

ROLLNO: 10470

GS SCORE

Political Science Test Series 2019

TEST - 01

2-15

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Time Allowed: 3 hr.

Max. Marks: 250

118

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.

Lipi, you have a good understanding of the concepts & can write in a well-structured manner. Your answers can improve substantially with the help of critical analysis & commentaries. All the best!

Name LIPI NAGAYACH

Mobile No. _____

Date 1/7/19

Signature

Lipi
1/7/19

1. Invigilator's Signature

[Signature]

2. Invigilator's Signature

REMARKS

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Roll No

SECTION-A

Attempt all questions:

1. Answer the following questions in about 100 words each:

(10 × 5 = 50)

- "State is a natural and organic compound." (Aristotle)
- "Karl Marx found Communism a chaos and left it a movement."
- "Will not force is the basis of the State." (T.H. Green)
- "It is better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied" (J.S. Mill)
- Features of ancient Indian Political Thought.

(a) Aristotle, the ancient Greek philosopher was the supporter of the organic theory of state. According to him, state is a natural and necessary institution.

He remarked that "State comes into existence for the sake of life and remains for the sake of good life."

Thus state was necessary for the fulfillment of higher needs of the man.

Man (not self-sufficient) → Family (fulfillment of basic needs) → Villages or group of families → State.

Thus state is the natural culmination of man's wants and desires.

Also, Aristotle remarked that -

Remarks

You did not mention the organic theory of state as propounded by Aristotle where he compares state with human body. Add some critical commentaries.

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“Man is a political animal and any one who doesn't need a state is either a beast or god.”

Thus the existence of the state as the highest organisation or association is conceived. (association of associations)

Regarding the organic nature, Aristotle accepts the 3-fold division of classes (ruler, soldier and producer) which imparts - interdependence, efficiency and harmony to the state & its people.

Scholars like Hegel & Arendt (zoon politikon) are also inspired by this concept.

b) Communism as an idea existed before Karl Marx. But he was the one to impart it a scientific and organisational structure.

Earlier, communism (common ownership of property) was equated with socialism (by Utopian socialists - ~~to~~ St. Simon, Robert Owen, Charles Fourier etc). Marx changed it to scientific socialism and

Remarks

from utopia to realism, from idealism to materialism.

Marx also criticised the method advocated by Utopians (i.e. change of heart or appeal to capitalists) and suggested violent overthrow of state (the managing committee of bourgeoisie).

Marx and Engels in their Communist Manifesto (1848) gave the theory of class struggle, dialectical materialism, historical materialism etc., thereby making the understanding of capitalism scientific.

Marx also propounded a 2-stage process - first socialism (dictatorship of proletariat), then communism (stateless & classless society).

It was these ideas that made Lenin launch October Revolution 1917 and henceforth establishment of USSR as first communist socialist state.

Thus Marx transformed communism from a chaos to a movement and ideology.

You have to mention that

Remarks

the statement was made by Kashi & briefly state how Marx left it as a movement as he found it to be a chaos.

→ This is not what the statement says. Please read the statement carefully.

The answer is well-structured & can be complemented with critical commentaries. Marx was deduc-

(c) T.H. Green, an English political philosopher in his 'Principles of Political obligation,' has given the concept of will-ful or consent-based state.

He repudiated the social contract theory and also the force theory of state. He was influenced by Greek scholars' natural & organic theory of state and also by Rousseau's General Will.

(6) According to Green, people willingly pay obedience to the state because it is the aggregator of & generator of general will, which in turn promotes moral freedom of all individuals.

State as an institution is necessary to remove the obstacles in the pursuit of happiness and enjoyment of freedom and attainment of capacities.

Hence whenever the state fails to perform this function it not only becomes the right but also the duty of the people to oppose it.

→ Mention here how Green talks about individual being the best judge of common good.

Remarks

The answer is well-structured and addresses the more important points. A few ^{critical} commentaries would make it exceptional.

Thus the state, time and again seeks the approval and consent of its people to govern.

