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कृपया इस स्थान
में प्रश्न संख्या के
अतिरिक्त कुछ
न लिखें।

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(Specimen Answer Booklet - For Practice Purpose Only)

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Name :- SRISHTI DABAS
Test Date :- 11 JUNE 2023

UPSC Roll No :- 0501579

PSIR TEST 1

(7:30 - 10:30 pm)

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Ques. ①

(a) "There is no science of politics any more than there is a science of aesthetics — for the line of politics are not the line of mathematics." (Burke). Comment.

10 marks

Political thought has been concerned about analysing and understanding various events like formation of state, its organs, concepts like justice, equality, etc. It broadly dealt with two schools —

- a) Normative (prescriptive) — deals with 'what ought to be' — the science of aesthetics.
eg. liberty, justice
- b) Empirical (descriptive) — deals with 'what is' — the science of politics
eg. voting behaviour, comparing constitutions.

Burke refers to the significance of the normative political thought

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as the ancient political thinkers like Socrates, Plato, Aristotle began with the 'conceptual understanding of 'good life''. It was challenged for lack of facts and hence emerged behaviouralism - to make political science value neutral.

However, with Rawls's theory of justice, 'normative' aspect re-emerged. Behaviouralism was also challenged for its undue emphasis on facts. David Easton then came up with his 'credo of Relevance and Action' bringing about 'Neo Behaviouralism'.

It acted as the 'middle path' between normativism / traditionalism and behaviouralism / empiricism, thereby refuting what Burke said, intertwining both the fields for benefit of all.

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①(b)

Critically evaluate the significance of Rawls concept of veil of ignorance.

10 marks

John Rawls gave his 'Theory of Justice' both as a libertarian and an egalitarian thinker. He called his theory 'purely procedural' which was based on the 'veil of ignorance'.

'The veil of ignorance' signified that people were not aware about their backgrounds, caste, race, etc, when they came together to formulate the laws of justice; which included 3 principles in lexical order -

- a) Equality before law.
- b) Equality of Opportunity
- c) Difference principle - maximizing benefit for the least privileged.

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marks

Rawls used the veil of ignorance to make sure that people arrive at the principles without any prejudices to their social positions.

However, this approach of Rawls was criticised by the 'communitarians' as they believed that -

"Self is situated in the good."

Thinkers like Michael Walzer and Michael Sandel believed that every person is a 'situated/embedded soul' and hence the lexical order will differ as per societies. They believed that different goods will be distributed differently in different communities. For it was an 'art of differentiation'.

Still, we cannot ignore the contribution made by Rawls in the political theory - as justice became the architectonic concept.

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① (C)

Analyse Kymlika's theory of multicultural citizenship.

10 marks.

Will Kymlika has been a prominent thinker who believed in the idea of 'multiculturalism'. Different people situated in different societies experienced different events in life which shape their thoughts.

Kymlika's 'Theory of Multicultural Citizenship' emphasised on differential citizenship to people, as against a universal citizenship. The communitarian belief of individuals being situated in their societies is very well evident.

Emphasis on 'differentiated equality' made Kymlika to propound for certain special provisions for

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communities like - special representation rights (eg: Quebec has in Spain), special autonomy rights (eg: the schedule 5 and 6 in India) and reservation rights.

Kymlika, however, did not extend their multicultural citizenship to refugees and migrants.

This theory of kymlika was modified by Bhiku Parekh by expanding it to include refugees & migrants.

Also, feminists would oppose the theory for it creates differences and goes against the Human Rights which are universal, inalienable and equal.

kymlika's theory was still important as regards multicultural perspective of political theory.

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① (d)

M.N. conceived of humanism as scientific, integral and a radically new worldview. Comment.

10 marks

M.N. Roy was a prominent marxist-thinker who was instrumental in the formation of Communist Party ^{of Mexico} and the first to put forth the idea of constituent assembly.

His ideas and thoughts found place in his conception of 'Radical Humanism' which was to be based on reason.

