Hence, he suggested that India should avoid the above mode to ensure that swaraj is achieved.

However, MH Roy and B R Ambedkar have criticised Gandhi's for his approach towards technology & industrialisation. According to them,

technology will ensure development of

reason and industrialisation will provide affordable options to people.

Thus, Gandhi's view of industrialisation is indeed true.

The recent miseries like climate change, global warming, increased

inequality etc are product of consequential model of industrialisation. To achieve

sustainability & sustainability, our development must be based on centrality of humanity & ecology.

Remarks

(B) The concept of sovereignty got legal recognition through Treaty of Westphalia

1648. Macchiavelli and later Hobbes enriched the idea of sovereignty. Above state is in support of absolute sovereignty of state give by Thomas Hobbes.

Hobbes belongs to tradition of Social Contract. In his work, Leviathan, he says that state is a product of contract where people have transferred their rights to create absolute state.

Acc. to him, state of nature was state war of all against all. Man being a utilitarian person was busy in offence and defence. It was state of unhappiness. Hence to come out of this state and to -

Remarks

- create state, people transferred their rights to the state.

Hobbes gives absolute power to the state. All to him,

Covenants without swords are nothing but words. Law is the common and of sovereignty and sovereignty has right to punish someone if he does not follow the law.

for instance, in state of nature, man was enjoying natural rights and there was no common authority to oversee implementation of these rights. Since the dilemma of limited resource and unlimited desires led to war situation, it was realised that there a need for common authority. for example, international laws are very weak because they -

Remarks

- are mere covenants without any implementing authority which can punish too infringement.

The primary goal of state is to provide security to man. Man is afraid about the losing the things which give him pleasure. Hence, state has absolute authority to implement the law. Hobbes says that natural rights have been replaced by legal rights provided by the state.

Macpherson while criticizing Hobbes says that he starts as an individualist but ends as an absolutist. Initially, Hobbes is concerned about human security but in the end, he creates a ~~top~~ Leviathan state - all powerful, all sovereign.

However, Sabine defends Hobbes for being individualist out and

out. Acc. to him, Hobbes creates state Leviathan to protect individuality of human being.

Thus, it is important to understand Hobbes in order to understand the functioning of modern nation states and their sovereignty.

Hobbes established that sovereignty is all supreme so as to ensure uniformity of laws and to prevent chaotic, brutal, nasty and short-life situation prevailing in the state of nature.

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) The nature of human being has remained the central position of different political schools. It remains a contested concept.

Karl Marx in his work 'Economic and Philosophic manuscript' gives theory of alienation.

Acc to him, the real nature of human is creative. Man wants to create so as to satisfy his urges.

He counters Rostow's hypothesis that destruction of religion is essential to end alienation. He says that man is alienated at 4 different levels. It is mainly due to capitalist mode of production.

Remarks

- (a) Alienation from process of production
- (b) Alienation from products
- (c) Alienation from society
- (d) Alienation from himself.

Even bourgeoisies also suffer from alienation but pain is less. He suggests that end of capitalist mode of production is essential to end alienation. In communism, people will produce to satisfy their urges & not for profit.

Further Karl Marx makes a difference between liberty & freedom. He says that liberty is a false consciousness. It leads to alienation as no man is island, everyone is a part of continent.

In his theory of freedom, he gives concept of freedom from necessities. He wants absolute freedom. His concept is starkly different from liberal conception.

Remarks

Thus, Karl Marx has ~~compelled~~  
compelled capitalism to become  
unstable. The current welfare state  
 is a consequence of Marx's theories.

(B) Hannah Arendt is known as one of the  
 great political philosopher. She calls  
 her method as phenomenology and  
 she does not belong to any school.

In her book 'Eichmann in  
Jerusalem', she gives the theory of  
banality of evil. She had witnessed  
 the trial of Eichmann who was a  
Nazi officer. He had implemented  
Hitler's extermination plan of  
Holocaust.

Acc. to Arendt, Eichmann  
 was not guilty. She says that  
 he was an officer and was simply  
 following the order in greed of  
 getting promotion. His acts are -

Remarks

-monster but he is not a monster.

Acc to her, banality comes from failure to think. Eichmann could not reasonable think about his actions due to hierarchy of bureaucracy.

Moreover, she blames modernity for banality of evil. Due to modernity, people's participation in political sphere reduces and economic sphere becomes more significant.

People ~~give~~ give unprecedented support to unprecedented criminality. It

leads to end of ~~mass~~ class politics and beginning of mass politics. It culminates into victory of ~~animal~~ animal labour over ~~mass~~ politikon.

When people participate in violence, do not oppose it, ignore it and justify it in countless manners through stock of cliched

Remarks

-phrases, it becomes a macabre comedy and this evil becomes fearless.

thus, her concept of banality of evil can be applied to understand mob lynching, hate speech, molestation, xenophobia etc in contemporary time.

