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Always Ahead

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Political Science & International Relations

Crash Course & Test Series - 2023

Test 1

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name

SWATI SHARMA

Test Date

18 July 2023

UPSC Roll No

083 8034

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						

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	Poor	Average	Good	Very Good	Excellent
Understanding of Questions					
Structure & Flow					
(a) Introduction					
(b) Conclusion					
(c) Overall					
Subject Knowledge					
Presentation					
(a) Underline					
(b) Paragraph					
(c) Overall					

Overall Remarks:

Dear Student,

All the best for next test...!!!



Que.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 lines of mathematics".(Burke)
Comment. (10 Marks)

Aristotle, father of political science, called political science as a master science for it encompasses varied dimensions of social and political life.

Politics is considered as science of aesthetics for it deals with normative issues such as justice, equality. It deals not only with what is state but also with the idea of state (Plato).

Aesthetics allows incorporation of values in the field of politics to determine what ought to be. Leo Strauss signified the importance of philosophical approach in politics.



However, politics also deals with the science of mathematics when it incorporates empirical approach. It also includes investigations and study of human behaviour. Politics also deals with 'what is' than mere what ought to be.

It is in this context, Alan Ball suggests that an individual can be political theorist (aesthetics) as well as political scientist (science) or both.

Hence, the politics as a discipline deals with varied social-political problems and find solutions to it, making it an "applied science".



Que.1(b)

Critically Evaluate the significance of Rawls concept of veil of ignorance. (10 Marks)

John Rawls, egalitarian thinker, in his work "Theory of Justice" (1973) calls justice as fairness.

In order to arrive at such principles of justice that should seem rational and fair to all, he conducts a thought experiment using social contract.

In this approach, he puts individuals behind a veil of ignorance, Behind which, the individuals act and deliberate in original position where they are unaware about their social position in society, but are aware of general facts.

The veil of ignorance, hence, act as a link between original position (state of



nature) and the formulation of ultimate principles of justice.

The veil of ignorance is what eliminates the influence of society on an individual so as to formulate fair principles.

According to communitarians like Michael Sandel, an individual is an 'embedded self' who cannot be separated from societal influence. Michael Walzer criticises Rawls veil of ignorance on fact that individuals act according to time and space.

Rawls veil of 'ignorance' provides a method to eliminate the social biasness and evolve at such principles that provide strength to even weakest link of the chain.



Que.1(c)

Analyse Kymlicka's theory of multicultural citizenship. (10 Marks)

Multiculturalism is a political debate ~~between~~ ^{for} rights of minorities and cultural rights.

The state of freedom enjoyed by the minorities can help judge the performance of State (Lord Acton)

Will Kymlicka, in work "Liberal concept of Multicultural citizenship", analyses the nature of liberal societies in providing minority rights to the national citizens.

He talks about how culture is part of life and should not be separated from one's ability to practice.

He argues to provide group differentiated rights such as representation to minorities, performance of religious practices, others. He also favours some



poly ethnic rights to the national citizens.

However, Kymlicka argues to provide the rights only to national minorities and not to the immigrants.

In this context, Bhikhu Parekh, postcolonial scholar, advocates that minorities are not heterogeneous in nature but are similar in context of protection of rights. The rights should be provided to all minorities equally.

Amartya Sen argues that providing multicultural - (culture relative) - rights can lead to ghettoisation in society.

Multicultural perspective of rights face a hard choice in determining who and how much rights should be given. Nevertheless, they are important to provide own way of life and equality to all.

Que.1(d)

M.N Roy conceived of humanism as scientific, integral and a radically new worldview. Comment. (10 Marks)

Humanism originated as an idea of renaissance. It evoked hope in rationality of man.

M N Roy, in his radical work, "22 Theses" provided Indian humanism that activated not only material but also spiritual aspects of life.

Roy believed man as departure of everything. He conceived that every man is rational (scientific) and hence there is always a possibility to use science as way of freedom.

For Roy, freedom meant liberation from all sorts of fear. Roy took a scientific approach where he gathered ethics/morality to free an individual from religious superstitions (social sanctions).