He was not in the favour of religion dictating the political arena and rather opted for a scientific, rational approach.

M.N. Roy gave utmost significance to the idea of 'freedom' for it

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was necessary to gain true independence. He was greatly influenced by the renaissance of the west and tried to bring a similar change in India with his thoughts.

His belief in an integral and radically new worldview made him a cosmopolitan thinker.

His conception of humanism is appreciable as it goes beyond any prejudice, caste or class consideration and is truly scientific.

Even the present world must adopt the 'Humanism' advocated by M.N. Roy to move towards an inclusive and positive world.



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① (e)

Critically analyze Hannah Arendt's view of ideology.

10 marks

Hannah Arendt holds the rare distinction of being the only female thinker in a male dominated sphere.

She gave a unique concept of 'phenomenology' where there was 'thinking without barriers'.

The same applied to her views on 'ideology'. For her, ideology was something that influences people, forms hegemony over their thinking and dictates their action. For instance, the ideology of totalitarianism and fascism ruled over the minds of 'Hitler' and 'Mussolini'.

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^{ce} Ideology converts class politics into mass politics."

Ideology, for Hannah, was the tool to control the 'common sense' of people. People start blindly following their leader without using their own rationality.

Hannah goes on to describe some ideologies as destructive and calls for a mental revolution against them. She believes in the power of people — when they act in concert — to root out negative ideologies and totalitarian tendencies.

Hannah has greatly contributed to the understanding of 'ideology' and its consequences.

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Ques (4)

(a) "Aristotle differs from his master Plato, much more in form and method than in the substance of his thought." (Dunning). Critically examine.

20 marks

Plato is called as the 'Father of Political Philosophy' while Aristotle is called as the 'Father of Political Science'.

Aristotle followed the path of his master Plato and carried forward his concepts; changing some of them while accepting others.

Similarity of substance of thought

Both Plato and Aristotle belong to the ~~empirist~~ Socratic tradition and emphasised on the value of good life.

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They were against the sophists who taught about power and money. Rather, they focussed on virtues of goodness, justice.

Both of them were proponents of 'inequality' as Plato gave the 'Myth of metals' while Aristotle justified slavery and deprived women, children, old age and slaves from citizenship.

Both gave utmost importance to the 'state' which is the epitome of virtues. For Aristotle, man being a social and political animal accepts the state and for Plato-

"State arise not out of oak or reed but inheres in the minds of the people."

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Difference in form and method

Some differences remained between
Plato and his disciple Aristotle.
Plato focussed on the 'world of
Ideas' while Aristotle talked
of ^{both} the 'world of being' and 'becoming'.

Plato was thus more idealistic
and Aristotle relatively practical.
Plato gave all the powers to the
'philosopher king' but Aristotle
believed in 'rule of law'. For Aristotle,
polity was the best practicable
which cannot be sacrificed for
the sake of the best.

Plato ~~was~~ ^{is} considered as the first
feminist as he proposed the
possibility of a 'philosopher queen'
and communism of family to

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relieve women of their responsibilities of family. Aristotle, rather, deprived women of citizenship. He was also against the communism of private property and of family as propounded by Plato. He believed in family as an ancient and time tested institution while property as someone's labour and hard work's product.

Further, Plato gave citizens the option to revolt if their life was in danger but Aristotle was against revolution (arising due to inequalities). Thus Plato was radical in this sense while Aristotle conservative.

Thus, we see that fundamental assumptions of both Plato and Aristotle are the same. Aristotle only tries to improve upon (rather than merely criticise) Plato's work.

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④(b)

With reference to Foucault's concept of Governmentality, explain why Foucault says "power is everywhere." ?

15 marks

"Politics is the study of the sharing and shaping of power."
— Laswell.

Political science revolves around the concept of power which has been explained by many scholars, one of whom is Foucault.

Foucault's theory of power is remarkable and quite interesting.
He says:

"power flows in and around us just like blood flows in the capillaries."

This shows that power is everywhere.

