

Political Science & International Relations

Crash Course & Test Series - 2020

Test 01

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name NISHA
Test Date 23-10-2020
Email Address _____
Mobile _____
UPSC Roll No 0832197

Instructions:

1. There are EIGHT questions divided in TWO SECTIONS and candidate has to attempt five questions in all.
2. Question Nos. 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, any three are to be attempted choosing at least ONE question from each section.
3. Content of the answer is more important than its length.
4. Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the admission Certificate, which must be stated clearly on the cover of the booklet in the space provided.
5. Content of the answer is more important than its length.
6. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the Question-Cum-Answer Booklet must be clearly struck off.
7. All parts of the question should be written at one place itself.
8. Write the test in exam atmosphere.
9. Filling all the details in **BLOCK LETTERS** is mandatory.

S. No.	a	b	c	d	e	Total
1						
2				X	X	
3				X	X	
4				X	X	
5						
6				X	X	
7				X	X	
8				X	X	
Grand Total						

Q.1(a)

Normative Approach in Political Philosophy.

(10 Marks)

Political Science is the oldest discipline. It originated as a branch of political philosophy in the ancient Greece. Plato is known as the father of political philosophy. Plato influenced by Socrates established the supremacy of idea over matter. He established the supremacy of philosophy over physics.

Socratic view of knowledge being the virtue inspired Plato to give Theory of Ideas.

Later in the medieval times religion dominated over politics.

In the Modern times, Machiavelli established Political Science as an independent discipline separating it from ethics.

Post Second World War Behavioural Revolution added the scientific fervour to political science and efforts were made to make it pure science. However this was neither possible nor desirable hence with the Post behaviouralism

there is against focus on the philosophy, idea, normative ideas like Justice, liberty, equality and the contemporary philosophies like Communitarianism, feminism were also influenced by it.

Normative approach in political philosophy deals with the true nature of political science i.e. Idea through logic, reason.

It deals with what ought to be rather than what is. According to Plato it is important to ~~who~~ know what should be rather than what is. Human society should aim for what is ideal (norm) and try to achieve it by changing the reality. Hence Normative approach to political philosophy is change oriented, futuristic, prescriptive as opposed to Empirical approach which is status quoist, descriptive, data oriented. Normative approach give significance to values. Values which govern human society like Justice, Liberty, Equality, Rights are central concern of Normative approach. Social Scientist has bigger responsibility than Natural scientist, hence therein lies the significance of this approach.

However there are certain challenges that remain with Normative approach of political philosophy, it takes the understanding away from the reality, values differs across societies, humans. Hence this approach lacks verifiability and objectivity.

Despite Challenges, Normative approach has been the oldest approach and still forms the guiding principles of relevant theories.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Feminist Theory of State.

10 Marks.

feminism is a meta ideology. feminism does not deal with the theory of state, rather it deals with the question of patriarchy, gender etc. It is more of a social theory than a political theory.

However Feminist scholars like Catherine McKinnon, Carol Giligan, Cynthia Enloe have focused on the theory of state.

Catherine McKinnon in her book- Towards the feminist theory of state has conceptualised the nature of the state, according to her the state appears male to her. State is also an institution of patriarchy. The laws reflect the ~~to~~ strongly entrenched patriarchal values of the society. & the institutions of state is not gender neutral. The rules, regulations laws all were formulated ~~as~~ taking into consideration the masculine gender, their language is also patriarchal. Thus until the patriarchy ends, the state cannot be a neutral state and inequality persists.

Cynthia Enloe has highlighted the absence of women in the political sphere in her 'Where are women?'. Thus there is not equal representation of women in the political sphere.

The concept of differentiated equality citizenships highlights the need to give importance to the historical injustice against the women. By differentiating equality, we can equalise the differences.

'Personal is political' is the most defining feature of the feminist theory of state where it is advocated not to distinguish between personal sphere - domestic, walls of the house and the political sphere. Susan Moller Okin has also highlighted the policies of the state impact the domestic sphere. The Domestic Violence (Prevention) Act enacted by the Indian legislature is also recognition of personal is political.

Hence the feminist theory of state is critical and highlight the inequality in political sphere and its influence to the domestic sphere and the need to address the challenges pertaining to the patriarchal structure of society.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Foucault's Theory of Power.

10 Marks.

Foucault is a post modernist scholar who gave an unconventional view of Power. Power is the most contested topic of the Political Science discipline.

Conventionally power is associated with the sovereign, the monarch or in the modern times to state. Hobbes gave absolute power to the sovereign.

Power is traditionally thought to be uni-directional i.e. from top to bottom. Further Power is also understood to be coercive and power over someone.

Foucault gave an entirely novel understanding of Power and it is significant to understand its intricacies and it is highly relevant in the present times.

Foucault gave a micro view of power instead of the macro view. (power with sovereign). Foucault

suggests that power is everywhere, it flows from everywhere to everywhere through capillaries.

It is multi directional. Further it is not always

coercive rather power can be productive, it makes us the productive member of society. Man itself is not only site of power but also vehicle of power.

Foucault also establishes that power is flows through discourses. Discourse is the ideological view of the concept. It is wrong to think that the monarch is ~~so~~ sovereign and power flows through him rather he is also a product of discourses. Discourses are the framework to understand the idea. They shape our understanding of reality and also at the ~~same~~ same time limits our understanding by restricting the boundaries.

Foucault also gives the concept of Disciplinary power which is exercised through the institution of school, churches, Prison is a reformative institutions and the ~~set~~ schools, churches became new centres of disciplinary power.

The idea of 'governmentality' highlights that the citizens feel they are under constant surveillance of the state and therefore behave themselves in a disciplined way, he explains this concept of with Panopticon (shape of prison) where society ~~is~~ feels it is ~~an~~ under constant surveillance hence Foucault's concept of power is the micro view of power, an unconventional understanding of power.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

e.1(d)
Aurobindo's Concept of Indian Nationalism.