② John Locke is known as the father of liberalism. Liberalism is a philosophical justification of capitalism. Locke is also known as the supporter of natural rights.

Locke in his work '2nd treatise on civil government' gives theory of property. According to him property is a part of man's personality. Property is a source of happiness. God has created apple, milk, meat to

Remarks

enjoy:

LOCKE says that in state of nature, people had absolute rights over liberty, life & property. He says that state has been created to avoid some inconveniences. State is a trustee and people are trustee.

people have transferred only right to make laws, execute & adjudicate law.

~~According to him, man has absolute right over his life, liberty & property.~~ Man has right over his

~~labour, labour of his slave & like house.~~ State cannot promote welfare at cost of someone else's earning.

He does not support progressive taxation. Moreover, he says that state should remain at nightwatchman to ensure that property is rightly owned, rightly transferred & rightly inherited.

Remarks

McPherson calls Locke as the scholar of possessive individualism. Amartya Sen, TH Green have criticised Locke for not supporting taxation.

Thus, Locke has influenced policies of the world - e.g. USA's constitution provides for 'pursuit of happiness'. He remains an influence for neo-liberals like Nozick, Hayek.

D) State is the central concept of political science. Discipline begins & ends at state. Aristotle has given an exhaustive analysis of state based on his analysis of 158 constitutions of his time.

In his work 'POLITY', he says that state is a natural entity having origin in the need of the human being. Since man is a social/political animal and no-

- person can stay without state, the state becomes inevitable.

In this theory of state, he says that state is an association of associations. He has classified states as - Monarchy, Oligarchy, Poetry, Democracy. He takes a functionalist approach and says

~~that state is a source of virtue for man. without state there will be anarchy.~~

Hence, he supports Poetry as the best practicable form of govt. He also suggests that state has to be ruled by middle class as it gets respect of both upper & lower class. He promotes republican and representative participatory form of state.

Thus, Aristotle's concept of state still remains a guiding force for deliberative democracy scholars like Amartya Sen, Hannah Arendt, Habermas.

Remarks

## 6. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Examine the similarities and Dissimilarities between Gandhi and Marx.  
(250 Words) (20)
- (b) Analyse how Gramian 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) Gandhi and Karl Marx, both are great leaders as well as great philosophers having influence beyond their own domestic borders. Both belong to Anarchist school of thought yet they have lot of dissimilarities.

→ Similarities

→ Gandhi believed that non-  
propos equitable distribution of surplus  
causes inequality. Karl Marx has also  
emphasized that capitalists do not share  
surplus value which causes & deprivation of  
proletariat class.

→ Gandhi was of the opinion that  
there should be village republics and -

Remarks

- there is no need of state. As state is the symbol of weakness in man, and state uses violence, hence it should be discarded. Karl Marx also believed that state is the executive committee of bourgeoisie class having no independence. State is an institution of exploitation. He propounded for stateless & classless society.

→ As per Gandhipi, Mode production based on modern industrialisation is satanic. It promotes greed, instrumental rationality. He advocated production by masses and not for masses. Marx believed that humans are creative by nature. Production should be for satisfaction of creative urges and not too greedy urges.

Despite having above lot of

Similarities, both have dissimilarities.

Remarks

Marx held that workers should overthrow overthrow state by use of violence. Acc to him, violence is the midwife of change. However, Gandhi held that violence belongs to the world of animals. He supported non-violent satyagraha.

Karl Marx held that surplus value belongs to proletariat class, hence they should get it. However, Gandhiji said that what we need is equitable distribution based on trusteeship model. Karl Marx held that religion is opium for masses. It is a false consciousness. God did not create man rather man created god. However, Gandhiji held that religion enables us to reach real truth, it helps nourishing our soul.

Marx supported socialism, dictatorship of proletariat class for an interval period, while Gandhiji was -

- against dictatorship.

Marx's Historical materialism, dialectical materialism. say that matter is real force while Gandhi says that spirituality should be our guiding force.

Thus, both personalities have shaped and are shaping politics around the world. Their similarities are superficial and dissimilarities are substantive.

(B)

Gaosari is second-most influential scholar in marxism and is father of Neo-Marxism. He is known as the theoretical of structuralism. His works

- 'Modern prince' and 'prison note book' are essential to understand how he saved marxism from become pure economic determinism

Remarks

Karl Marx had held that economic structure is real and base. other structures like state, civil society, culture, religions etc, are false consciousness and are super-structure embedded in base.

However, Gramsci was concerned about Marxism not becoming common consciousness. Hence, he went for reinterpretation of Marxism.

