



SHUBHRA RANJAN

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Political Science & International Relations

PSIR Mains Test Series - 2024

Test 1

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name

DAMANPREET ARORA

Test Date

21.07.2024

Email Address

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						

For any issue related to PSIR Test Series, write only at
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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...!!!



ue.1 (a)

"The history of Political theory is written in the light of the hypothesis that theories of politics are themselves a part of Politics"
Sabine. (10 Marks)

Political theory has seen wide transformations from the times when Politics was seen complementary to Ethics (Plato and Mahatma Gandhi) to the times when Machiavelli separated Ethics from the world of Politics ('The Prince').

Thus Sabine was right when he concluded that hypothesis of theories of politics are themselves part of politics and even called Machiavelli as 'narrowly dated and limited' in history.

However, there are various approaches to study Political theory which helps us understand history of political theory, they are the functional and



Contextual approaches.

While Textual approaches propounded by Leo Trauss talks about literal interpretation of Text and reading it again and again. Contextual approach on the other hand talks about understanding content for (eg) John Locke's ~~pessimistic~~ ^{optimistic} attitude could be due to Gloucester Revolution 1688, however Thomas Hobbes pessimistic attitude (indeterminism) could be due to Puritan Revolution (1641).

Thus, it is no wrong to say that history of political theory was a debated ~~the~~ issue and themselves got involved into Politics as also seen when there was rift between Traditionalists, Behaviouralists and Post Behaviouralists.



Q.1(b)

Social contract theory of the origin of the state is bad history, bad logic and bad philosophy. (10 Marks)

Social contract theory in political science has been associated with scholars like Thomas Hobbes ('Leviathan'), John Locke ('Two Treatises of Government'), Rousseau ('Social Contract'), who describe Social Contract as a hypothetical situation where people are in the 'state of nature'.

However, Evolutionists like Mc Iner rejected Social Contractors and believed the state is the Evolutionary contract and 'common sense' rooted in the needs of man, just like what Aristotle propounded in Ancient Greece.

They criticized it as bad logic



Man cannot be isolated from 'Social setting' (communitarian view).

Man is a situated being and he discerns his end rather than choosing it (held that Michael Sandel in 'liberalism and limits to Justice').

Hume, classical liberals like Hobbes considered rights in state of nature as 'powers' and a contract needed because without it life of man would be 'Nasty, poor, Brutish and short'.

This explains that although criticized as a bad philosophy but liberals like J. S. Mills were not entirely wrong as he went on to the extent of 'Two contracts' and civil society and state.



e.1(c)

"Power is not the property of an individual, it corresponds to human activities not just to act, but to act in concert" - Hannah Arendt.

(10 Marks)

Hannah Arendt, a sold was Intellectual was the most original and profound thinker of liberal Republican tradition, and gave the most "Unconventional view of Power", based on Phenomenological view.

She described power as belonging to the concept of 'Political Sphere' in her book "On Violence", where she compares it to Action (Vita Activa) as separated from thinking (Vita Contemplativa).

She goes on to say that the power does not belong to private sphere (Oikos) but belong to public sphere (Polis) where the people Act in concert as 'Zoon Politikon'



as opposed to Animal Laborer and Homo Faber.

She says in her book "Begin of totalitarianism" that in the present times man have become "superfluous" where they have lost the capacity to think (eg) Plathras Limpede Case and man being illusioned by the power of "Controlling Minds of People".

Hence, she suggests Power as "Qui Generis" and differentiates it from Violence (belonging to state), Force (belonging to state of nature) and Strength (belonging to a person). Thus 'Power' liberates Man in true sense where he can differentiate himself and build his own Identity.



a.1(d)

Rights as Trumps. (10 Marks)

'Deserlain' described Rights as Trumps and the most powerful idea of our times (liberal view).

They are described as the foundation of the Classical Liberalism where Rights are not rights but the means to achieve high Goals in life. Classical liberals like ~~Adam Smith~~ John Locke, Thomas Paine calls them as Natural Rights with their origin in man's 'reason', the Ability to be rational.

Similarly, they are described as the '1st virtue' by Neo liberals like Adam Smith, Hayek, Robert Nozick in book (Anarchy State and Utopia by Robert Nozick) where they even go



to the extent of sacrificing State for
the sake of liberty where liberty
comes with the exercise.

In Modern context, the idea
took shape after further abstractions on
Terms and led to idea of Universal
Human Rights having values of Equality,
Universality, Indivisibility, Permanence
and Inalienability leading to Universal
Declaration of Human Rights adoption on
10th December 1948.

Hume, Functional theory of
rights and Positivists like Rawls
described it as a function of duty where
he says "Rights are those conditions of
social life without which no man
can expect to live it as best"



a.1(e)

"The end of Ideology was itself a key expression of the Ideology of time and space in which it came across" Alasdair Macintyre.

(10 Marks)

Alasdair Macintyre offered a critique to the 'end of Ideology' thesis in consonance with other scholars like Samuel P. Huntington (book 'Clash of Civilizations') and Faiz Zakaria.

This was due to the kind of inherent debate among the scholars since the times of Hegel and Karl Marx who described the 'end of History' through the concepts such as Dialectics of idea and matter where unity of opposites, negation of negation, Quality changes into Quantity leads to 'end of History', where man's alienation ends.

Hence, Neither German State nor



Somit Empire was end of History •

This was earlier forwarded by
Alexander Kojene who described End
of History as Man will ultimately come
under one Religion •

Marx theories became basis for
'End of Ideology' where Francis Fukuyama
in book 'End of History and Last Man'
described Liberalism as the end point of
man's Ideological evolution ; this made
Scholars like Samuel P. Huntington,
Alas MacIntyre skeptical and hence gave
example of 'Clash of Civilisations' as what
matters.