10 Marks.

Nationalism is a contested concept in the political science disciplines. The liberal view of Nationalism originates with Theory of sovereignty by Hobbes and the Two Treatises of government by Locke. The Social Contract theorist view Nation as a contract between the people with themselves in order to avoid the inconveniences of the state of nature. On the other hand Marxist scholars view 'nationalism' as a Bourgeois construct to create its hegemony. The Cultural Nationalist school view nation as eternal spirit and feeling of oneness through cultural symbols, the most prominent scholar being Herder.

Aurobindo was influenced by the Cultural Nationalist school and he gave his own concept of Nationalism to ideologically confront the British imperial power. Aurobindo was influenced by NeoVedantism of Swami Vivekananda and the Patriotism of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee.

NeoVedantism is view of Swami Vivekananda - who upheld the ideas of Universalism and Cosmopolitanism where Vedas are the eternal truth and provides for universal harmony between the countries. Nationalism should be the religion of the youth according to Aurobindo.

The unity in diversity is the strength of 'India'. Nationalism has its source from the diversity. Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay in Anand Math projects India as Bharat Mata and shakti thus providing a spiritual concept towards nationalism.

Nationalism according to Aurobindo is a spirit, a faith and is eternal. He criticises Moderates that India is a nation is making this adversely impact the moral strength of youth, He rather establishes that India has always been a nation. Nation is not limited to parcels of Congress, it is not merely a geographical expression, rather it is a spirit, the spirit may be sleeping but now it has awakened, it cannot be suppressed. The independence of India ~~is~~ is not only for itself but it is in world's interest. India has an important message to deliver to the world through the spirit and it cannot do so until the imperial dominance over it.

Thus Aurobindo spiritualises the concept of Nationalism and inspires youth to sacrifice themselves for the interest of humanity and to free the spirit once and for all.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Concept of "Dharma" in Indian political philosophy. 10 Marks.

The word 'Dharma' has no literal translation in any other language. It is an Indian concept and cannot be expressed comprehensively in any other language.

'Dharma' should not be confused with religion.

The concept of 'Dharma' is the central theme of Indian political philosophy. It is the governing principle of the sustainability of political, social, economic order.

The concept can be found in the ancient scriptures -

Smritis, in the Vedas. It can be associated with the word 'Rit' → which is the law governing the universe, 'Dharma' is the law governing human society.

According to Rig Veda, 'Prithvīm Dharman Dhritam', Dharma is what upholds the Earth.

Thus a human society not based on 'Dharma' will collapse on itself. It is the moral, ethical, legal

conduct that governs the human society. There was anarchy in the human society, thus Brahma created

'Manu' - the first law giver to establish order and remove the anarchy in the society. Thus the concept of Dharma forms the central theme of Manusmriti.

The supreme duty of the king is to uphold the Dharma. King is not the absolute power according to Indian political philosophy, rather he is bound by the Dharma.

Manusmriti provides for 4 Varnas - Brahmana, Kshatriya; Vaishya and Shudra. and it also provides for 4 ashrams: Brahmacharya, Grihastha, Vanprastha and Sanyasa. The Ashrama system is one facet of the Dharma concept of Hinduism.

Varnadharma is essential to maintain to govern the human society and to uphold the Varnadharma is the supreme duty of the king.

The Dharmashashtra and the dandashashtra are also associated with the concept of Dharma. They do not vary in essence but only degree.

Danda - punishment and Dharma (law) are interrelated.



Thus 'Dharma' is the governing principle of the Indian philosophical system.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

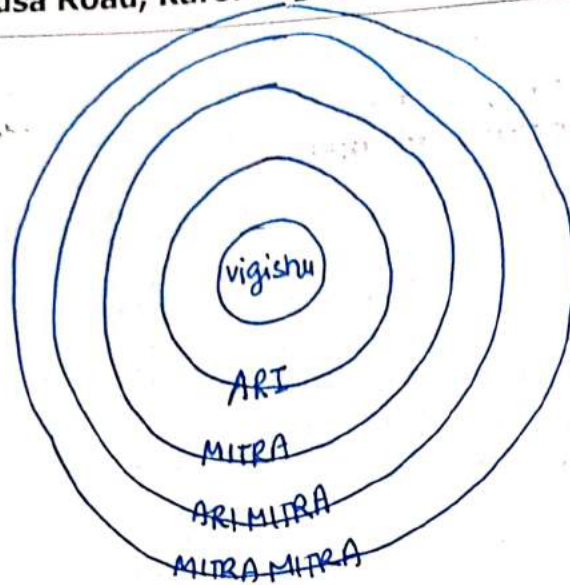
e.2(a) "One with immediate proximate territory is the natural enemy." (Kautilya). Discuss. How far is it appropriate to consider Kautilya as Indian Machiavelli.

20 Marks

Kautilya is considered as the most realist scholar in the Indian philosophical tradition. He gave specific details of the statecraft in his phenomenal ~~book~~ work 'Asthashashtra'. He gave the administrative structure under the king and the basis for expansionist foreign policy. He establishes that relations between states are relations of war. State ~~alone~~ always remain in war or they are in preparation of war. He advocates that the strength of war prevails. He calls the king as 'vigishu' one who desires victory and 'Chakravartin Samrat' - which shows his expansionist foreign policy.

~~He~~ Kautilya says that the immediate neighbour of the state is always an enemy and the neighbour of enemy is friend.

Kautilya calls state as an organism and organism tends to grow, if it does not grow, it will perish, hence according to Kautilya offensive foreign policy should be followed, Offence is the best defence.



Therefore through his Mandala Siddhanta, Kautilya creates a fertile base for expansionist ~~foreign~~ foreign policy. In ancient Indian history, the king as soon as coming to power used to conduct sacrifices - yajnas - 'Ashwamedha yajna', 'Rajasuya Yajna' which shows the strength of the chakravartin to expand his frontiers, since the 'organism' - state has to grow, the territory just bordering the state becomes a natural enemy of the king, either the neighbour has to be defeated or the state will perish. ~~once the~~ The neighbour of the immediate neighbour will remain a friend until the immediate neighbour has been conquered, once 'ARI' is conquered, the 'Mitra' becomes 'Ari' and further expansion has to be done.

Mandala Theory establishes that there are no permanent friends and no permanent ~~to~~ enemies.