For Roy, individuals will be free when they think rationally. Roy aimed to create a cosmopolitan union of free persons where each can lead their own intellectual revolution that encompasses not only authoritative texts but also spiritual and cultural experiences of life.

Roy was criticised for being turning to spiritualism from empiricism (Marxian). He was further unable to differentiate between what true morality holds.

However, Roy's radical humanism was significant to free the individual from the dens of ignorance and creating creative freedom within their capacities.



Que.1(e)

Critically Analyze Hannah Arendt's view on ideology. (10 Marks)

Ideology are a set of ideas that either give scientific explanation or provide a political goal to be achieved.

Hannah Arendt, "On Totalitarianism" provides her views on totalitarian ideology. She uses phenomenology to understand how totalitarianism is different and how it activates.

According to Arendt, totalitarian leaders take shape when modernity hits or when individuals face crisis of leaders leading to demagogues rising as leaders.

She shows how ~~totalit~~ ideology is used to hide the intentions of leaders. She argues that 20th century totalitarianism creates an atmosphere where the leaders gets consent of the governed.



by ~~make~~ creating a false consciousness.

Further, when the ideology gets permeated inside individuals, the leaders make wrong use of this consent to legitimise their actions.

Arendt shows how this can lead to banality of evil, where ~~the~~ the actions of state coercion appears right and citizens don't protest.

Arendt, thereby, calls vita activa as highest form of human action. Following Aristotleian tradition, she calls man a zoon politikon and ask them to practice power in concert to counter violence and coercion.

The use of ideology in 21st century and exercise of power seems significant than ever in present geopolitical text.



Que.2(a)

How does the debate around the Rawlsian notion of justice have made justice a pluralistic concept? (20 Marks)

Justice is a contested concept in discipline of political science. It ensures just distribution and moral worth of each individual.

Due to multiple interpretations of justice, John Rawls, in "theory of justice", wanted to formulate just and ultimate principles of justice that should be fair and rational to all. He uses procedure of social contract to conduct a thought experiment where when individuals believe that principles are fair, the outcome will also be just.

Rawls talks of original position where the individuals would deliberate upon some principles. They will be at this position behind a veil of ignorance.



where they would not know about their social position but about the general facts to avoid biasness.

Raulls also provides a lexical order for his principles of justice.

- i) liberty - equal to all
- ii) equality of opportunity
- iii) Difference principle

Raullsian notion of justice provides to strengthen the weakest link of the society by deviating from the lexical order.

Raull's idea, being criticised by many theorists, led to a pluralistic concept of justice.

For Communitarians, individuals are an 'embedded self' (Michael Sandel) and not atomistic.

Further, they also criticise Raulls for ascribing at ultimate principles rational



to all. According to Michael Walzer, justice is not homogenisation but an art of differentiation. The individuals cannot be separated from societal influence using veil of ignorance as they are influenced by time and space.

Libertarians such as Robert Nozick, criticise Rawls for reducing liberty of an individual for the weakest link.

They believe that liberty of property should be hallmark of ~~so~~ his/her personality.

Feminists have criticised Rawls for not paying attention to the women's perspectives. They argue that women are treated as second class in every society. It is not necessary that they will be treated like in original position. Carol Gilligan argues to add ethics and care perspective in his principles of justice.



Amartya sen, developing upon the capability approach, criticises Rawls for not including efforts by state to provide equal capabilities to individuals to act in society.

Dworkin also highlights that ~~not~~ only the formulation of principles are not enough, there is a need to provide equal distribution of resources that should appear just for all.

Hence, Rawls concept of justice sparked a political debate on the idea of justice. Isaiah Berlin writes that any value cannot be counted and argued for idea of value pluralism and tolerance to arrive at principles of justice.



Que.2(b)

Human rights are those political parameters which act as a guide for governments and institutions as to how to treat people. Critically examine the given statement. (15 Marks)

Rights are the claims of individual without which no man can seek to be at its best.

The idea of human rights originated from natural rights that argue for worth and dignity of human as basis of right. They believe that individuals are endowed with some rights not self evidently.

Human rights came into ~~f~~ limelight after the Hitler's atrocities and the end of World War II that showed importance of human rights.