To conclude, Green's statement that "will not force is the basis of the state," can be understood as →
 "The state commands because it serves"

d) J.S. Mill, the ^{greatest} disciple of Jeremy Bentham (father of utilitarianism) is also the one to radically reform his theories.

5

According to Bentham - pleasure and pain do not differ in quality. He says pushpin is as good as poetry. It reflects a strand of egalitarianism. He also makes no difference between materialistic hedonism. Hence humanists like Thomas Carlyle calls utilitarianism as PIG PHILOSOPHY

In order to defend his master, Mill attempts to reform utilitarianism. He brings the following changes:-

* distinction between happiness & pleasure

spiritual & sacrificial

→ did you mean super-ficial?

Remarks

Some of the things you should have mentioned here - a brief explanation of the quote, qualitative hedonism, pleasure involving higher faculties - higher pleasure & lower pleasure & critical common values

Most importantly he remarks that "it is better to be Socrates dissatisfied (a man dis-satisfied) than a pig (animal) or fool satisfied."

Thus he lays emphasis on quality of pleasure and shifts focus from excessive hedonism to moral individualism.

(e) Ancient Indian political thought is characterised by :-

- * cosmopolitanism * spiritualism (other worldly existence)
- * balanced view of life (equal emphasis on Dharma, Artha, Kama, Moksha in Hindu tradition) i.e. materialism is also focussed upon
- * good governance * moral philosophy
- * non-progressive
- * emphasis on statecraft (and expansionism in Arthashastra)
- * incorporation of both hard power (Kautilya) and soft power (Smart power) (cultural conquest of Dhammaghosha of Buddhism).

Thus Ancient IPT is exemplified richness & diversity of ideologies & concepts.

Remarks

Not well-structured. You have missed out on important points involving role of caste (varna system), monarchy as the norm, government not sovereign. etc.

2. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Examine the notion of Vita Activa by Arendt? Why does she emphasize so much on "Acting in concert"? (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Comment on the overall nature of Foreign policy as advocated by Kautilya. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Analyze how Gramsci's observation of Superstructure is not only an extension of Marxist viewpoint but also an improvement of the same. (250 Words) (20)

9) Hannah Arendt propounds her 'Theory of Action' in 'Human condition'. Accordingly, human actions are of two types :-
Vita Activa (action & production) → labour, work, action.
Vita contemplativa (contemplation).

She supports Marx' concept of Praxis and gives importance to action. But out of labour, work and action ^(activity) → the last is most important.

Labour is also performed by animals for sustenance of life. Similarly work (for economic/material fulfillment) also doesn't provides enough freedom. So the most important activity that makes human real humans is political action or civic participation. Because she believes in zoon politikon (man as a political animal).

It was this neglect of political sphere by

Remarks

You have to say a little bit more about 'acting in concert' in terms of its significance - disappears the moment they depart

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7 The masses that fascism & Nazism made their way as strong ideologies.

This also explains why she supports 'acting in concert'. Everyone's consent and opinion matters in political affairs, to prevent any myth/fear becoming the predominant ideology.

b)

b) Kautilya often hailed as 'Indian Machiavelli' has described in great detail the nature of foreign policy (F.P), pillars of diplomacy and strategy of statecraft in 'Arthashastra'.

The basic nature of F.P remains expansionary and imperialist. This is because he calls the king as Vijigishu (desirous of expansion and propounds tools like victory)

* Shadgun Siddhant

- sandhi - vigraha - yana

- asana - sansaya - dvaidhibhava

Remarks

* four-fold approach.

sama, dama, bheda, danda., along with the most important mandal theory of state/foreign policy, whose basic aspect is — "your enemy's enemy must be your friend."

This resonates with modern day balance of power and geopolitics.

Kautilya also advocates proxy war and utilitarian use of religion, to pursue the national interest.

Thus apart from being expansionary the F.P. is based on realism and pragmatism. Also a balanced use of

Mandal theory

12 Kings x 7 elements
= 84 elements

- 1) vijigishu
- 2) ari
- 3) ari-ari (mitra)
- 4) ari-mitra
- 5) mitra-mitra
- 6) ari-mitra-mitra.
- 7) parshva-nigraha
- 8) akroanda
- 9) parshva-nigraha sama
- 10) akroanda sama
- 11) madhyama
- 12) udasin.