In ~~an~~ Ancient India, land was the most prominent resource thus it has to be acquired for the state to sustain itself. Once the land of enemy is acquired, MITRA becomes the new enemy whose land has to be acquired.

Achievement of all the goals depend on Material wellbeing which can be ensured by acquiring more land, thus King has to be expansionist in his foreign policy.

There is often a tradition among scholars to compare Machiavelli and Kautilya, both are realist and gave the theory of statecraft.

Pandit Jawahar dal Nehru ~~call~~ in his Discovery of India calls 'Kautilya' - Indian Machiavelli. However Max Weber has ~~call~~ suggested Kautilya is more Machiavellian than Machiavelli himself.

Kautilya gives very specific details of statecraft, however Machiavelli ~~is~~ gives general theory for

Statecraft.

Kautilya gets to implement his policies through Chandragupta Maurya, & Machiavelli never got his Prince.

Max' Kautilya deals extensively with corruption and how to deal with it, Machiavelli does not provide how to fight with corruption in such depth.

Machiavelli separated ethics and politics but Kautilya made no separation between 'dharma' & Danda.

However there are similarities too, Both are concerned with national interest, which to be promoted is the duty of the king. Both are expansionist in their foreign policy.

Both are concerned about statecraft. Both gave pessimistic view of human nature. Both understands ~~politics~~ in terms of power. Kautilya and Machiavelli

both promotes the interests of their motherland.

Thus both the scholars are of different period but share similarities in statecraft, foreign policy but as Max Weber has said Kautilya is more Machiavellian than Machiavelli

himself, it is not completely appropriate to call Kautilya Indian Machiavelli, this undermines the status of Kautilya as independent thinker and Indian political thought - being independent from ~~Western~~ ^{Indian} tradition.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

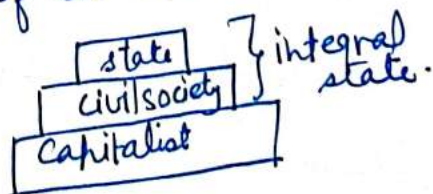
Gramsci's Theory with its reconceptualization of the relations between base and superstructure and recasting power as hegemony marks a major breakthrough in Marxist theory. Comment.

15 Marks

Gramsci has been called as Theorician of Superstructure. He had revived Marxism and addressed the allegations of Marxism and saved it from economic determinism.

Marx in his historical materialism gave the concept of base and superstructure, the capitalism forms the base of the society and the superstructure is modelled according to it. Marx suggest by overthrowing the base, the superstructure will automatically disappear. Thus Marxism was alleged because of its economic determinism.

Gramsci analysed the challenges of the Communist Movement of why being revolution not happening in the societies where capitalism developed. He found his answers in the cultural factors of Benedetto Strauss. Gramsci advocated that superstructure is a structure of its own. and it has its own existence.



Gramsci highlights that the civil society is a crucial structure in maintaining the hegemony and it is a site of manufacturing consent for hegemony.

Thus a war of position is necessary before the war of manoeuvre, counter hegemony has to be developed against the integral state. Only after the war of position the true character of the state can be revealed, the civil society acts as the lieutenant of the capitalist structure or the base.

Thus superstructure is not just a reflection of the base rather it has its autonomous character.

Thus Marx has not addressed the cultural factors which were addressed by Gramsci and a new school of Cultural Marxism also evolved.

Gramsci highlighted the difference between domination and hegemony. Hegemony is not unidirectional whereas domination is just a relation of subordination and dominance. Hegemony is built by manufacturing consent by the civil society.



Hegemony is a constant process, it is an incessant activity, the dominant class also acquires some of the features of the subordinate class. It is two way process and is constantly done by manufacturing consent.

Thus Gramsci asks the workers to develop their own organic intellectual class for counter hegemony and wage a war of position first and then war of maneuver. • ~~That~~

Thus in this way, Gramsci addresses the unanswered questions of Marxism and Stuart Hall has rightly said that through Gramsci we understand the significance of innovative models and dogmas have to be avoided.

Thus Gramsci provided a better lens to understand ~~comp~~ contemporary politics.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que. 2(c)

"Power is what keeps the public realm ...in existence." (Hannah Arendt). In light of the above statement, critically examine the relevance of Arendt's theory of power. 15 Marks

Hannah Arendt is one of the original and profound thinkers and she cannot be associated with any single intellectual tradition. Through her theory of power, Hannah Arendt suggests how to reclaim the public sphere and she is a scholar of civic republicanism and participatory democracy.

Power in a conventional view is associated with the institution of state. In the works of Marx and Max Weber, it is associated with subordination and ~~leg~~ dominance.

However Hannah gives a phenomenological view of power. Power according to Hannah Arendt does not belong to the individual rather it belongs to the collectivity. Individual has strength but whenever people come together, power emerges. Thus power emerges in political sphere, it disappears in ~~political~~ personal sphere. Power thus exist in 'public realm' and because of power, public realm exists.


Power is acting in concert, people ~~can~~ comes together in public sphere and act in concert, that is when power ~~is~~ emerges.

Further Hannah explains power is not property it cannot be possessed, it is sui generis; it comes into existence whenever people come together thus it belongs to public realm and not a property of an individual.

Hannah Arendt explains power belongs to the Social sphere, it is a motion in social sphere and thus it is not force as force is a motion in natural world.

Power is not authority, Hannah suggests, as authority requires legitimacy but power is itself legitimate.

Hannah Arendt & provides difference between violence and power, she suggests violence belongs to the state and whenever violence comes power disappears. Thus ~~to~~ she suggests to fight violence ~~and~~ through disobedience.

Through disobedience violence can be fought and public sphere can be reclaimed. 

Mahatma Gandhi through civil disobedience fought the British Empire (violence) and reclaimed the public sphere and freedom of the country.

Thus Hannah's view is highly relevant in the contemporary times where the public sphere has to be reclaimed from the totalitarian forces.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



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Always Ahead

e.3(a)

"Politics becomes a much more elusive quarry...The nature of political theory is both internally complex and deeply contested."
Andrew Vincent. Critically analyse.

20 Marks

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3(b)

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

3(b)

How does Rawls explain Democratic equality? How does Rawls use the idea of a veil of ignorance to argue that fair and just distribution can be defended on rational grounds.