Alas MacIntyre held that 'End of Ideology' is itself an Ideology, and
remains the Greatest Fiction of our times.



.2(a)

What do you understand by the decline of political theory? Explain the arguments proposed to establish the decline of political theory (20 Marks)

David Easton in his book "Political System" gave the Behavioural and Scientific conception and mould to Political theory, where he held that Traditionalists like Lehman, Dunning are responsible for the decline of Political theory. Robert Dahl however went to the extent of calling it a "Death of Political theory".

Thus, A decline in Political theory meant when Traditionalists had nothing to offer in the later aftermath of war and suffered "Crisis of relevance" not only once but twice which basically shaped the traditionalism as thesis, Behaviouralism as Antithesis and



Post Behaviouralism as Synthesis.

There were various arguments proposed to establish decline of political theory, starting from Lehr Beyer who called for Facts, Facts and Facts, similarly Cambridge School scholars Catlin and Lasswell called for Scientific Process for understanding Political theory.

This also set the context - when David Easton's gave 8 principles of Behaviouralism like Relevance, Systemisation, Techniques, Value Free approach, Methodology etc to establish the relevance of Scientific and Structuralism explaining the need for Behaviouralism and move away from Philosophy, Law to



Economy, Psychology and Sociology

However, when during the Second World War, when Behavioural Scientists were not called to address the Global issues in 1960s, it again put question mark on the relevance of Political theory.

David Easton thus then blamed Scientists sitting in 'Ivory Towers' preparing 'Arm Chair theories' and having nothing to offer in the most fertile times, which is the time of crisis.

This made him give the lecture 'The Crisis of Relevance' and called for Post Behaviouralism based on both 'Action and Relevance' and called the duty of a Political Scientist as much more important than a Scientist in Laboratory.



Thus, it was further propounded by Robert Dahl who called for ending the Fact-Value Dichotomy where both are complementary in this present context, this same aligns with the idea of 'Value Pluralism' where not one, but many concurrent values are needed in the Political Science field.

Further, although suffering from Crisis of Relevance and Decline, Political Science is the most evolving frontier with various approaches like Structural functionalism [Gabriel Almond], Political Modernisation, developmental approach, all these are based on the Scientificism, Traditional and Post Behavioural methodologies.



e.2(b)

Critically examine Hobbes's methodology to study political science. Compare it with Machiavelli's Methodology. (15 Marks)

While Machiavelli is called as the Galileo of Political Science, Hobbes is called as the Newton, where Thomas Hobbes through his book 'The Leviathan' has given the modern concept of theory of sovereignty.

This is the reason why Machiavelli was called as Non medieval and not modern thinker because Machiavelli in his 'The Prince' separated Church and Politics but did not give the theory of sovereignty, which was given for first time by Thomas Hobbes.

Thomas Hobbes methodology to study Political Science was inspired by the Newton Revolution 1641 in which he



developed a less optimistic view of nature, where Man in State of Nature has all rights but no security of life, and life of man thus without a state is Nasty, Poor, Brutish and Short (Legalistic View of Sovereignty) and even went to the extent of saying that 'Liberty is when law is silent'², thus giving Monistic theory of Sovereignty, saying 'Law is the Command of the Sovereign'².

Hobbes, Machiavelli preferred to rule through 'the beast'² who represents the idea of Fox and Lion² at the same time and called Human Nature of man as selfish, Fickle minded and Avaricious, where Ruling by Iron Hand



is what is required as use of Hard Power for people who can easily forget the loss of his father, rather than patronage.

Thus, Machiavelli through his book "Discourses" also called for Republican form of Government but only where people have 'Virtues' and invented the concept of 'Dual Morality', separating Ethics and Policy.

Although Machiavelli and Hobbes separated in Time and Space, but believed in Authority with the Sovereign, while Machiavelli talked of Authoritarianism more an Expansionist foreign Policy, Hobbes on the other hand valued 'Right to Life' of a man where he surrenders all his rights to the state except for Right to Life.



Que.2(c)

"The Fundamental sense of freedom is freedom from chains, from imprisonment, from enslavement by others. The rest is an extension of this sense or else metaphor." Isaiah Berlin. Explain with contemporary examples. (15 Marks)

The Concept of Freedom in Political theory has been the reason for debates for centuries for example, while classical liberals sacrifice equality for the sake of freedom and liberty, the socialists however sacrifice freedom for the sake of equality and dignity. While Idealists sacrifice Man for the sake of state, the social and positive liberals try to achieve a balance between the competing claims of liberty, freedom, state and individual.

Isaiah Berlin thus belongs to the positive liberalism tradition and describes freedom as 'Freedom for Man' and



the complete freedom to think, speak, live and coincides with the idea of Freedom from basic necessities along with Positive Freedom notion of Marxists.

Freedom from Chains is also explained by Rousseau in his book 'Social Contract', in which he describes 'man is free but he is everywhere in chains', which means thinking man is a deformed animal while originally man was a noble savage, which mean science taught man how to differentiate with ment and thine. For example, today we are caught by 'Data Colonialism', 'Doom Drilling' and social Engineering by politicians.

Freedom from Enslavement by others could also be explained by



the fact that man has become now
a 'cog in the wheel' which Karl Marx
in his 'Economic and Philosophy
Manuscripts' describes in the form of
Alienation from means of production,
process of production, from family
and ultimately from oneself.