Remarks

hard power and soft-power (via ambassadors, goodwill, economic assistance and cultural influence etc) is advocated.

Kautilya's realism resonates with today's power politics as the world understands the argument of power & not the power of argument. Thus the strength of lion prevails in international relations characterised by anarchy.

9 Kautilya also advocates careful deployment & selection of smart, ~~had~~ handsome and intelligent envoys for the pragmatic use of apt diplomacy.

Answer is good, some critical commentaries along with it would have made it 'really good'.

Remarks

(d) Gramsci - an Italian marxist modified Karl Marx's base-superstructure model & prevented it from turning into economic determinism.

He was influenced by Benedetto Croce & hence advocated cultural & ideological aspect of domination (called hegemony). — Explain in a line since it is his main concept.

Marx talked about only the material revolution, (i.e. changing the relations of production, mode of production etc), whereas Antonio advocated the need for mental revolution also. He talks of generating counter-hegemony. He builds on marxian understanding that —

“In every epoch the ideas of the ruling class are the ruling ideas.”

Hence he gives his theory of Intellectuals. ~~Such~~ The working class is required to seek collaboration & consent from the civil society.

organic intellect-uale.

Remarks

(members of Church, educational organisations etc).

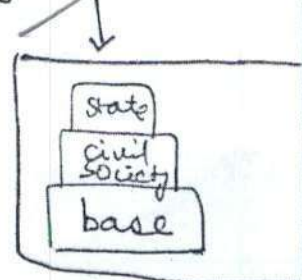
Marx suggested violent revolution in ^{single} step,
whereas Antonio suggests - 2 step process.

a) war of position - protracted war
 1) Ideological strengthening
 2) Importance to consent (as against coercion)

b) war of manoeuvre - direct confrontation.
 1) Importance of force.

According to Marx, there is economic base and an all encompassing superstructure, whereas Gramsci suggest an intermediary structure civil society, which 'manufactures consent' & sustains hegemony.

Thus Gramsci essentially builds on Marx and rises one step above him.



Remarks

You have not mentioned - ^{difference between} civil society & political society, function of hegemony, structures of legitimation, historic bloc. Critical commentaries are crucial!

4. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Examine Locke's concept of an individual's rights and sovereignty. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Discuss the major aspects of Buddhist political thought with special emphasis on its distinction from Dharmashastra tradition. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) What arguments counter the accusation that Plato subordinates the individual to the state? Analyze the basic features of his scheme of justice. (250 Words) (20)

(a) John Locke - Father of Liberalism presents a harmonious picture of state of nature where everyone is able to exercise the rights to life, liberty & property (Collectively the R. to estate). This is because man is rational enough to respect these rights of his fellow citizen. Since these rights prevailed in the natural state - Locke hails them as natural rights which are inalienable & absolute.

According to Locke, in the contract for civil government or state (necessitated for law making, law execution & adjudication), man doesn't surrender the aforesaid 3 rights. Hence the State doesn't confer but confirms the R. to life, liberty & property, through the legislative, executive & judicial functions.

Remarks

You haven't mentioned about the separation of the Church from the State - Two Treatises of the Government - right of revolution - absolute sovereignty, relative sovereignty (potential & actual)

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Since Locke holds an individual as absolute (in matters of trinity of rights), the state's sovereignty can't extend to depriving the individual of the same.

Thus the supreme legal authority of state can't over-ride the natural law & the natural rights conferred by it.

He holds state as a trustee and not as the necessary or indispensable institution but a desirable one.

b) Buddha has been hailed as the political philosopher by Dalit scholars like Gopal Guru, Gail Omvedt etc. Hence the Buddhist political thought's major aspects are :-

1. Social contract theory → The contract in BPT is among men unlike the quasi-contractual theory of Dharmashastra Tradition where men approach God to resolve the anarchical situation (~~at~~ arajakta). (D.T)

Remarks

2. republicanism → The king is the noblest of all men (mahasammata) i.e. chosen from among the people as against the divinely ordained hierarchical king in DharmaS. Tradition.