15 Marks

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Always Ahead

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.3(c)

Ambedkar's vision for social justice was closely related to the concept of good society, rationality and scientific outlook. Comment. 15 Marks



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Always Ahead

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Give the salient features of the theory of natural rights. What is the relationship between natural rights and human rights? Analyse the debate around the Asian values? 20 Marks

Rights are those conditions of social life without which no individual in general can be at his best according to Laski. Rights is a contested concept in the discipline of political science.

Rights form the basis of modern political philosophy. In the medieval times ~~is~~, there were divine rights of the king. The 'theory of Natural rights' is

Contributed by ~~the~~ John Locke in his book 'The two treatises of the civil government'.

John Locke advocates that there were certain rights enjoyed by man in the state of nature before entering into the social contract. Not all rights are surrendered to the state. Locke advocates ~~that~~ minimal states and the natural rights are restrictious

on the authority of the state. Natural rights are the claims of the individual without which he cannot develop his wholesome personality.

These rights are right to liberty, equality and property. Individual according to Locke is a ~~an~~ rational being and by virtue of his reason, he

enjoys the natural rights and there is minimum interference by state.

The theory of Natural rights has come into criticism by scholars like Bentham who calls them non-sense, abstract and meaningless fallacies. It has also

come under criticism of legalist and historians who calls the theory of natural right too abstract.

Edmund Burke criticised Natural Rights theory as metaphysical abstraction.

The theory of Natural Rights find its resonance in the contemporary concept of Human Rights.

Human Rights are the rights enjoyed by individual irrespective of his class, nationality, sex, religion and by virtue of being a human, these rights are given to him. Human rights trace their origin in the Universal declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenants for Civil Rights and International Covenants for Political rights together constitute the International Bill of Rights.

They do not enjoy legal backing through out the world however they are guaranteed according to the will of state. Thus they are more of mere entitlement than legal claims like fundamental Rights of Indian Constitution.

Human rights are broader concept than Natural Rights where Natural Rights only form one of the basis for Human Rights. Donnelly advocates that

Human Rights are inspired from Lockian concept of Natural rights which the individual enjoys and restrict the authority of state. Further both are necessary for wholesome development of the person.

However the theory of natural rights was considered too abstract and metaphysical, human rights thus are also influenced by Kantian tradition i.e. there are certain principles that cannot be violated like human dignity. Immanuel Kant calls

them Categorical Imperative. In contemporary times A. Gewirth gives the basis of Human Rights to the Kantian tradition where human dignity and human rights have to be respected without any exception.

The concept of human rights has three generation - civil political, social-economic and developmental, collective and solidarity rights, however the concept is further widening to include environmental sustainable development rights as well.

The concept of human rights is being criticised for being universal and it is thought to be western cultural imperialism where the culture has been imposed without considering the difference, Hence the scholars who supports the Asian values - like solidarity, discipline, community, Respect for authority.

According to Asian scholars who back Asian values, western values are not suitable for society in Asia and Africa. Human rights according to them are liberal discourses by leaders of the western world to justify their cultural hegemony.

On the other hand western countries believes 'Asian values' are discourses by authoritarian leaders who wants to justify oppression.

However scholars like Amartya Sen believes certain values like democracy, human rights have intrinsic value, it should not be regarded as an obsession of the west.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

"Liberalism has many critics, both within and without". Elucidate.
15 Marks

Liberalism is the oldest surviving ideology.

It is accomodative, it evolved with addressing the challenges within the different schools of liberalism as well as against other schools out of thought like Socialism, Marxism etc.

It liberalism accomodates the differences within its fold and through its evolution we can analyse how the challenges itself become the strength of this school of thought.

Classical Liberalism: John Locke is known as father of Liberalism. He is considered as the philosopher who established the basic philosophy and ideas of liberalism. Classical liberals - gave the individual maximum liberty and provided for a minimal state. The rights of the individual restricts the authority of the state. They were first to provide equality of opportunity and of rule of law ~~from~~ as opposed from the Divine rule of king and feudalism. Classical liberalism developed during the times of Industrial Revolution thus it supported the freedom of to sell one's labour



through contact and right to property and became supporter of Bourgeois class.

However eventually the exploitation of the Industrial Revolution and capitalists against workers gave rise to other schools like Marxism and Socialism. There was

rise of left movements, thus it was a challenge from 'without' liberalism. The Great Depression eventually showed the defects of capitalism.

Modern Liberalism modified the classical liberalism by making it progressive and moral, the Utilitarianism within liberalism was being criticised as pig's philosophy,

hence liberalism was given a humanist phase face by the Modern liberals like J.S Mill, Laspi (i.e. socialist liberal). They propounded that Man is a rational, progressive being, he has responsibility to contribute to the society. Society according to Modern liberals

are more than aggregate of interests of individuals. Modern liberals provided for Welfare state which

through progressive taxation can act in welfare of disadvantaged sections. Thus the challenges within liberalism and outside it was accommodated.

Post Second World war Communism came as the strongest

Challenge to Liberalism, Third world countries ~~has~~ were under influence of Communism and liberalism was limited to Western world and India. However no one predicted to fall of communism and disintegration of USSR so soon.

The golden age of Capitalism developed under Thatcherism and Reaganism. The Classical Liberalism ~~were~~ was revived under the Neo Liberalism of Hayek, Nozick.

who were in support of minimal state and they called progressive taxation as bonded labour. Countries ~~not~~ prospered under the triad of liberal institutions- IMF, WB & WTO

however soon the inequality among countries and within countries surged. Welfare state was needed to ensure inclusive growth. Therefore the Social Liberals in recent times- John Rawls, Amartya Sen, Shiglitz ~~is~~ provided

the principles of just society, need for welfare state to address the inequalities by difference principle, developing the capabilities to remove ~~poor~~ poverty. Therefore liberalism had its critics and it has been accommodative and grew by addressing its challenges.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.4(c)

"The concept of equality is a fundamental concept in normative political theory. However, it is also one of the most complex and contested." Elucidate. 15 Marks

Equality according to Dworkin is a sovereign virtue, it forms the basis of modern political philosophy. Equality is the central theme of the idea of justice thus it also become an integral component of normative political theory.