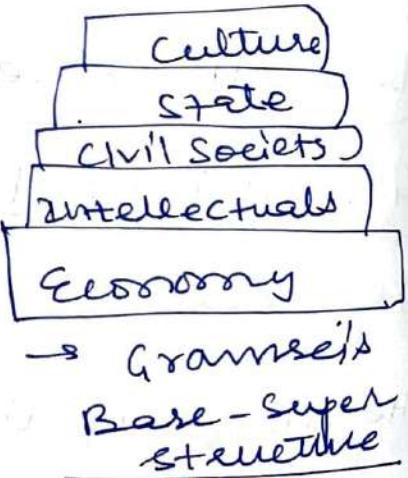
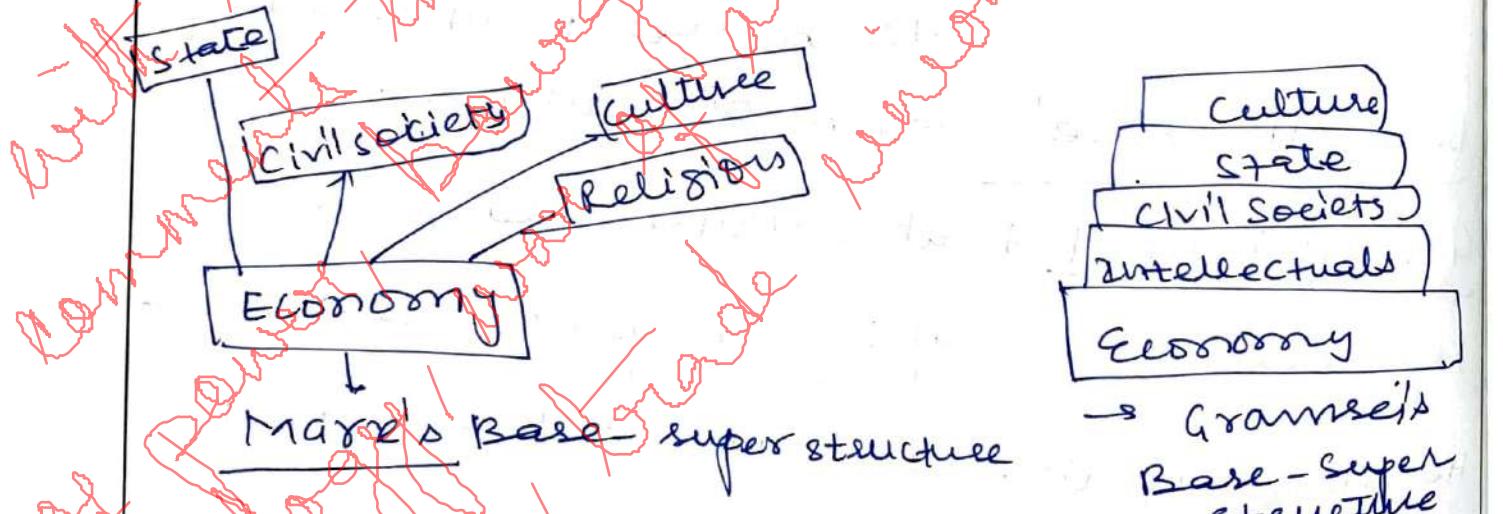
He was influenced by Benedetto Croce's work on culture.

Gramsci held that culture plays a key role in shaping people's consciousness. He also highlighted that civil society is not a superstructure rather a structure in itself.

civil society is site-

- where hegemony is produced to sustain bourgeoisie class. Civil society work as cushion to bourgeoisie. He also countered market's view that intellectual class is non-significant. Gramsci held that intellectual class can help subalterns in generating counter hegemony. Hence, he suggests

~~two types of intellectuals - organic & traditional.~~



Thus, Gramsci propounded two step revolution - war of position & war of manoeuvre to win the war. He saved marxism from becoming false consciousness.

~~Remarks~~

Karl Marx has held that Hobbes is father of all of us. Hobbes is the first modern thinker who has propounded complete theory of sovereignty. He belongs to social contract tradition.

In his work, LEVIATHAN, Hobbes provides justification for establishment of absolute state. He has analysed Human nature and state of nature. His thoughts have been influenced by Puritan revolution.

Acc. to him, human nature is individualist, materialist and utilitarian. Man is utilitarian by nature and social by compulsion. Man wants power to enjoy and gain pleasure.

Further, in state of nature, man enjoys natural right. Everyone wants to maximise their pleasure.

Remarks

Limited resources and unlimited desires creates the dilemma of security. Each person perceives other as an enemy who can deprive him of his happiness. In the absence of a common authority, this tendency leads to anarchy. State of nature is war of all against all.

~~In state of nature life is brutish, short, nasty and there is no scope for art, literature and prosperity.~~ This compels people to come out of state of nature and create an absolute state for security.

However, Mcpherson criticizes Hobbes that state of nature is a justification to establish an absolute state. Similarly, Nocke says that state of nature is bliss where we have goodwill, mutual respect & happiness.

Thus, as Naski say, Hobbes is a child of his time and it is important to understand his thoughts in order to understand functioning of modern state.

Remarks