Human rights are inalienable in nature. The governments should provide these rights to hinder the hindrances in path of individual. These rights should form part of the constitution and protected by the judicial



institutions. The Indian Constitution provides for fundamental rights, that includes basic human rights, and made them enforceable by law.

Human rights are universal in nature. The governments should take initiative to provide human rights protection not only to the national residents but also to the immigrants and refugees. For instance, South Asia is seen as largest immigrant corridor, and is often criticised for lax of human rights. Human rights are not territorial but extend beyond borders.

Human rights stand for equality of all human beings. In today's hierarchical social structure, human rights should be protected by the institutions such as National Human Rights Commission. The commission



should strive for rights of even the weakest chain such as dalits, minorities, women.

Human rights, however, become victims of political contests. For instance, ~~the~~ China accuses the west for showcasing eurocentric model of human rights (Asian values).

There is a debate on who should be considered as humans. The lack of defined criteria for terrorists make them either terrorists or state heroes.

The international domain of human rights protection is often seen as conflict with the sovereignty of nations.

Nevertheless, human rights are the soul of rights. The third generation of rights seeks to uphold solidarity rights that should engage consensus among all to reach at equitable distribution of human rights around the world.



Que.2(c)

"Nationalism is immortal; Nationalism cannot die, because it is no human thing." (Aurobindo). Discuss Aurobindo's theory of nationalism in the light of above statement. (15 Marks)

The essentialists present their theory of nationalism ~~as~~ where nation is natural and not any construction.

Aurobindo, prophet of Indian nationalism, presented his spiritual theory of nationalism based on Herder's idea of cultural nationalism.

For Aurobindo the moderates had failed to make progress in gaining swaraj due to their methods of political mendicancy. He writes in his "New Lamps for Old", that India is not a 'nation in making' but it has always been a nation.

For Aurobindo, nation is a spiritual concept. It has a soul like its citizens. Each nation has a divine mission to accomplish.



India, as a nation, also has a divine mission. to free the universal population from bondages of colonialism.

Aurobindo was inspired from the Vedantic tradition of Vivekananda who considered nationalism as a duty.

He, also, took inspiration from the idea ~~the~~ of India as a mother Kali, who needs to be rescued from the chains of British exploitation.

Aurobindo believed that the soul of India has always been present. It just lies in dormant state. He even states that the wrath of colonialism was God's message to awaken the spirit of India as a nation.

To awaken the spirit, he calls to adopt means of passive resistance and swadeshi. He calls upon to attack at the roots of



colonialism, which are profits, police, bureaucracy, western english education.

Aurobindo considered nation as a spirit. not a construct. He was criticised for turning the idea of nation ~~as spiritual~~ in spirituality. However, he awakened the spirit of masses to see the colonial exploitation and break the myth of old man's burden.

Even Jawaharlal Nehru, stated that India shall remain till the spirit of India does not die.

Aurobindo was successful in showcasing the cultural dimension of nation and enlarging the concept of Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam in its widest sense possible.



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Que.3(a)

The general aim of deliberative democracy is to provide the most justifiable conception for dealing with moral disagreement in politics. Explain with reference to the views of Habermas. (20 Marks)



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Que.3(b)

How does feminists conceive state and its role when it comes to overcoming the subordination of women? Discuss (15 Marks)



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Que.3(c)

With reference to the Asian values debate , critically evaluate cultural relativistic perspective of human rights. (15 Marks)



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Que.4(a)

"Aristotle differs from his master Plato, much more in the form and method than in the substance of his thought" (Dunning). Critically examine. (20 Marks)

The Greek classical thought gains its prominence from the works of Plato and Aristotle.

Aristotle, father of political science, was the greatest disciple and critic of his master Plato.

Plato and Aristotle, both conceived their idea of state, based on greek thought of state as virtue and wanted to alleviate Athens of the ignorance.

While Plato was votary of dialectics (Socrates) in formulating his ideal state in his book 'Republic', Aristotle was first to use observation and empiricism to show his state in his works.