Aristotle also highlighted too much inequalities can lead to revolutions thus it is a central principle for the sustenance of any society and thus it is sovereign norm.

Equality like other concepts such as Justice, rights is a contested concept. Equality theorists have tried to give the idea about equality in various perspectives.

Amartya Sen, in 'Equality of what', highlights the central question of the theorists that equality in what terms, context we have to make people equal.

~~The Classical Liberal~~

The Classical Liberal scholars propounded equality of opportunity, equality before law, equality of welfare.

Utilitarian thinker like

Jerry Bentham propounded equality of welfare, the state should maximize the pleasure, minimize the pain and thus aims for equality of pleasure or equality of welfare

Dworkin criticises equality of welfare as illogical thus he provides for equality of resource and equality of opportunity. He explains his concept through a political fiction where a ship lost its way and reached a remote island, people there to govern society chose to distribute clam shells (resources) through auctions, they know what they want to achieve, what they want to aspire and do with clamshells and accordingly make the decision; here thus ~~with~~ veil of ignorance is thin. Dworkin also provides for

Ambition Sensitive Action → equal liberty and equal opportunity.
Endowment Sensitive Action → to address brute luck and initial disadvantage

Dworkin also provides for Envy Test and Efficiency test so that no one is jealous of another and maximum efficiency can be achieved. Thus through his theory Dworkin provides equality as a sovereign virtue.

Marxist Scholars propounded equality of outcomes and this can be achieved when capitalist structure of society is overturned and communist is achieved through revolution.

Amartya Sen provided for capability approach, a realisation based approach where he suggests mere equality of resources do not ensure equality in society, thus Sen focuses on ends. Resources do not turn into functionings if capabilities of people are not enhanced.

Feminist Scholars like Cynthia Enloe advocated differentiated equality to address the patriarchal challenge of the society to ensure gender justice.

Communitarian scholars like Michael Walzer gave the concept of Complex equality where he suggests that Rawlsian principle of justice cannot be applied universally and they have different values in different communities and different spheres. And ensuring equality in one sphere does not address inequality in other spheres thus for this he suggest blocking the exchanges. Thus equality is a dynamic concept, it is contested, debated and complex concept still evolving.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

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Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Relative Autonomy Theory of the State.

10 Marks

The theory of state is a contested concept and different schools of thought theorise it differently. 'State' is the core theme of the political theory. It is the foundational institution to govern the human society. The first attempt to theorise the concept of state was Thomas Hobbes. He provided an absolutist state. The liberal view of state is minimal state (night watchman state) for security of life, the Marxist on the other hand view state as the superstructure of the basic structure of capitalist society. Marxist scholars call state as an instrument of bourgeois class.

Post Second World War after Decolonisation, many new independent states emerged, with it a new concept of Post Colonial State emerged which required a new intellectual approach to understand state as the societies in post colonial state have different political, social and economic conditions.

The Marxist view in the Post Colonial states can be categorised into the instrumental view and the Relative autonomy approach to state; scholars -

Hamza Alvi, Gramsci, Althusser.
The Autonomous view of state defines state as an independent institution - the liberal view. The instrumental approach view state as an instrument of capitalist class. The Relative autonomy theory of the state is the midway between them. (developed capitalist society)

The ~~Relative Autonomy~~ Autonomy Theory of state establishes that state can enjoy relative independence in certain circumstance. When there are more than one dominant class in a society, the state act as a balancing mechanism, it establishes equilibrium and in this process of equilibrium it enjoys 'Relative Autonomy'. The Inspector-Police decision in Raj in India and the military oligarchy state of Pakistan ~~is~~ are illustration of Relative autonomy of state. In India the state has to balance between the interest of dominant class like Industrialists, Rich farmers, bureaucrats, etc. The pursuit of Laxmi, the concept of Bullock capitalist has been illustrated by Rudolph and Rudolph.

The Relative Autonomy theory can be traced from the 18th Braumaire of Louis Bonaparte by Marrx. This theory can also be called as a structural theory as state ~~is~~ becomes a structure of its own and it does not remain an instrument only and it also does not enjoy complete autonomy. Rather in process of balancing the state sometimes acquire neutral character. Gramsci also highlights the importance of superstructure and its soft part. Thus relative autonomy theory is critical to understand the state in the contemporary times.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Affirmative Action.

10 Marks

Affirmative action is the positive discrimination done by the state towards the classes which have been historically disadvantaged and thus to ensure justice for all provides special incentives for the disadvantaged classes.

Justice is the supreme virtue of any society without it a society cannot sustain itself. In the extraordinary Principles of Justice of Rawls, the third principle is the disadvantage principle in the lexical order after the liberty and equal opportunity principle.

Similarly Dworkin in his endowment sensitive action also gives importance to address the historical justice so that everyone starts from an equal line and gets equal opportunity for development.

Amartya Sen, a social liberal also highlights the importance of inclusive society and equal opportunity to all for capability development to perform the functionings.

and defines poverty as the deprivation of capability. Thus it is important to balance the liberty and to ensure inclusive, equitable development of all sections of society and the vulnerable sections like Dalits, women in India.

The Indian Constitution also contains the principles of affirmative action in Article 16 of the constitution - which allows state to provide special privileges to the backward classes and thus the legislature has provided reservation for the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes. 1(4A), 16(4B) form the bases for positive discrimination to ensure equal representation in the services. The Preamble of the Constitution also ensures justice of all sorts social, economic and political and the Directive Principles of State Policy (Article 46) also allows state to ensure special care to weaker sections.

However there are certain challenges with Affirmative Action - once enrolled, it is difficult to trace it back, & it becomes politically motivated to seek vote bank through reservations, the dominant class (Marathas, Jats for eg.) starts demanding concessions, undermines Meritocracy. Thus Affirmative Action has to be rightly motivated, the challenge does not come from the base of the policy or its rightness but it is primarily associated with the implementation. A right political will and inclusive society is essential to ensure justice for all.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Relationship between Liberty and Equality.

10 Marks

The balance between liberty and Equality becomes the central theme of many political concepts and contemporary political theories as well, the most recent being the Social Liberal school.