In contemporary times it
can better be understood as the
chain of 'thought control process' (also
explained by Hannah Arendt in
Origins of Totalitarianism) for (eg)
Assassination attempt on Presidential
Candidate of USA, Donald Trump by
20 year old Boy, due to brain wash
and mind wash. Thus 'Freedom' is
'Freedom' when balanced with 'Rationality'.



ie.3(a)

Liberalism is not a fixed mode of thought but an intellectual movement. Explain. (20 Marks)

Liberalism as an Ideology evolved since the emergence of Classical Liberalism where thinkers like Thomas Hobbes, John Locke called for 'Liberty of man' as opposed to Idealists who gave ~~power~~ primacy to State over Man [Plato, Aristotle]

As an Intellectual Movement, Liberalism has the Value of Liberty at its core while some scholars of Social Liberalism and Liberal Egalitarianism believe that the value of 'toleration' should be the core of the Intellectual Movement.

While Classical Liberals like Thomas Hobbes, John Locke called for rights of individuals like Right to



Life by ~~John~~ Thomas Hobbes, Right to Property by John Locke, the core idea of Right to Freedom of Speech and Expression was given by J. S Mill (father of Liberalism) who called it as most important right saying that "All silencing the opinion is an assumption of Infallibility"²².

Thus with J. S Mill started the idea of Positive Liberalism when he called for 'No Law, No Liberty' as opposed to Thomas Hobbes Leviathan who held that 'Liberty is where law is silent' (Negative Liberty).

Now, the idea of Popular



Sovereignty aligned with Rousseau who was also the positive liberal and valued state as a source of Bliss.

The main concept of Positive Liberalism same with T.H Green [father of Positive Liberalism] who described "Will not force as the basis of state" in his 'Principles of Political Obligation' thus appealing to the Intellectual rising of man.

T.H Green held that "Liberty involves rights and rights demand state", giving the idea that Positive Liberalism where liberty is protected by state, which is opposed to the idea of Neoliberal like Adam Smith, Hayek ('Constitution of Liberty'), Robert Nozick (Anarchy, State



and Utopia who considered 'Market'² as God and Liberalism ensured by market and reduced state to the Night watchman 'laissez faire State'² where Progressive Taxation is a bonded labour and State is a necessary evil [Adam Smith].

However, the open point in the Intellectual Tradition came with the evolution of Liberal Egalitarianism and moral Individualism of John Rawls and Immanuel Kant respectively where they tried to achieve a balance between liberty, equality through Justice Approach and Principles of Affirmative Action.

Thus, A conclusion was given by Amartya Sen who defined 'Human Capability'² as a 'Creative Freedom' [Being and Doing].



3(b)

The principles of democracy can't be divorced from the principle of equality. Comment. (15 Marks)

Mahatma Gandhi [the propounder of 'Organic circles of Power'] held that

" I understand democracy as something which gives the weak the same power as the strong ".

The above lines show that Democracy can't be divorced from Equality, where Dr B.R Ambedkar held that 'One Person, One Vote' is not complete without 'One Person, One Vote, ONE VALUE', meaning Political democracy without social and Economic democracy carry no meaning.

Thus, Democracy which is considered in various terms as a reform



of government, but in modern terms
broader term it is considered as the
way of life.

Equality on the other hand comprises
of Equality of opportunity, Equality
before law [liberal principles] and
Equality of Outcomes [socialist principles],
which makes People as one, this
was earlier not supported by
Scholar like J.S Mill whom Macpherson
(Libertarian) calls as hephet of
Empty Liberty and Scholar of Abstract
Individualism.

This is so because J.S Mill
was fearful of liberty and Democracy
and preferable only where people
have virtues (eg) he suggested for



Benevolent Disposition and Values Setting first before introduction of Democracy.

This was opposed by J.L. Nehru and M.K. Gandhi when they held that if people cannot come at Democracy, we can bring Democracy at their doorsteps, thus Democracy - Equality debate got strengthened when India introduced Universal Adult Suffrage [Article 325] right from Day 1 of constitution coming to force [Indian Exceptionalism].

However, it is to be noted that Democracy is not just about Equality it is also about 'Argument', Participation and Deliberation and thus Radical Democrats like Habermas call for 'Ideal Speech Situation, Public Sphere and Communicative Action' for Democracy to succeed.



Que.3(c)

"Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinct feature: it has simplified class antagonisms" Marx. Critically examine. (15 Marks)

Karl Marx, who was propounded as God by his followers called Marcus as 'Marxism' (scientific explanation of Ideology) through the explanation of history as history of class struggle.

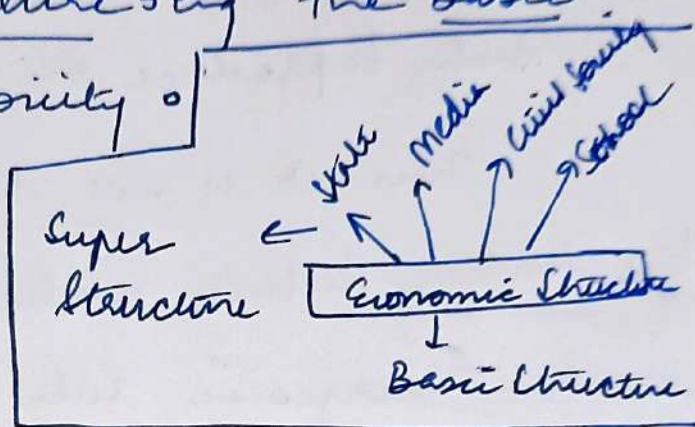
'the history of all hitherto existing societies has been the class struggle, where once classes end, class struggle ends and History Ends'.

thus, he explains class struggle as a moving force of history where the Capitalists Class [Exploiter and hectorinary class - haves] have exploited the worker class [Have notes]



is the name of 'Surplus Value' with
Economic Structure being the basic
structure of society .

~~the~~ This explains,
the ruling class
who control the



basic structure , control all the elements
of Super Structure [the bourgeoisie] and
they maintain control over the means of
production and forces of production .