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Not only is it prevalent in the institutions of the state but also the societal relations.

Foucaults calls power as a strategy which is exercised rather than possessed. This power is used by the government to establish its hegemony through 'Governmentality' as the use of Biopower.

Foucaults takes the example of the panopticon to explain the power of the government to keep a watch on its people from everywhere.

Further, Foucault mentions that power is knowledge. He uses Nietzsche's idea and concept of knowledge-power linkage.

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For instance, the power of heterosexuals is prevalent due to their control of the 'theory' of sexuality.

And hence, Foucault argues that 'power is discourse'. The most prominent ideas are circulated which become the 'regimes of truth.'

Hence, we see that Foucault gave the conception of power as a post modern thinker - based on sociological perspective. This unconventional yet significant perspective was later used by thinkers like Hannah to give 'power to the people'.

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(4) (C)

The Ambedkar-Gandhi debate although has a special place in the academic discourse, has become a redundant debate. Discuss.

15 marks

Gandhi is known as the 'Father of the Nation' while Ambedkar is the 'Father of Constitution'. Both were prominent leaders with firm beliefs and principles.

Ambedkar-Gandhi debate

The beliefs of these two thinkers often clashed each other which led to debate in academic discourse.

For Gandhi, the varna system was important while Ambedkar outrightly rejected it. He was against the caste system prevalent in the Hindu society and even called to put dynamite on Manusmriti.

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Ambedkar believed in the power of spirituality of buddhism and thereby proposed conversion while Gandhi was against religious conversions.

The use of the term 'Hairjan' by Gandhi was also opposed by Ambedkar who preferred to call them 'Shudras' which signified their downtrodden state.

Gandhi was a traditionalist while Ambedkar a modernist.

Gandhi has been called as a 'doctor' while Ambedkar a 'lawyer' given their differences in approaches.

Redundant debate

However, all this debate over their differences becomes redundant

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as the ultimate aim for both was the same — 'upliftment of the vulnerable and downtrodden'.
Though they used different means but their ends were same.

Both believed in notions of equality and justice. All sections of society look upto both of them as tall leaders.

Their differences over 'separate electorates' culminated into the 'poona Pact' as the middle path.

Despite clashes, they both greatly respected each other; as it was Ambedkar who ~~first~~ ^{respectfully} called Gandhi as 'the Father of the Nation' through radio while Gandhiji called ~~Ambedkar~~ ^{Ambedkar} as 'the tallest leader of Harijans'.

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Ques ⑤

(a) " History repeats itself, first as a tragedy, second as a farce. " (Marx). Comment.

10 marks

Karl Marx has put forth his ideas in his work 'Communist Manifesto' whereby he has adopted Historical Materialism and Historical Dialecticism to understand class struggles at different stages.

From hunters and gatherers, to master and slaves, to feudal lords and serfs, to capitalists and proletariats, Marx has spoken about the oppression faced by the latter, i.e. the subordinate.

He argues that the revolutionary consciousness among workers will arise when 'class in itself' will emerge, thereby leading

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to demise of capitalism as

“Capitalists dig their own graves.”

This evolution of history ultimately culminating in communism will occur always and whenever class struggle will take place.

The present times of inequality (Thomas Pichety), show the movement towards anti-globalization and anti-capitalist movements, rise of protectionism (Brexit), left parties (Venezuela), etc. all support Marx's idea of repetition of history.

However, it may also be noted that Gramsci has analysed the failure of Marx's idea of definite revolution due to presence of other superstructures like civil society.

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⑤(b)

Write a short note on 'Overlapping consensus'.

10 marks

The post colonial theor

The Theory of Justice given by John Rawls emphasised on liberty, equality and dignity, in the given order. Rawls situation these three principles of justice across all societies — as they were formed behind the veil of ignorance.

However, this was criticised by the communitarians for being homogenous and universalist.

They argued that people are situated selfs and hence will give priority to the principles as per their context.