Liberty is the freedom which every human being desires and is necessary condition for development of his personality. It is a fundamental virtue and an essential condition for wholesome development one's personality.

Equality is the principle to ensure equal opportunities of development to all, absence of privileges, rule of law and to treat the likes alike without any discrimination.

The relationship between liberty and equality has been a contested concept:

Classical liberals like - John Locke, for wanted to give maximum liberty to an individual. They believed in minimal state and minimal interference in the economic sphere by the state. They give importance to liberty over equality and the attempt to ensure equality is an encroachment over individual's liberty. They wanted to establish equality of opportunity and rule of law.



The utilitarian thinker like Jeremy Bentham were also against equality of outcome and to ensure greatest happiness of greatest number by giving maximum liberty, to increase pleasure and minimize the pain - thus against the progressive taxation

The Marxist scholars - a calls the liberty as a bourgeois concept and a discourse by the capitalist and a equal society cannot be established without changing the capitalist structure of the society.

1) The Socialist were in the favour of equality of outcome, thus equal ends should be the goal and not mere equality of means.

The Modern Liberals like JS Mill, Laski ^(socialist) were in view of of man as progressive being and he has duty to give back to the society and were in favour of welfare state.

This view was further enhanced by the Social Liberals like John Rawls, Dworkin, Amartya Sen who tried to balance Liberty and Equality by giving maximum equal liberty to all, equal opportunities but also disadvantage principle - difference principle and endowment sensitive action (Dworkin) to achieve the goal of social justice. Libertarians like Hayek and Nozick criticised the Social liberals and called the progressive taxation as bonded labour.

Thus the debate b/w liberty & equality is not a settled one and there has been attempts to achieve a just balance.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Difference between Domination and Hegemony. 10 Marks

Gramsci in his Theory of super structure highlights the difference between domination and hegemony. Gramsci advocates that domination is a relation between subordinate and dominant class, it is unidirectional, power is exercised by the dominant class over the subordinate class and the exploitation is clearly visible. However, Hegemony on the other hand is a multidirectional process, it is manufactured through consent.

Civil society which is part of super structure manufactures the consent for for the Bourgeois class and it becomes the common sense.

Further Gramsci propounds that hegemony is a constant process; it is incessant process and continuously built. Hegemony & makes the exploitation of Bourgeois legitimate through consent, the civil society act as the lieutenant for the capitalist class.

Domination: thus is a traditional view of power, it is one dimensional, Hegemony on the other hand is multidimensional, it is complex it is built by the integral state, it is dynamic

Through hegemony the dominant class also acquires the features of subaltern class.

Thus Gramsci highlights the need of the organic intellectuals for the workers to wage a war of position by building counter hegemony and then war of manoeuvre.

Stuart Hall rightly suggested that Gramsci provided us an innovative model and need to avoid dogma and Gramsci thus provide a comprehensive view to understand contemporary political phenomenon.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Concept of Overdeveloped State.

10 Marks

State is the central theme of the Political science discipline. State is the principle institution to govern human society.

Thus to theorise state is a central concept of political theory.

The concept of overdeveloped state is a part of Post Colonial theory of state which is an attempt to define the role, characteristics of state in the post colonial societies.

Before the ~~See~~ Second World War - the theoretical view of state was limited to Eurocentric view and the historical, legal view of state but after end the World War II,

decolonisation happened and many states in the Third World order emerged as an independent state.

* Post colonial societies carry a colonial baggage and the structure of state is also highly influenced by the colonial legacy.

Generally, state as an institution evolve along with the economic structure of the society, there is a resonance between the evolution of state

along with changing economic conditions of the ~~state~~ society. This has been observed in the western developed country. However the natural evolution of states in the third world was affected by the imperialism and the states became colonies of the imperial power.

There were deindustrialisation, underdevelopment in the words of AG Frank in the post colonial society. Thus after independence the societies adopted the colonial apparatus, the state was 'overdeveloped' but the social and economic conditions were not conducive to ~~the~~ in proportion to the overdeveloped state. Thus Hamza Alvi gives the concept of overdeveloped state. State in post-colonial societies have extensive power due to colonial legacy, the parties in power are often those who fought the colonial power, thus they also enjoy legitimacy of the people, the police and bureaucratic apparatus is also overdeveloped and there is huge centralisation of power and public expenditure in the hands of the state. The overdeveloped state ~~also~~ was also highlighted by Sameer Amin and Sudipta Kaviraj. Thus there is no imitation b/w the state and the society (economic & social factors), the state also acts in interest of dominant classes and thus ~~this~~ it is 'overdeveloped' in institutional practices not in consonance with other conditions.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

6(a)
"Deliberative democracy questions narrow and the limited conception of political participation in liberal democracies." Comment. Discuss the normative ideals related to deliberative democracies.
20 Marks

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6(b)

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



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e.6(b)

Fascism is a hotch potch of several ideologies and creed. Critically examine.

15 Marks



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Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.6(c)

"Plato's philosophy is the most savage and most profound attack on liberal ideas which history can show." (Crossman). Discuss.

15 Marks

7(a)

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

e.7(a)

"What is taken as Gandhi's critique of modernity, generally refers to his critique of the doctrines of materialism and instrumental rationality." David Hardiman. Explicate. **20 Marks**



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7(b)

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

e.7(b) What are the components of the philosophy of radical humanism?
To what extent can it be described as the philosophy of freedom?

15 Marks

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.7(c)

Gender is a social and cultural construct. Elucidate. How the concept of feminist political theory differ from conventional political theory?
15 Marks



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8(a)

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

What were the intellectual factors responsible for the rise of Behaviouralism? Compare Behaviouralism with post-Behaviouralism. 20 Marks

Behavioural Revolution in political Science is associated with bringing the political science discipline closer to the pure science. So scholars like Lord Bryce, David Easton blamed the historical and legalist-Saline Dunning associated with traditional school for the death of discipline of political science, they were criticised for giving armchairs theory which did not have relevance for Post Second World War redevelopment after the huge destruction.

During the Post Second World War, Political scientists were not invited to the conferences which focused on policy formulation for development, as it was believed that political science scholars did not have anything relevant to provide.