Additionally , he blames Idealists
like Plato , Aristotle , Hegel for justifying
Ruling Class theory (Myth of Metals by Plato)
and it is not Idea , but material which
is the ruling force of history .

For example he says that



"In order to live men have to eat,
In order to eat, one has to produce,
In order to produce one has to work."

Thus it is not contemplation,
but matter which matters the most,
but the Bourgeoisie rule by controlling
the proletariat and push them into

"Alienation" which he explained in his

"Economic and philosophical manuscripts."

However, we can say that
Marx wanted to give a good life
to proletariat and suggested communism
in which class struggle ends as it is
a classless society, which has worked
in current times to make capitalism
humane and continue to haunt the
capitalist.



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a.4(a)

Define Cultural relativism and compare the cultural relativist perspective of Human Rights with the universalist perspective of Human Rights. Do you think there can be a way to reconcile these two different perspectives on Human Rights? (20 Marks)

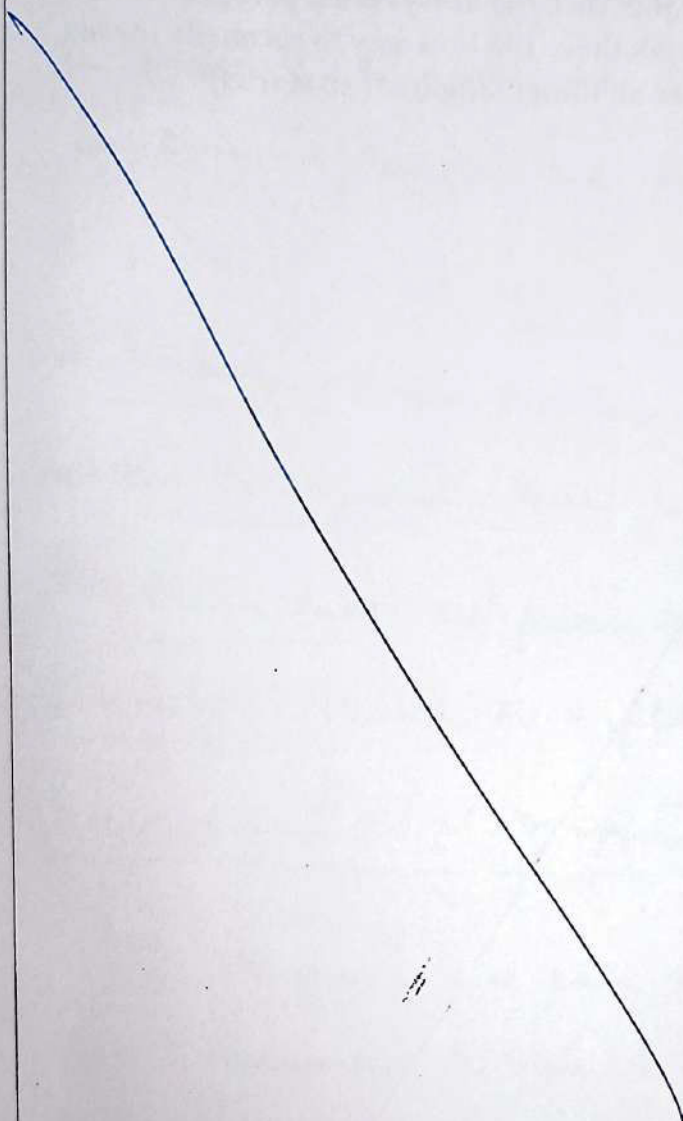


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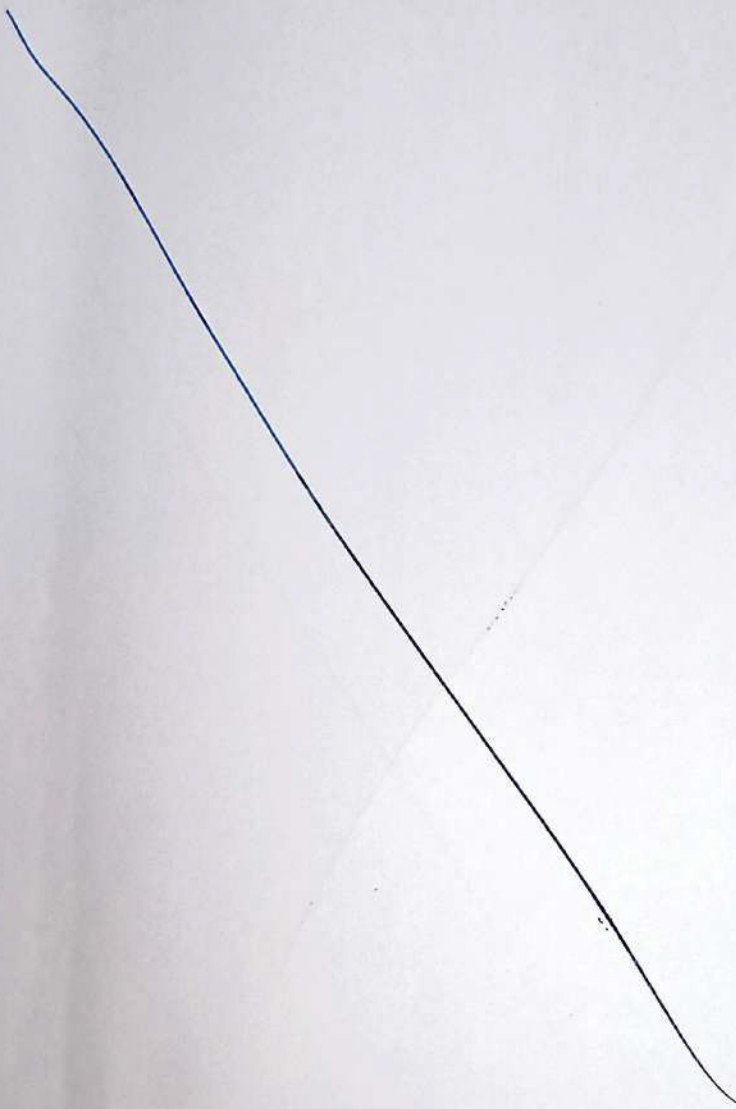