For instance, Rawls gave liberty the first preference because he is 'situated in the West'.

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To respond to the challenge raised by communitarians, Rawls modified his theory and applied it to liberal, western and modern societies first.

Rawls believed that other societies, being rational, will arrive at an overlapping consensus, if not a directly 'liberal'. They will try to arrive at ^{democratic} consensus to be able to resolve their differences.

Rawls argued that the overlapping consensus will ultimately lead to the same principles as he told, even though it might take some time. This shows Rawls conviction as also manipulation to keep his theory relevant.

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⑤ (C)

What do you understand by 'Differentiated citizenship'?

10 marks

In the world where there is echo of 'universalism' and 'Human Rights', the communitarians and multiculturalists stand apart to give a call for 'Differentiated citizenship'.

Just like every human is unique and special, the principles of political science also need to apply differentially considering the uniqueness of societies.

As said:

"Politics is not science of homogenization but art of differentiation."

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कृपया इस स्थान में प्रश्न संख्या के अतिरिक्त कुछ न लिखें।

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The concept of differentiated citizenship is based on the same idea that different communities require different and even special rights — like right of representation to minorities, accommodating refugees and migrants, demands for autonomy, etc.

Will Kinkh gave the theory of multicultural citizenship which was taken further by Bhikhu Parekh. Such communitarian ideas belief in 'differentiated equality' and 'differentiated rights'.

However, they also face criticism from 'natural rights' thinkers and 'human rights' activists who blame them for propagating differences rather than unity.

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(5) (d)

Compare Austin's theory of Sovereignty with that of pluralists.

10 marks

Hobbes gave the first theory of sovereignty — which was monist, i.e. based on absolute powers to one ruler. Austin also belongs to same school of thought.

Austin's theory of sovereignty believed in one sovereign power — both in internal and external spheres — over its territory and population.

However, such sovereignty was deeply criticised by the pluralist thinkers like Laski & Mackinder, who argued that since there are other spheres of influence like traditions, cultures, international law, etc.

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can there be only one sovereign power. They considered state as "the child of and protector of" other spheres and institutions. Thus, it cannot have sole power.

Austin's theory is, thus, different from that of pluralists as it is absolutist. Pluralists, on the other hand, follow the post modern school of thought where sovereignty is distributed.

If we see today's world, institutions like European Union reflect the 'pluralist' theory of sovereignty where power as well as responsibilities are shared and not monopolised.

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(5) (c)

Write a short note on 'Legitimation Crisis'.

10 marks

Any government rules not just by power but legitimacy, i.e. the consent of the people which gives it authority. However, this legitimacy faces a crisis, which is explained by Habermas in his theory of 'Legitimation Crisis'.

Habermas argued that when the conflict between capitalism and socialism increases — while economic system follows capitalism but polity is socialist, it leads to crisis.

While ^{during} good times, the government takes welfare measures and increases spending on social sectors, but after a certain times when banks

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start demanding their money back, the state needs to roll back which leads to protests by people and government loses its legitimacy.

This occurs when the government's capacity to spend reduces or the demands by public increases.



For instance, crisis in Greece and Venezuela.

To resolve the legitimation crisis, governments need to provide freedom of speech and expression, follow rule of law, independence of judiciary, and bring good governance.

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Ques ⑦

- (a) Freedom is both the primary end and principal means of development. In context of the given statement, discuss how Amartya Sen makes a philosophical case that freedom centred development can create a better society and economy?

20 marks

Liberty has been the most prominent theme in political theory. Various schools of thought and thinkers discussed liberty. Liberals emphasised on liberty while socialists on freedom.

The excessive focus of classical and neo liberals on liberty and nightwatchman state led to the emergence of an internal response from social liberals who emphasised on 'equality' as well. Equality of opportunity was talked about.

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In this backdrop, there was another social liberal - Amartya Sen who talked about 'equality of capability'.
Sen emphasised on developing capabilities which would lead one to freedom.