Plato ~~was~~ adhered to the socratic idea of



knowledge as virtue. For this, he created the concept of philosopher king who was votary of wisdom (gold). However, Aristotle, aligning to knowledge, believed the citizens deliberating together can produce better decisions than philosopher acting alone.

While Plato considered the philosopher king to be supreme and make laws under him, by him. Aristotle, showed that the rule of law is supreme.

Further, Plato and Aristotle differed in method of creating alleviating corruption. While Plato considered communism to mitigate the evil consequences of familial bond, Aristotle had considered family as virtue, as inspiration to work.



~~Plato~~ ^{Bo}

Both believed in natural inequality of humans. Plato shows his inequality by using theory of forms to divide people among wisdom, courage and appetite. Aristotle believed that this natural inequality can be found in master and slave where one dominates reason and other dominates appetite. Thereby, both considered reason as supreme virtue.

The differences in form and method also reflect in the political organisation. While both considered that state comes into existence for good life, Plato considered monarchy as best form of government, and Aristotle held monarchy as worst form. For Aristotle believed in idea of golden mean, where one should not reject good for the best.



Plato wanted to create a best state where only wisdom rules.

However, Plato is considered as first feminist in classics, Aristotle is criticised by feminists for separating personal and political.

Plato also provides for his second best state based on idea of rule of law than philosopher king. Hence, the substance of thought of Plato and Aristotle see more convergences than divergences.

It is in this matter of fact that Aristotle is often dubbed as pragmatic Plato.



Que.4(b)

With reference to Foucault's concept of Governmentality, explain why Foucault says "Power is everywhere"? (15 Marks)

Power refers to the production of intended effects (Bertrand Russell). These effects can be produced due to varied factors. This makes power a contested concept.

Nietzsche argues that there is no truth but only 'plethora of interpretations'. In this context, Derrida gives him idea of deconstruction where he shows how power can have multiple interpretations.

Foucault, deriving on the Derrida, says that power is everywhere. He explains that power is today no more concentrated in the hands of state alone. Power is distributed among society.

He uses the example of panopticon to show how power can be exercised everywhere.



Foucault says that the state today employs ~~that~~ social institutions to exercise power. For instance, the educational institutions are used to evolve a particular kind of study that should make people obedient to state.

These institutions work as social sanctions that try to homogenise people towards a particular way of life.

Foucault says that power runs into network like blood in capillaries. Like truth, can emerge from everywhere, similarly power can emerge from anywhere.

Foucault talks about biopower or governmentality, which talks about government using its power to -



exercise power over individuals from everywhere.

Foucault, hence, shows that power is everywhere. Steven Lukes had shown how power can be used to influence the thought process of an individual, besides decision making and agenda setting of in state. For instance, the ideologies are used in process to influence the decisions.

Power, as a concept, finds salience in the contemporary era, where the authoritarian leaders might use power to condition people into certain way by imposing social sanctions.



Que.4(c)

The Ambedkar-Gandhi debate although has a special place in the academic discourse has become a redundant debate. Discuss (15 Marks)

Indian national movement saw two tallest leaders - B R Ambedkar and Mahatama Gandhi. Both has a special place in national movement and aftermath independence.

Ambedkar-Gandhi debate has been upon the philosophy and experiences of life encountered by them.

Gandhi considered the concept of varna as right in inherent sense. For Ambedkar, varna and caste were similar and had no sense in society. Ambedkar considered caste as outcome of graded inequality of Hindu society. Gandhi did not feel eradication of varna system but Ambedkar wanted annihilation of caste to remove the inequalities in society.



In order to recognise, the inequalities, Gandhi considered them as Harijans and called for their upliftment using Harijan Sevak Sangh.

Ambedkar called this as false consciousness and called them as Dalits (broken men).

For Gandhi, the state was a soulless machine. It represented violence in concentrated form. Ambedkar, on the contrary, wanted to use state led means such as reservation, representation to alleviate the position of dalits in society.

In contrast to the state, Gandhi's nostalgia of Ramrajya, made him to focus on village republics based on idea of swaraj and sarvodaya. Ambedkar, due to his unfavourable experiences of past, considered villages as dens of ignorance.



where any progress would be hierarchical than egalitarian.