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Q.4(b)

Discuss the Rationale behind affirmative policies. Do you think that affirmative action policies with respect to women can address the disadvantages faced by them? (15 Marks)

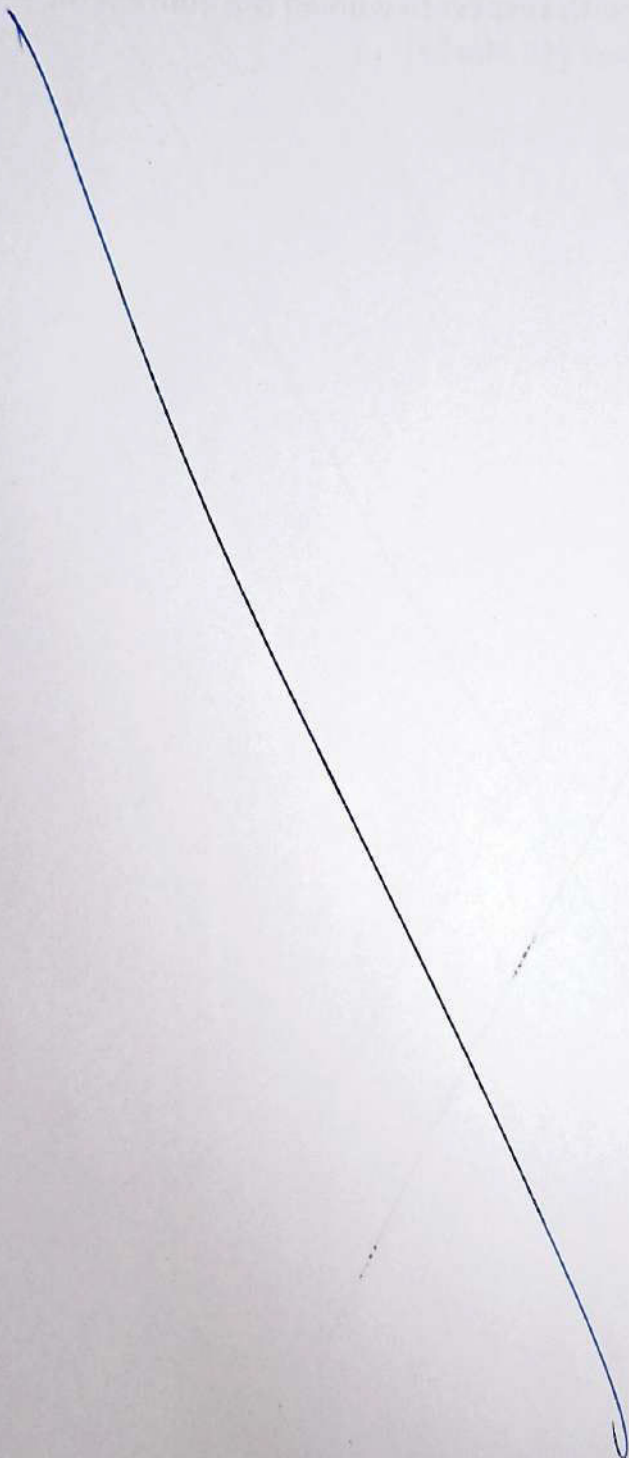


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Que.4(c)

Identify the contemporary relevance of Aurobindo Ghosh's theory of nationalism and internationalism. Observe the need for the coexistence of these two principles in the present time.

(15 Marks)