3. pacifist foreign policy → as against expansionist & imperialist policy of Kautilya. The principles of panchsheel, Dharma-ghosha (cultural conquest as against military conquest) etc are given importance.

4. democratic deliberation - in accordance with egalitarian ethos of Buddhist sayhas. In contrast to the DS Tradition where a close knit group of amatyas (mantri) decides the matter. In some cases the king can go for solo decisions.

5. good governance is the common feature of both traditions where in opposition to corruption, citizen's welfare, economic & spiritual advancement is advocated.

Remarks

The answer is well-written, it would be great if you can start your answer with a line on what is Dharma-shastra & the source of Buddhist political thought!

6. more egalitarian - as it opposes the varna system and also allowed women's participation in Saughas etc.

(C) Individual is hailed as the basis unit of state in Greek political thinking. Plato concerns himself with an individual's education (for attainment of excellence, efficiency & justice) since knowledge is virtue and if Athens is to become a virtuous state it must comprise of knowledgeable citizens who perform their tasks as per their abilities. After all - "State is individual writ large"

(A) Also an individual's welfare and happiness is necessary because state's prosperity is an aggregate of individual prosperity.

Hence Plato sees individual & state sharing an organic link. That's why his theory of Justice is application of specialisation at both individual & state level.

Remarks

Justice for individual & state

* functional specialisation

In accordance with the myth of metals & theory of soul :-

men of gold - where reason > courage > appetite/passion.

men of silver - courage is predominant.

men of bronze - appetite/passion is pre-dominant.

division of functions as per 3 classes

- ruler / philosopher
- soldier
- guardian
- producer class.

Here the men of reason rule over men of courage & men of appetite and men of courage dominate men of appetite.

It promotes efficiency, excellence and peace/harmony

* non-interference → as second aspect results in peace & balance.

Thus Justice as the fundamental virtue, resonates with God's wishes (based on theory of souls) & is hence the best according to Plato.

Remarks

You have to mention briefly how the individual is subordinated in this entire scheme of things. Without-critical commentaries even a good 20 marks answer will seem average. Please add critical analysis briefly.

SECTION-B

Attempt all questions:

5. Comment on the following into 150 words:

(10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) Political Obligation as per Hobbes
- (b) Nature and Scope of Political Science.
- (c) Machiavelli's views on human nature.
- (d) "Law of nature is the dictate to right reason." (Hobbes)
- (e) "Plato's republic is a university, a family and a church."

6

a) Hobbes is an ardent advocate of state absolutism and hence he suggests complete surrender (except R. to life) as political obligation.

He justifies this by highlighting the life of man in the state of nature as nasty, poor, brutish, solitary & short. He equates state of nature to anarchy & chaos, characterised by state of war against all.

It is for the protection of life and security that men enter into social contract & surrender their rights into a common external entity called state.

Thus state becomes an all-encompassing entity which exercises enormous powers & hence commands greatest

Remarks

Mention how state guarantees peace & security in exchange of complete allegiance — also about 'perpetual war of every man against his neighbour'.

Obedience.

But the only exception to individual's political obligation is the R. to self-preservation. It means that people may turn against the state if it fails to affect their life.

However the over-all emphasis on security exceeds individual liberty & results in state as deviathan. * include the meaning of deviathan here

b) One scholar rightly remarked that - "When I read the title of my question paper as Political Science, I am concerned with not the questions but the title."

Political science is not a natural science but an applied science. It deals with 3 type of statements → empirical, logical and analytical. The first 2 uses the methodology of science and the last relies on philosophical / normative method, which brings it nearer to art.

Hence Pol. sc. as applied science → describes & as art prescribes. The former deals with 'what is' & the latter with 'what ought to be'.

Remarks

Both the aspects are equally important as in order to bring any substantive change in society, it is important to first understand the situation properly. For eg → Plato before suggesting the ideal state, first analysed the existing Athenian polity.