However, the debate becomes redundant when the Indian Constitution adds the values upheld by Gandhi and Ambedkar, for instance - reservation to women and SC/ST for panchayats, removing intoxicants, prevention of atrocities, prevention of untouchability, others.

For Gandhi is represented as leader of national movement, Ambedkar ~~for~~ was criticised for being leader of a community. Ambedkar even criticised Gandhian methods & as street politics and grammar of anarchy.

However, both leaders believed in idea of freedom as liberation from inequalities and showed unity towards fraternity, and social justice.



Que.5(a)

"History repeats itself, first as tragedy, second as farce". (Marx)
Comment. (10 Marks)

Karl Marx, in his seminal work, "Communist Manifesto" portrays his ideas of class struggle and historical materialism.

Following Hegel's idea of dialectical materialism, Marx called for historical than dialectical (ideal) materialism. He surmises that history tends to repeat itself. On this, he exemplifies how hitherto history has been history of class struggle.

Marx counts history from freeman-slave to bourgeoisie-proletariat, where in every phase, one dominant class oppresses the ~~other~~ submissive class. This oppression finds basis in his base-superstructure model where economy is the base, and all relations are relations of production.



Marx, like Machiavelli (history as better guide), argues to learn from history. For the one, who does not learn the lessons from history, suffer from foresight.

For example, Samuel Huntington showed how ~~the~~ democracy revives after the fall of authoritarian regimes. in his three waves of democracy.

However, one cannot generalise that history repeats always in same cyclical manner. Also, Marx's idea of historical materialism is based on economic determinism.

^{Neitzsche}
~~Derrida and Foucault~~ shows how there is no one truth but plethora of interpretations. History may or may not repeat itself, but lessons should be learnt to prevent the problems of past.



Que.5(b)

Write a short note on 'Overlapping Consensus'. (10 Marks)

John Rawls, social egalitarian, develops his ideas of justice in his work "Theory of Justice". Rawls contextualises his principles of justice to formulate such principles that should be fair and rational to all.

He explores his fair principles using thought experiment where he uses the original position and veil of ignorance to arrive at just principles.

However, he was criticised by Michael Walzer and others for there cannot be homogenisation of principles but reserved justice for its art of differentiation.

John Rawls, hence develops his concept of overlapping consensus where he shows that people can come to common principles of justice



given they practice tolerance and reciprocity. (democratic societies).

Raulls wants to strengthen even the weakest link of the chain to come at such principles where rich and poor both come at common principles to form a ~~so~~ just and stable society.

Raulls was criticised by libertarians such as Robert Nozick for limiting individual's freedom. Further feminists like Carol Gilligan argues for incorporating principles of care in the formulation of principles of justice.

However, Raulls overlapping consensus seems fair in context of providing liberty and equality to all while upholding difference principle for differentiated actions.



Que.5(c)

What do you understand by 'Differentiated citizenship'? (10 Marks)

Citizenship as a political concept gained prominence with Aristotle's theory of citizenship. Aristotle, based on natural inequality of individuals, categorised these as citizens who participated in deliberative actions.

This differentiation laid basis for dividing citizenship than providing to all. Women and other vulnerable sections lacked the authority to be called as equal citizens.

The lack of participation in public spheres led feminists to opine how the state appears male. The policies of state were made from masculinist perspective and not from an inclusive angle.

Inis M Young, thereby, argues



for differentiated citizenship where the historically vulnerable sections, such as women, should be provided with policies, such as affirmative actions, representation at legislatures, seats reserved at trains, to provide them equal ~~ed~~ equity in matters of citizenship.

The concept of differentiated citizenship coincides with the Rawls's concept of difference principle where if one can divert from formulated principles if it brings benefit to the least advantaged sections.

Hence, differentiated citizenship is based on categorical imperative of Kant's human dignity where each citizen should be treated as end in itself than means.



Que.5(d)

Compare Austin's theory of Sovereignty with that of Pluralists (10 Marks)

Sovereignty is a political concept that deals with power to make decisions.