Thus David Easton attempted to revive the discipline of political science by incorporating scientific methods in the political science discipline so that the theories become relevant, verifiable, objective and value neutral.

The traditionalists like Sabine, Dunning focused on historical and legal approaches and the discipline was losing its relevance and not connected to the contemporary problems that the world was facing. The theories were normative, value-laden and legalist in nature.

Thus Behavioural Revolution was an attempt by the Chicago school to address the challenges, primarily intellectual and circumstantial, and revive the discipline. The father of Behaviouralism D. Merriam had asked the scholars to give scientific theories and value neutral. David Easton gave a lecture at the American Political Science Association which became the basis for Behaviouralism ⇒

(i) Regularities: Political theories have to be developed by observing the patterns, regularities in the human behaviour.

Traditionalist criticised human behaviour keep on changing and has no regularities.

- (ii) Techniques ⇒ Easton emphasised purity of techniques in the theories to take it closer to science.
Traditionalist criticised the purity of techniques and suggested it is neither possible nor desirable.
- (iii) Value neutrality - theories should not be value laden. Lord Bryce even called for facts, facts and facts.
- (iv) Integration ⇒ of disciplines of science, psychology and sociology.
Traditionalists on the other hand focused on the integration of history, law and philosophy.
- (v) Measurement ⇒ criterion of measurement should be a yardstick to develop theories.
- (vi) Verifiability ⇒ theories have to be verifiable, scientifically proven, objective to make them scientific.
- (vii) Pure Science Political science should become pure science when such a research methodology will be applied.
- (viii) Systemisation - theories should be systematic, collection of data, correlation b/w hypothesis are some of the other features of Behaviouralism.

Achievements: Many theories were developed, collection of data was huge, political behaviour, electoral behaviour, structural-functional approaches, systems theory, Research hypothesis.

David Easton again in 1969 addressed the APSA and this time he blamed the Behaviouralist for the decline of the discipline. Thus Post Behaviouralism is not the end of ~~the~~ Behaviouralism rather it is taking forward Behaviouralism and addressing the challenges of Behaviouralism.

Post Behaviouralism invites values as this is in the true nature of the discipline. - normative theories.

Post Behaviouralism does not advocate purity of techniques, it calls for verification and scientific method wherever possible. It focuses more on the concepts, issues rather than purity of techniques. It calls for greater responsibility of Social scientist than the natural scientists.

Facts, facts and facts are neither possible nor desirable in the interest of the discipline, rather Post Behaviouralism asks for balance between Norms, values and scientific method.

Achievements: Revival of Political philosophical theories like Rawlsian Theory of Justice, Capability approach of Amartya Sen, Communitarianism, etc. Hence Post Behaviouralism is the next logical step after Behaviouralism to revive the true nature of discipline of Political Science.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

.8(b)

Explain the concept of political obligation. Elaborate Hobbes theory of political obligation. 15 Marks

Thomas Hobbes was the first modern thinker. He gave the theory of sovereignty and gave absolute power to the state for the goal of individual security and self preservation.

Every thinker is a child of his time, during the times of Hobbes there was British revolution in England hence there was anarchy, disorder, no security of life.

Hence Thomas Hobbes in order to secure a safe life of individual gave the Theory of Sovereignty to establish a state separate from Church and there is only one centre of power in Hobbes which is 'State'.

Thus in Hobbes we ~~not~~ find State is a means to achieve the end of Self preservation, it is in the interest of the individual that state has to be all powerful.

Even after surrendering all powers to state, individual still has the power, right of self defence. Hobbes arrives at the Theory of sovereignty through 'Social Contract' which is like a thought experiment in which people come in contract with themselves to give all

their rights to the state and thus state is not a party to the contract but it is a third party.

State is in the interest of the individual as he cannot enjoy his rights in the state of nature where his life is nasty, brutish and there is no security of life due to the individualist, utilitarian nature of man. Since the challenge is huge, the treatment has to be greater than the injury. Hence an all powerful Leviathan was established.

Rights in Hobbes Thinking comes with political obligation.

Man is selfish according to Hobbes, he will follow law so long as he thinks it is in his self interest.

Political obligation implies the duties of the individual towards the state and fellow human beings. It is necessary to establish peace and harmony.

Grandhi also established that without duties one cannot enjoy his rights.

Political obligations are necessary to perform in order to remove the inconvenience in ruling human society.

The Indian Constitution also provides for fundamental duties in Part IV-A of the Constitution. These are civic duties, although ~~not~~ not all of them enjoy legal backing but they are moral, civic duties which should be performed by all.



Rights and ~~d~~ duties are interlinked.

In Hobbes theory of political obligation we find that if we take from common pot - by enjoying the goods that the system provides - we are also expected to pay in. Thus according to Hobbes the state is established for the end goal of self preservation and if the individual enjoys the benefits under the law and order of the state which were not available to him in the state of nature he is obliged to pay back to state by performing duties, his political obligations by being a member of the Social Contract.

Other views about political obligation can be traced to the modern liberals like JS Mill, and later on social liberals like John Rawls, Dworkin who view an individual as a ~~no~~ progressive being who is obliged to give back to the society which has helped ~~to~~ him to be what he is and thus he is morally obliged to contribute back to the system which is in his own interest.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.8(c)

Compare and contrast the monistic theory of sovereignty with the pluralistic theory. Explore the relationship between globalization and sovereignty. 15 Marks

State is the central concept of political science. The associated concept with state is sovereignty. In the modern times, state is considered as a sovereign authority. However the theory of sovereignty has evolved over time.

In the ancient Greece, there was a one centre of power - the philosopher king in Plato, there were city states. In the medieval Europe there was Roman Empire there were two sovereign powers - King and the church. and in the modern times - state is sovereign and there is supra-national governance in the post modern time - European Union.

Treaty of Westphalia (1648) gave formal recognition to nation states having territorial entity, government, population and sovereignty as its features.

The origin of theory of sovereignty is traced to Thomas Hobbes who gave absolute power to state as opposed to the dichotomous centre of power - Church and king of medieval times.