Capabilities → Development → Freedom

Sen argued that capabilities help develop a person in different aspects of life which lead to empowerment and ultimately freedom. This is not a linear relation though.

Freedom → Empowerment → Development

The freedom so attained while lead to and give opportunities of self empowerment and growth, thereby leading to development.

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Hence, freedom is both the primary end and principal means of development.

Let us understand what all constitutes 'capabilities' for Amartya Sen. Getting the fair opportunity to get educated and learn builds the capabilities of people which makes them better humans through value inculcation.

Skill development, trainings and seminars will further boost capabilities. Not only this, the various freedoms like that of speech, expressions, press, association, movement and ultimately life — provide motivation to people to develop.

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Amartya Sen's theory of capabilities building finds so much relevance in today's world. To harness the demographic dividend, to reduce inequalities and build characters, we all need capabilities.

Not merely capabilities in physical sense but also spiritual. Having the capability to have empathy and compassion will definitely build a better society.

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Q(b)

"One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman".
(Simone de Beauvoir). Comment.

15 marks

The second wave of feminism was the 'Radical feminism' which tried to deconstruct the identities and differences due to 'gender' & gender roles assigned.

Simone de Beauvoir in her book 'The Second Sex' argues that one is not a 'woman' due to her 'sex' but rather her 'gender' — i.e. patriarchy leads to discrimination.

"Women are not only the Second Sex but also the Secondary Sex."

Here, Simone argues that women are considered subordinate to

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men in every sphere of life.
The Identity of women starts depending on the Identity of men.
As she says, agreeing to Sathe,
"Identity is prior to essence".

Simone argues that women need to identify themselves irrespective of the social norms assigned to them, to be able to liberate.

Her ideas are taken forward by other radical liberals like 'Betty Friedan', in her 'Feminine Mystique' who argues that various 'myths' are assigned to women which lead to their oppression. For eg, the myth that women love motherhood, they want to marry early & look beautiful.

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'Susan Okin' further mentions that 'Personal is Political' as the suppression of women in public sphere cannot be separated from the private sphere. It is said that :

"Democratization of public sphere cannot occur without prior democratization of private sphere."

Hence, the radical feminists called for a "Sexual Revolution" to break the conceptions associated with women's identity. This is taken forward by 'post modern feminists' who call for celebrating womenhood, redefining the identity of women and adopting 'intersectionality' (Judith Butler)

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(7) (C)

"Right is prior to good." Critically examine.

15 marks.

"Rights are the conditions without which no man can be at his best."

—T.H. Green

The debate on the importance of rights has been prevalent for long. Liberals focussed on individual ~~state~~ rights which are to be protected by the state.

Socialists, however, focussed on duties and gave less importance to rights. This debate came to be reflected in the maxim:

"Right is prior to good".

This was given by liberal thinkers like Rawls and Dworkin (social liberals)

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Rawls gave his theory of justice giving topmost priority to liberty. For him, the most important right would be Right to Equality before Law.

Dworkin further tried making the initial allocation of resources just — focussing on equality of opportunity. He said:

"Rights triumph over good".

For Dworkin, there are two types of rights — strong and weak. The strong right like Right to life can never be compromised, not for 'good' of the society.

Hence, the 'sine qua non' nature of rights is the hallmark of liberalism.

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कभी लिखना
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This conception was challenged
by socialists who gave utmost
importance to society and duties.
Further, communitarians like Michael
Walzer, Michael Sandel argue
that :

"Self is embedded in good".

Thus, they argued that individualist
& selfish motives can be
compromised for the larger
good of the society they are
situated in.

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Ques 8 (a)

Ambedkar is not a doctrinal Marxist or socialist.
He evolves his own brand of socialism in which not only the economic aspects but also the social aspects are emphasised. Elaborate.

20 marks

B.R. Ambedkar, known as the 'Father of Indian Constitution', has aptly modified marxism and used it to evolve his own brand — 'Democratic socialism'.