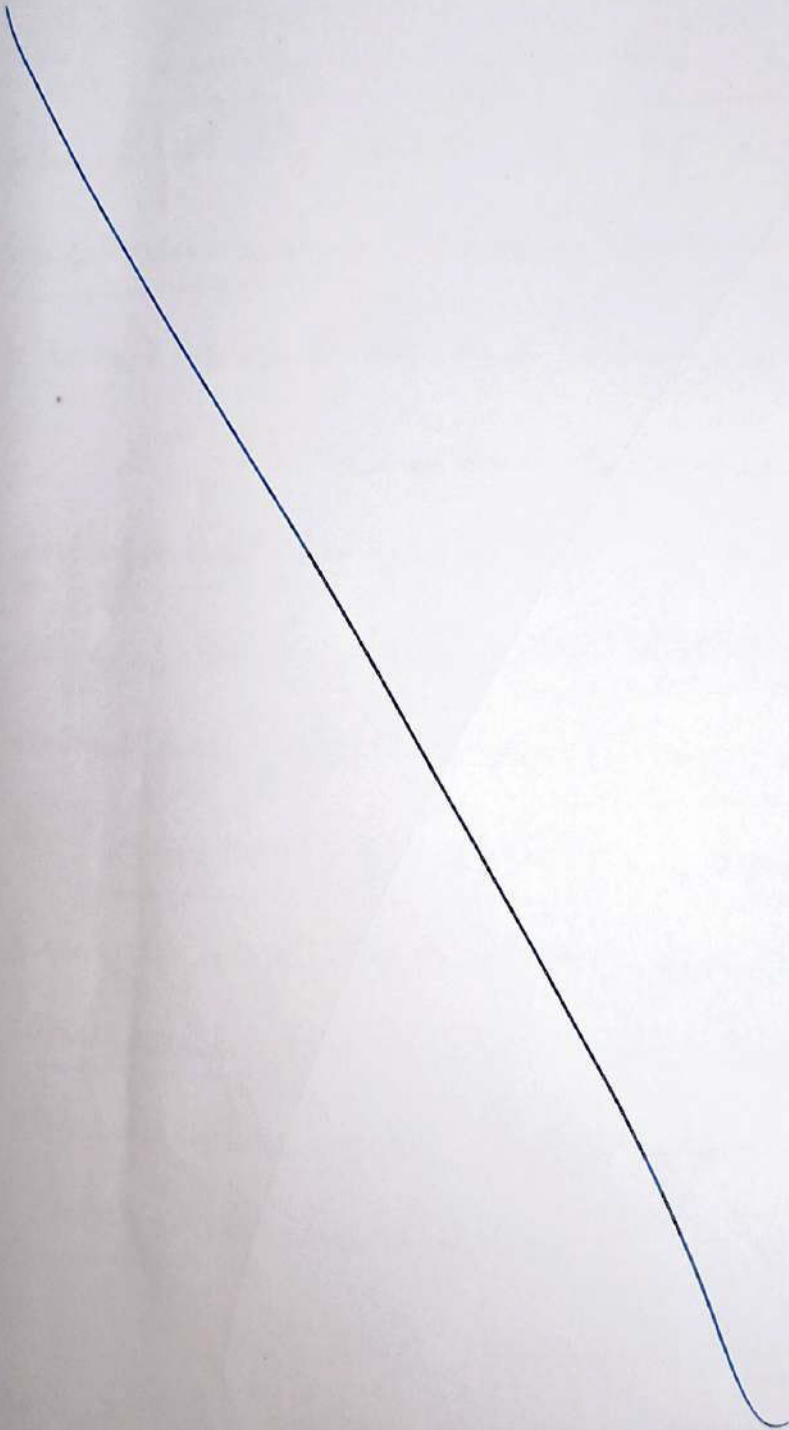


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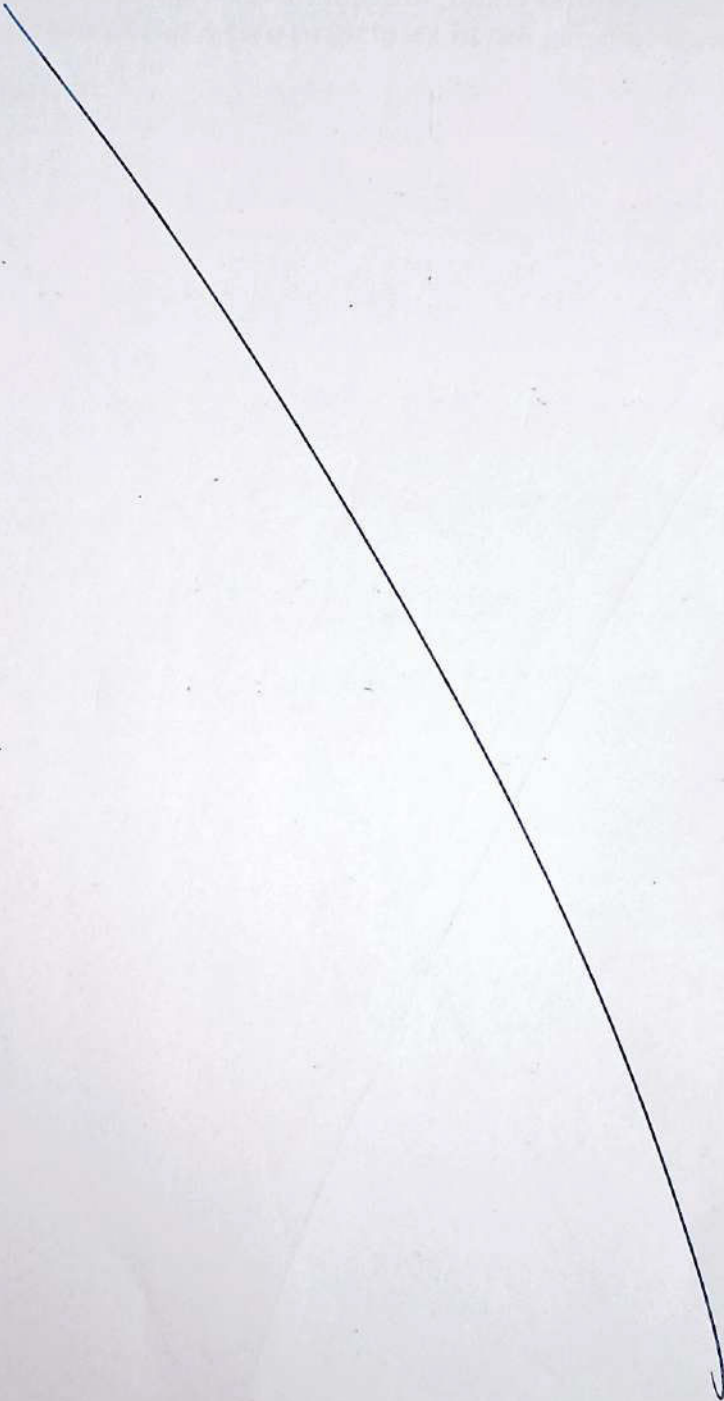


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Q.5(a)

Write a short note on the significance of Kant's categorical imperative. (10 Marks)

Immanuel Kant's Moral Individualism belated to the concept of liberal egalitarianism where 'human Dignity' is to be valued at the apex.

He gave the principle of categorical Imperative in which he argued that there are certain values which are found to be Universally true and non compromisable, non negotiable. Even a slight deviation from that universal value is not expected as it would defeat the purpose of the categorical Imperative.