Sovereignty originated along with idea of nation states in 19th century. ~~The~~ Austin's theory of sovereignty (19th cen), provided for a monistic theory where the power to make decisions lied solely in hands of state / sovereign.

Hobbes, in Leviathan, provided for monistic sovereignty where all laws were under sovereign and the sovereign was supreme. An individual had liberty wherever the law was silent.

This ^{concept of} sovereignty aimed to provide stability and integrity to nation.

However, with sovereign



overstretching 'itself', in 20th century, scholars such as Laski provided for pluralist theory of sovereignty where the power was distributed among various groups than sole sovereign.

Robert Dahl, pioneered the work "Who Governs", to show how the pressure groups held considerable weightage in exercise of powers in day-to-day activities.

Sovereignty in pluralist sense derived that since the society is federal, sovereignty should also be federal.

Sovereignty is a evolving concept. The forces of globalisation and neo-liberalisation open new faces as to who and how much sovereignty should be exercised.



Que.5(e)

Write a short note on 'Legitimation crisis'. (10 Marks)

Legitimacy are the orders that convert power into authority. It provides the authority the right to govern.

Jurgen Habermas, in "Legitimation crisis", analysed the working of capitalist societies on how legitimacy works. He concluded that these countries, at some point of time, suffer from crisis tendencies.

He shows that these tendencies emerge from the fact that these societies are capitalist / liberal in economic structure while follow socialism or pro poor policies in political structure.

Habermas shows that the political parties contest elections to gain the trust of voters.

The voters give power to those whose



manifesto gives them highest satisfaction.

The state, in order to maintain its legitimacy, provides policies such as subsidies, waivers, others that leads to deficit in long run. The market model of economy also fails to take optimum advantage of private sector.

Eventually when states fail to ~~provide~~ address the growing demands of its citizens, it faces crisis in legitimacy.

The legitimisation crisis was also significant to study the independence movements of the third world. When the imperial powers reached highest crisis, it led to fall of legitimacy and thereby the decolonisation in societies.



Que.6(a)

'Equality of what'? ...This question has provided a momentum from procedural equality to a substantive notion of equality. Elaborate. (20 Marks)

Equality is a sovereign virtue. It refers to ~~the concept of~~ treatment of all as equal and identifying their moral worth.

Equality of what has led to creation of debate on idea of ~~political~~ ^{equality}. The procedural equality emanates from liberal conception where all are treated equally, on worth of being created equally.

This stands for equality of opportunity to all individuals irrespective of any differences. Further, procedural equality seeks to provide equality before law. All are seen equal in eyes of law.

Equality as a principle finds mention in Article 14 of Indian constitution that provides



equality before law.

John Locke provided natural rights equally to all. Further, he argued that equality as a principle gives equal treatment under social contract.

With advent of worker movements and growing inequalities in society, equality saw changes to substantive equality.

Substantive equality upholds empowerment than mere treatment as equals. It provides for equality of outcomes. This idea of equality is influenced by socialists who wanted to create a society of equals in absolute sense than proportionate sense (liberals).

Substantive equality was shown by Dworkin's



idea of equality of resources. He considered auction as a means to provide equal distribution of resources while using an envy test.

Dworkin conceived that procedural equality fails to provide a level playing field to all. In such instance, state should provide extra (clamps) efforts to make those with brute luck at par with others to make a fruitful choice.

On the idea of equal outcomes, Amartya Sen, using Raoul's social concept of justice, advocates for equality of capabilities. He argued that individuals are not equal in exercising the capabilities even if they are provided ~~free~~ fair resource redistribution.

Hence, state should try to make efforts to provide equal



Capability to all. For instance, PM Kaushal Vikas Yojana provides skill development to the youth for their use of resources to come at par with others. This ensures equal level of development for all.

Equality and liberty comes as two sides of one coin. To exercise equality, Amartya Sen advocates for development as freedom. Freedom to enhance one's capabilities and participate in level playing field.

With globalisation and liberalisation equality becomes a significant concept to aid not only citizens but also nations to aim for autonomous development while removing the graded inequalities in the societies.