This debate on nature & scope (i.e. subject matter of P.S. — as only facts or philosophy/principles) is manifested in phases of Behaviouralism & post-Behaviouralism (Advocate → David Easton)

Good

Behaviouralists suggested to bring P.S. close to economics, sociology & psychology and put emphasis on methods & facts. In contrast the post-behaviouralists renewed the emphasis on values and the traditional proximity of the discipline to philosophy. They held that substance can't be sacrificed for procedure.

6

Hence the nature of P.S. remains as social science and its scope varyingly deals with

- * state * concept of power * theories & philosophies
- * electoral studies
- * terms & concepts like Justice, liberty, rights etc. → pol. philosophy.

Remarks

You have to say a little bit more on the scope of Political Science & supplement the answer with a few commentaries to make it stand out.

c) Machiavelli's understanding of human nature is based on observation and deductive generalisation from history.

~~philosophy~~
psychology

According to him, man is deceitful and forgetful. He easily forgets the acts of kindness. (or) (ungrateful)

Man is also fearful. He fears the loss of life, security and property (including his women).

Man is fickleminded and quickly changes sides and aligns with the powerful because he is also inherently selfish.

5) man is so materialistic & possessive that he can easily forget the death of his father but never the loss of the property. Hence the sentiment of revenge also prevails in him.

Revenge is the most powerful sentiment. Hence Machiavelli advises prince to not just confiscate but execute (or destroy the enemy completely).

He also advises the prince to be 'feared rather than loved' & to protect the life & property of subjects & keep them materially contented.

Remarks

Overall decent, but you have to mention individual egoism, moral indifference, universal egoism + commentaries.

(Q. 4) (c) Plato's republic is rightly hailed as an university, family & church, due to its all encompassing nature. ✓ Good

As a university → the republic decides the syllabus of education (since education is state-sponsored & state-censored), conducts examination, filters the individual on the basis of aptitude and also takes account of moral, physical, mental & spiritual development of individuals.

(6) Plato suggests a long-drawn process of education (till 50 yrs of age) and entrusts the entire responsibility of a person's - all round or holistic development, upon the state itself.

As a family → communism of property & wives

The state is responsible for the marriage (deciding who is to marry whom), procreation (reproduction of best race as per eugenics)

Remarks

and taking the care of child once it is born to :-

- * exempt women from caring responsibilities
- * allowing / enabling them to participate in civil affairs.
- * prevent discrimination &
- * providing equality of opportunity (health, education etc).

This is because he considers family to be the source of evils like nepotism & corruption. Common ownership of property → wife & child is hence advocated.

Similarly property is ^{not} to be owned by guardian class.

As a Church → norms, values and ethical aspects is determined by the state or philosopher king only. He is not limited by laws or opinions.

Thus Republic assumes multifunctionality in an ideal state.

Remarks

You have addressed the three points mentioned in the quote, & briefly mention the classes he identifies.

Q. d) Law of nature or natural law as a dictate to right reason (Hobbes), implies the dictatorial or all pervasive character of nature's law (where anarchy prevails & appetite dominates reason).

In the state of war ^{of all} against all, there is no place of rationality. Man, according to Hobbes is guided by materialistic & utilitarian concerns. Hence he negates the concept of natural law. He in turn supports positive law. According to which law is possible only when the state comes in.

With the state's power & sovereignty, man is comfortably able to exercise his right to life.

Law as the command of the sovereign, manifests reason, safety & security to man.

Remarks

You have to mention there is a difference between natural laws & natural rights & quote 3 most important natural laws — briefly touch upon how laws of nature lead to the creation of Commonwealth.

8. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Sarvodaya and Socialism. Compare. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Do you think Popper's critique of Plato was justified? Provide arguments. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Rawls discovered a method for making procedural justice an instrument of meeting the requirements of substantive justice. (250 Words) (20)

9) Sarvodaya (upliftment of all) is the peak of Gandhian socialism and ^{also} its ultimate aim.

According to Gandhiji, the ultimate aim of socialism must be strengthening of the weakest link in societal chain. He borrowed this concept from John Ruskin's Unto This Last.