One such value is Truth, Honesty, it is true because one can find honesty to be Universally applicable (eg)



Honesty is the best Policy °

Similarly the Idea of human Dignity [Moral Individualism] where no person should be seen as means to an end, as each person is an end in himself ° [similar to what Mahatma Gandhi called the purity of means) °

John Rawls took inspiration from Immanuel Kant's categorical Imperative and thus gave theory of Justice ° in which he gave the idea of Justice of Fairness ° and wanted the Idea of Justice to be Universally applicable and as the foundational principle of philosophy °

Hence, Kant's Categorical Imperative is valued as a Deontological Ethical principle.



5(b)

M.N Roy's radical Humanism is a critical reflection on the Marxist approach towards the Revolution. Comment. (10 Marks)

M.N Roy's Ideas evolved from nationalism to communism to Radical Humanism.

Karl Marx's Idea of Revolution by violent means where he said that 'there has been no birth without blood shed' to set up the proletariat rule was similar to Idea of Radical Humanism where M.N Roy called 'Cosmopolitan Union of Truly Liberated Persons' as the basis for the set up of Radical Humanism.

However, M.N Roy's ideas was in conflict with Karl Marx during the later phases when he held that



History is not the movement of class struggle, rather it is about class cooperation where he believed in 'mass resolution' rather than Individual Heroic acts, sometimes even criticizing Mahatma Gandhi for calling off non cooperation movement in 1922 after Chauri Chaura incident.

Thus, his radical humanism, influenced from Karl Marx where he focused on 'cosmopolitan Union of mankind', & inspired from Ethics of Spinoza, but at the same time criticized by Judhyta Kauraj as a 'remarkable failure' because of conflict in Ideals.

M. N Roy, however was the 1st to come up with the idea of Constituent Assembly in 1934 & calling him a failure would be a Disaster.



5(c)

"A just society is that society in which the ascending sense of reverence and descending sense of contempt is dissolved into the creation of a compassionate society- Ambedkar". Elucidate

(10 Marks)

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in his book "Annihilation of caste" called for social-indoosmosis based on the idea of social mobility for achieving a compassionate society.

The liberal Institutionalism of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar [as held by Dhananjay Keer] believed in the trust in the institutions and calling Political Revolution without social and Economic Revolution being of no value.

Thus, he wanted to dissolve the ascending sense of reverence through Democracy and 'One person, One vote, One



Value where Equality is the basis of Society as he has suffered a lot due to being born in Dalit Family and even held that 'Until we put dynamite on Vedas and Manusmriti', the Annihilation of caste is not possible.

Similarly, he wanted to dissolve the disending sense of contempt by giving voice to the voiceless based on the Idea of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity (inspired by French Revolution) where he even held that 'Even a bad constitution can be made good, if the people who function in it are good'.²

Thus, B.R Ambedkar's ideas are reflected in India's Constitution in the form of Golden Triangle → Articles 14, 19, 21.



ue.5(d)

"Truth is not outside power": Foucault". Analyse (10 Marks)

Post modernist Scholar Foucault was inspired by father of Post modernism Nietzsche who in his book Genealogy of Morals made Foucault come up with methods of Archaeology and Genealogy and thus gave 'Knowledge - Power' connection .

Foucault, when he held that Truth is not outside power showed his idea of 'Discourses' which is very similar to Thomas Kuhn idea of 'paradigms' (cf truth) .

This means that truth is constructed in such a way that it is all 'Discourse' (the way of explaining the truth), for example is medical



times, it was Christianity which appeared as Truth and established Power through Discourse, but today it is Science. Hence he held that Power, like Truth is not monofaceted, but instead emerges from anywhere, like 'Flowing through the capillaries' through our Body Politic.

Truth is not outside Power, as power represents knowledge, where power is what leads to Empowerment and criticizes Hobbes who gave Monistic theory of power, but instead he believed in Governance, Propriety, and Disciplinary Action in his book "Discipline and Punish" to make Power as common sense.



ue.5(e)

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was a visionary who carved a space for rationalist thought and gave a new direction to education. Comment.
(10 Marks)

The place of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in the muslim community is similar to that of Raja Ramm Mohan Roy among Hindu community, who is known as the father of Indian Renaissance, thus it would be no wrong to consider Sir Syed Ahmad & Khan as the liberator of muslims.

He gave the direction to Education because of his rationalist thought and wanted muslims to carry book of Quran in one hand and the book of science in other, thus promoting scientific rationality among the muslim youths.
His establishment Anglo Mohamadan



Society, first in Ghazipur, then which was later shifted to Aligarh as Aligarh Muslim University.

He came up with magazines like Tehzeeb-ul-Akhlaq, Bhagawat-e-Hind, the Loyal Mohammads of India where he in a way wanted to gain favour for Muslim education from the British Empire.

He also initially held the idea of Hindu-Muslim unity and even suggested Muslim youth to not eat beef but later due to Amakh-dh-language controversy, he became the forerunner of two nation theory which is a very revolutionised youth, but the present initiatives like Nai Manzil has been largely inspired from Aligarh Muslim



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2.6(a)

"Dharmashastras refer to the science of dharma and are a series of texts which teach the eternal immutable Dharma found in Vedas."
Discuss (20 Marks)