Influenced by him, Austin provided for Monistic theory of sovereignty in which he advocated that there

is only centre of authority i.e. state.

He established the autonomy of state as opposed to any other institution thus state according to Marxist theorist is a supreme political authority and it enjoys all powers.

Austin suggests that 'a determinate human superior (i.e. state) not in the habit of obedience to like superior (other state) that human superior is sovereign and the society is political.

Pluralist theory of state on the other hand advocates that there are multiple centres of power in the society. State cannot fulfil all the functions as well. Further giving absolute power to a single institution is a dangerous situation.

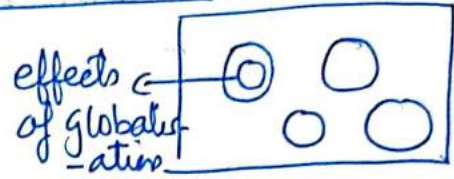
State according to Pluralist is a federal institution and therefore it has to share power with other institution.

Moderate Pluralists like Laski want to give minimal power to state yet they recognise key role of state.

Extreme Pluralists like Michener consider state just like any other institution and consider state as service state.

The relation between globalization and sovereignty can be understood through Billiards Ball model

The Balls are hard which represent the sovereignty of the states, however



globalisation has made the balls porous. and there is dilution of sovereignty. However according to scholars like David Held globalisation has impacted different states in different degrees, there is not equal impact. Globalists like Kenichi Dhame,

McLuhan have established that sovereignty of states has been diluted due to sovereignty and opposed to globalist are Gilpin and others, who advocates state is still in commanding position.

Thus the relation between globalisation and sovereignty is not a settled questions, it is debated and contested and dynamic and the impact varies across the world.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Space for Rough Work



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Space for Rough Work

Political Science & International Relations

Crash Course & Test Series - 2020

Test 01

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

There are **EIGHT** questions divided in **TWO SECTIONS** and candidate has to attempt five questions in all.

Question Nos.1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, any three are to be attempted choosing at least **ONE** question from each section.

SECTION 'A'.

1. Comment on the following in about 150 words each : 10*5=50
 - 1(a.) Normative Approach in Political Philosophy. 10 Marks
 - 1(b.) Feminist Theory of State. 10 Marks
 - 1(c.) Foucault's Theory of Power. 10 Marks
 - 1(d.) Aurobindo's Concept of Indian Nationalism. 10 Marks
 - 1(e.) Concept of "Dharma" in Indian political philosophy. 10 Marks
2. (a.) "One with immediate proximate territory is the natural enemy." (Kautilya). Discuss. How far is it appropriate to consider Kautilya as Indian Machiavelli. 20 Marks
2. (b.) Gramsci's Theory with its reconceptualization of the relations between base and superstructure and recasting power as hegemony marks a major breakthrough in Marxist theory. Comment. 15 Marks
2. (c.) "Power is what keeps the public realm ...in existence." (Hannah Arendt). In light of the above statement, critically examine the relevance of Arendt's theory of power. 15 Marks
3. (a.) "Politics becomes a much more elusive quarry...The nature of political theory is both internally complex and deeply contested." Andrew Vincent. Critically analyse. 20 Marks

3. (b.) How does Rawls explain Democratic equality? How does Rawls use the idea of a veil of ignorance to argue that fair and just distribution can be defended on rational grounds. 15 Marks
3. (c.) Ambedkar's vision for social justice was closely related to the concept of good society, rationality and scientific outlook. Comment. 15 Marks
4. (a.) Give the salient features of the theory of natural rights. What is the relationship between natural rights and human rights? Analyse the debate around the Asian values? 20 Marks
4. (b.) "Liberalism has many critics, both within and without". Elucidate. 15 Marks
4. (c.) "The concept of equality is a fundamental concept in normative political theory. However, it is also one of the most complex and contested." Elucidate. 15 Marks

SECTION 'B'

5. Comment on the following in about 150 words each : 10*5=50
5. (a.) Relative Autonomy Theory of the State. 10 Marks
5. (b.) Affirmative Action. 10 Marks
5. (c.) Relationship between Liberty and Equality. 10 Marks
5. (d.) Difference between Domination and Hegemony. 10 Marks
5. (e.) Concept of Overdeveloped State. 10 Marks
6. (a.) "Deliberative democracy questions narrow and the limited conception of political participation in liberal democracies." Comment. Discuss the normative ideals related to deliberative democracies. 20 Marks
6. (b.) Fascism is a hotch-potch of several ideologies and creed. Critically examine 15 Marks
6. (c.) "Plato's philosophy is the most savage and most profound attack on liberal ideas which history can show." (Crossman). Discuss. 15 Marks
7. (a.) "What is taken as Gandhi's critique of modernity, generally refers to his critique of the doctrines of materialism and instrumental rationality." David Hardiman. Explicate. 20 Marks

7. (b.) What are the components of the philosophy of radical humanism? To what extent can it be described as the philosophy of freedom? 15 Marks
7. (c.) Gender is a social and cultural construct. Elucidate. How the concept of feminist political theory differ from conventional political theory? 15 Marks
8. (a.) What were the intellectual factors responsible for the rise of Behaviouralism? Compare Behaviouralism with post-Behaviouralism. 20 Marks
8. (b.) Explain the concept of political obligation. Elaborate Hobbes theory of political obligation. 15 Marks
8. (c.) Compare and contrast the monistic theory of sovereignty with the pluralistic theory. Explore the relationship between globalization and sovereignty. 15 Marks

Tips for Writing Good Answers:-

- 1. Read the question carefully and at least 3-4 times.*
- 2. Note down concepts, facts, examples, keywords related to the question.*
- 3. Draw a rough outline of the flow.*
- 4. Pay adequate attention to the introduction and conclusion.*
- 5. Introduction must offer your brief interpretation of the question and how you propose to develop it.*
- 6. Conclusion must summarize your response to the question.*
- 7. Make sure answer is*
 - a. Logical and coherent*
 - b. Clear connection between sentences and paragraphs.*
 - c. Written correctly giving adequate compatibility to your expression, style and presentation*
 - d. Do not exceed the word limit*
 - e. Write neatly*
 - f. Underline points you wish to emphasize.*