The two pillars of Sarvodaya are :-
 * concept of bread labour and
 * trusteeship theory.

Bread labour or equal respect and dignity for manual labour. Gandhiji equates mental & manual labour (the work of a lawyer & barber). This will foster - mutual harmony, peace, recognition of inter-dependence which will in turn lead

Remarks

towards class co-operation (as against Marxian notion of class struggle).

As regards inequality, Gandhiji suggests trusteeship concept. According to it, the owners of property, capital & wealth mustn't think themselves as sole proprietor but only as trustees of social resources & natural resources bestowed by God.

In strict consonance with 'aparigraha' (non-acquisition), they must donate their excessive wealth (which surplus which stays after need-fulfillment) to the poor & needy. This is because their wealth is the cumulative result of personal efforts, social support and luck-factor.

We know that, the concepts of Gramdan, Bhoodan (Vinoba Bhave - during agrarian reforms) and Shramdan are all inspired by this concept.

Thus socialism for Gandhiji has to be based on ^{twin} concepts of bread labour & trusteeship for the attainment of Sarvodaya.

Remarks

The points you need to mention include concept of ideal state in the two, capitalism, spiritualism vs. materialism, ends & means, class war, democracy vs dictatorship + critical commentaries. You have not addressed

b) Karl Popper calls Plato as the enemy of the open society and hails him as first fascist.

Reasons for this criticism are similarities between fascism & Plato's thoughts like :-

- * sub-ordination of man towards state
- * totalitarian state (controlling the education, marriage, children, property etc of citizens)
- * emphasis on duties
- * importance to race or healthy pro-creation.
- * belief in inequality (myth of metals & superiority of few by birth time only)
- * Rule of philosopher king (without any checks) etc.

But as rightly pointed out by Levenson (in his - "In defence of Plato") comparing Plato's republic to fascist state is comparing the uncomparables. There is a huge difference of time & space also.

Most importantly, the intention matters the most. Plato never wanted the subjugation of individuals & leviathan-like character of state. He always aspired for an Ideal

Remarks

You have to clearly mention the arguments & counter-arguments in case of Popper. The question asks for arguments & that has not been addressed.

State' characterised by Justice, excellence, fairness, peace, stability etc.

Also Plato follows the Socratic tradition of associating Ethics & politics, whereas in fascism morality, ethics & values find no place.

The concern for reason (in Plato's state - the rule of philosopher king) as ~~against~~ against passion & emotion (in fascism) also is starkly differentiated.

To conclude, while similarities are superficial, the differences are fundamental.

(c) John Rawls is hailed as the 'Plato of modern times' and also the greatest political philosopher of 20th c.

This is because of his conception of Justice. He distinguished it from Utilitarian conception of greatest good of greatest numbers, and attempted to make it the architectonic virtue.

Remarks

Using the methodology of social contract where people are behind the veil of ignorance in the original position, he gives the 3 principles of Justice. They are:-

1. maximum equal liberty to all men.
This resonates with the procedural aspect of Justice (i.e. fair rules & regulations guaranteeing max. freedom)
2. equality of opportunity
3. difference principle

Rawls himself calls his theory as "procedural" because it concerns itself with the rules governing the allocation & distribution of primary & secondary goods (like rights, liberty, income, respect, recognition etc). and ~~not~~ with whether the

whereas the substantive justice ensures that the overall allocation is just or not (without giving dominance to the rules or procedure.)

One can find the element of substantive justice in Rawl's difference principle

Remarks

wherein he says that the inequality (generated due to max. equal liberty and despite equal opportunities) is justified if & only if it benefits the least disadvantaged section of the society.

This shows his concern with the outcome of principles of justice.

⑨ Thus he deploys the procedural aspect (liberty, equality of opportunity or access) for the attainment of substantive justice (the socio-economic justice) i.e. the strengthening of the weakest link in the chain of society.

Mention the 3 forms of procedural justice (perfect, imperfect & pure) — needs to be supplemented with critical commentaries

Remarks