Not a doctrinal Marxist / socialist

Ambedkar differs from the assumptions of Marxists in certain ways. Ambedkar did not adopt the path of violence to build the 'revolutionary consciousness' among the down-trodden. He believed in 'peaceful revolution'.

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which will come by appealing to the reason of humans.

Further, as Marx called religion as the 'opium of masses',

Ambedkar did not believe so.

He rather whole heartedly adopted

'Buddhism' — as the way to inner peace and satisfaction.

Not only that, he urged to other people as well to convert and leave the clutches of Hinduism.

Besides this, Ambedkar believed in the true potential of democracy — however not only political but also socio-economic. Marx instead focussed on communism — a stateless society.

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Economic + Social aspects

Unlike Marx who focussed entirely on economic factors - considered economy as 'base' - Ambedkar talked of social aspects also.

Ambedkar wanted to end the miseries of the Shudras who were treated as untouchables. This would not come merely by giving them economic upliftment, but would also require social and political transformation in society.

Ambedkar wanted due representation to the Scheduled Castes at all levels of government.

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In his 'Grammar of Anarchy', Ambedkar has mentioned that we need all sorts of equalities - socio, economic and political; one without the other would be shallow. Similarly, the three foundation stones were to be equality, liberty and justice!

Hence, we can say that Ambedkar kept the marxist 'humane' by saving it from crude economic reductionism and adding certain elements of Gramsci's other superstructures.

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⑧ (b)

What do you understand by 'Affirmative Action'?
What could be the limitations of affirmative action?

15 marks

The clash between 'equality of opportunity' and 'equality of outcome' as demanded by social liberals and socialists respectively, was resolved by the middle path of 'Affirmative Action'.

Affirmative Action refers to the positive discrimination for the benefit of the downtrodden to overcome the disadvantages faced by them — both natural (any disability) or historical (due to racism or casteism).

Scholars like Aristotle had very early talked of such provisions

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Aristotle believed in redistributive justice whereby he said:

" equals should be treated
equally,
unequals should be treated
unequally."

This showed his farsightedness.

Further, Rawls and Dworkin also
have some sense of belief in
providing equal resources,
treatment and dignity.

Hence, affirmative action includes
reservations to Scheduled Tribes
or Economically weaker classes
to provide them a level playing
field - to match and
compete with the rest.

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Limitations

Affirmative action is criticised for losing merit and instead focusing on discrimination. Liberals argue that this approach harms the meritorious and favours the less capable.

Further, as Ramachandra Guha said ✓

"Affirmative Action gives
out more heat than light."

Meaning that it is more politically
debated than its fruits seen
in reality. It has become a
tool for appeasement of
minorities and vote bank politics.

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(8) (c)

The path and judicious ways shown by Sir Syed are still relevant for new generation. Discuss. 15 marks

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was one of the tallest leaders of Muslims. He emphasised on the importance of rationality and education for Muslim youth.

He wanted to bring the Muslims out of the superstitions and unjust beliefs and move towards a more rational worldview.

For this very reason, he is called as "Raja Ram Mohan Roy" of Muslims.

Further, Sir Khan did not shy away from supporting the British for the benefit of his community.

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He wrote the book 'causes of the 1757 war of independence' and argued that Muslims were not responsible for it.

Initially, Sir Syed also believed in the unity of Hindus and Muslims. He said:

"Hindus and Muslims are the two beautiful eyes of the bride called India."

This showed his progressive thinking and positive outlook.

However, given the circumstances of those times, the clashes between Hindus and Muslims

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Increased due to Hindi-Urdu controversy, Ghar vapsi/Shuddhi movements, etc., he deviated from his beliefs and said that interests of the two communities cannot reconcile.

Sir Syed's ideas are still relevant. Given the present rise in terrorism, fundamentalism, religious intolerance and hatred, we need to remind ourselves of Sir Syed's belief in rationality.

The present Muslim youth needs to learn from Sir Syed, leave their prejudices behind and usher in a new era of reforms. The same needs to be replicated by Hindus to truly elish brotherhood.