Que.6(b)

Critically analyze Bhiku Parekh's criticism of Will Kymlicka's notion of multiculturalism. How feminists look at multiculturalism? (15 Marks)

Lord Acton states that a state can be judged with amount of freedom enjoyed by the minorities in state. Multiculturalism is a debate on cultural rights of minorities.

Multiculturalism deals with provision of basic cultural rights to minorities in face of majoritarian culture. Will Kymlicka in "Multicultural citizenship", provides for minority rights in liberal societies. He shows that the liberal societies should practice tolerance and provide some group differentiated rights. These rights can include general rights as well as poly ethnic rights.

The minorities should be provided with rights to representation in political sphere, voting



rights and religious rights.

But Kymlicka argues that these rights should be provided only to national minorities and not to immigrants, for the immigrants enter the majoritarian culture out of choice.

Bhikhu Parekh,

contests the idea of provision of rights to national minorities only. In his work "Towards Multiculturalism", he says how culture is part and parcel of a personality. Culture is embedded in an individual.

Further, the State should make no discrimination between national minorities and immigrants while providing rights. He talks about how the post colonial states are multicultural in nature with transition in picture (prismatic



societies). Hence, it becomes evident to treat all cultures equally in ~~not~~ claiming rights.

Feminists argue against the cultural relativism of multiculturalists.

They argue that women have been treated inferior all around the world, whether it is abortion laws in USA or burkha in Iran. All cultures treat women as a second sex (Kate Millet).

Hence, there should be a universal conception of rights that should treat women at par with other sex.

Hence, multiculturalism deals with a broad choice while providing rights to all. Moreover, multiculturalism faces value conflict in its implementation.

However, multiculturalism is indeed a solution to prevent any eurocentric model and give each their own way of life.



Que.6(c)

Explain Isaiah Berlin's two concepts of freedom with reference to his theory of value pluralism? (15 Marks)

Freedom is a political concept that originated since evolution of mankind. Different interpretations of freedom has made it a contested concept.

Isaiah Berlin's seminal work, "Two Concepts of Liberty", seeks to analyse the ~~the~~bate between positive and negative freedom.

The idea of negative liberty was propounded by liberal scholars who believed that individual is rational. Because of this rationality, he knows what is best for himself and hence should not be interfered with his freedom.

Proponents of negative liberty such as Adam Smith believed that state should not interfere in rights and liberties of individual.



John Locke, giving his idea of negative liberty, provided natural rights to the individual which are inalienable. J S Mill, also, writes that "all restraints are qua restraints". He even symbolises freedom of speech and expression as highest liberty.

Due to criticisms from socialism and growing inequalities in society, the concept of poor positive liberty originated.

The idea of positive liberty enhances the power of state to hinder the hindrances in path of individual. Scholars like Laski judge state on amount of rights and freedom enjoyed by an individual.

Positive liberals see state as a virtue than necessary evil (negative liberty) to enhance freedom of individual. T H Green writes human consciousness



demands liberty, liberty demands rights and rights demand state.

Berlin, though being proponent of negative liberty, advocates concept of value pluralism. Criticising Rawls for providing a lexical order, Berlin argues that the values are incommensurable and relative to oneself.

Using hypothetical example of monk and nun, each can have varied interpretations towards values. There should be advocacy of tolerance in societies to enhance value pluralism than value monism.

Berlin argues that the choice between values is always a hard choice for the state. However, the freedom should never be restricted. As Mill says, the state that limits freedom, dwarfs its own progress.



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Que.7(a)

Freedom is both the primary end *and* the principal means of development. In context of the given statement, discuss how Amartya Sen makes a philosophical case that freedom-centered development can create a better society and economy? (20 Marks)



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Que.7(b)

"One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman." (Simone de Beauvoir). Comment. (15 Marks)



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Que.7(c)

"Right is prior to good". Critically examine. (15 Marks)



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Que.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)



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Que.8(b)

What do you understand by 'Affirmative action'? What could be the limitations of affirmative action? (15 Marks)



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Que.8(c)

The path and judicious ways shown by Sir Syed are still relevant for the new generation. Discuss. (15 Marks)



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Space for Rough Work



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Space for Rough Work