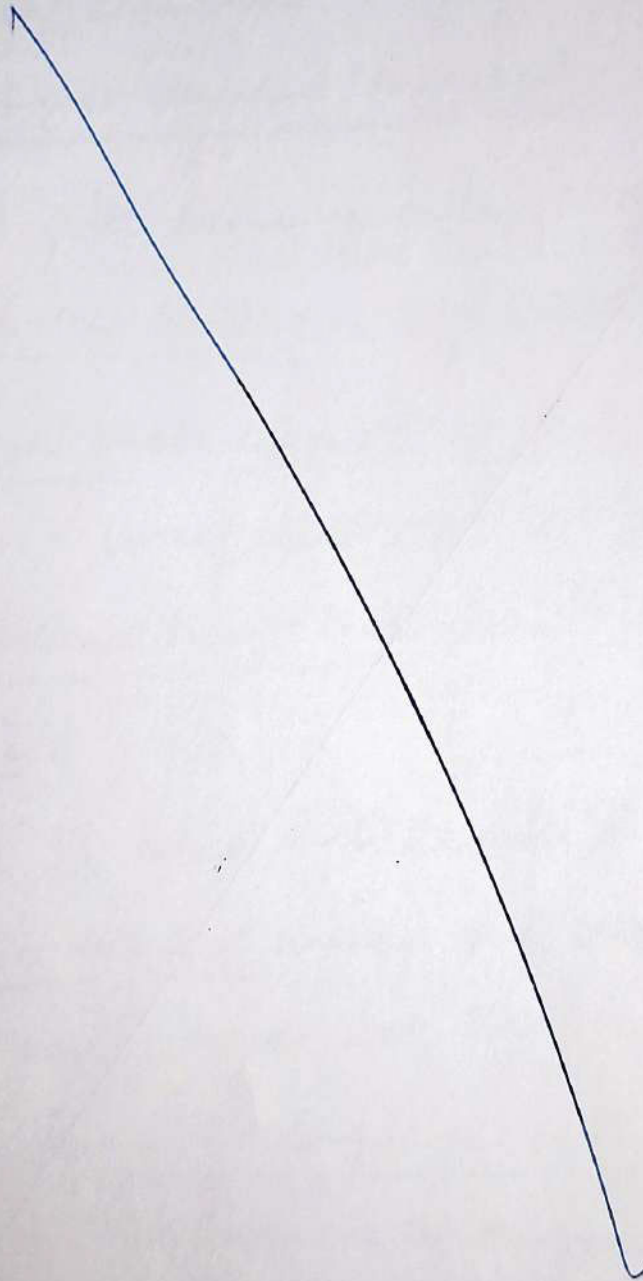


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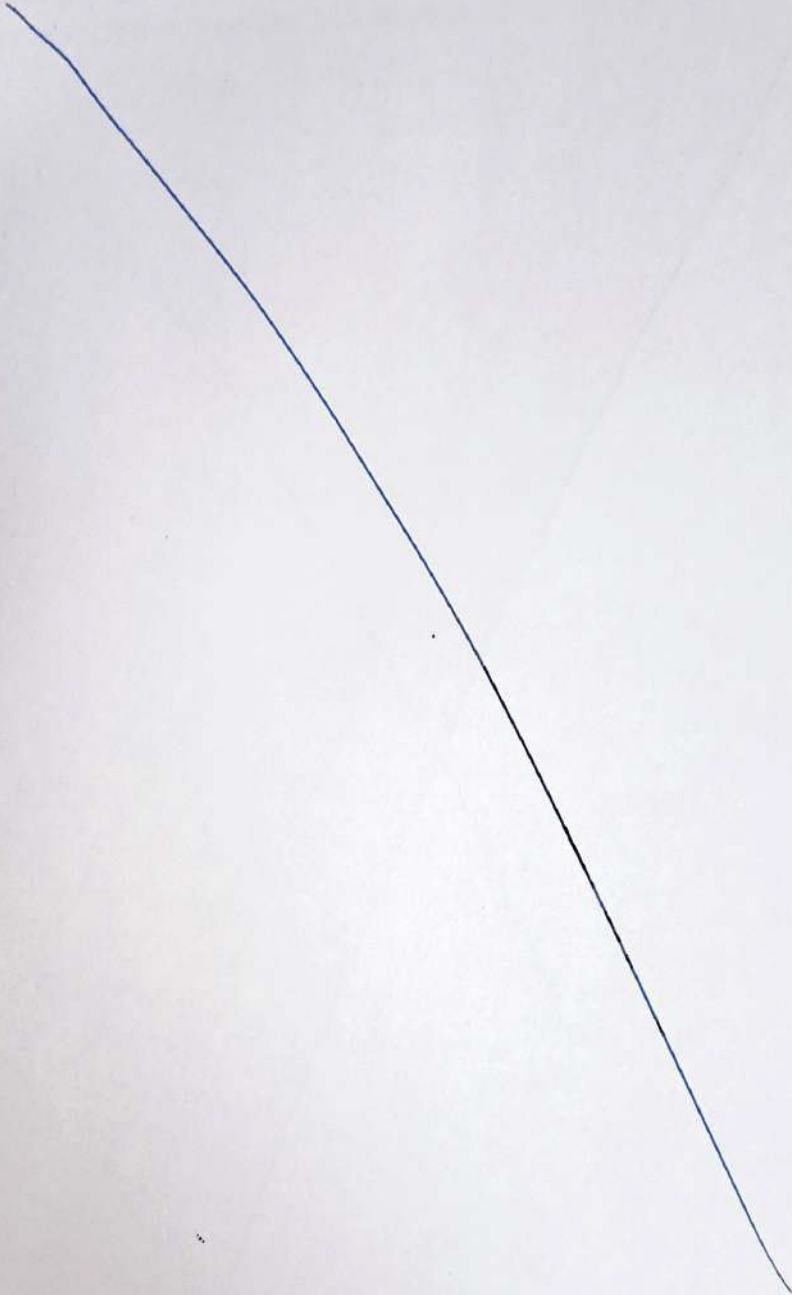


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e.6(b)

For Bhiku Parekh, multiculturalism refers not to the set of liberal policies as the liberal theory of minority rights suggests, but to a certain perspective which allows us to better understand culturally diverse societies. Explain. (15 Marks)



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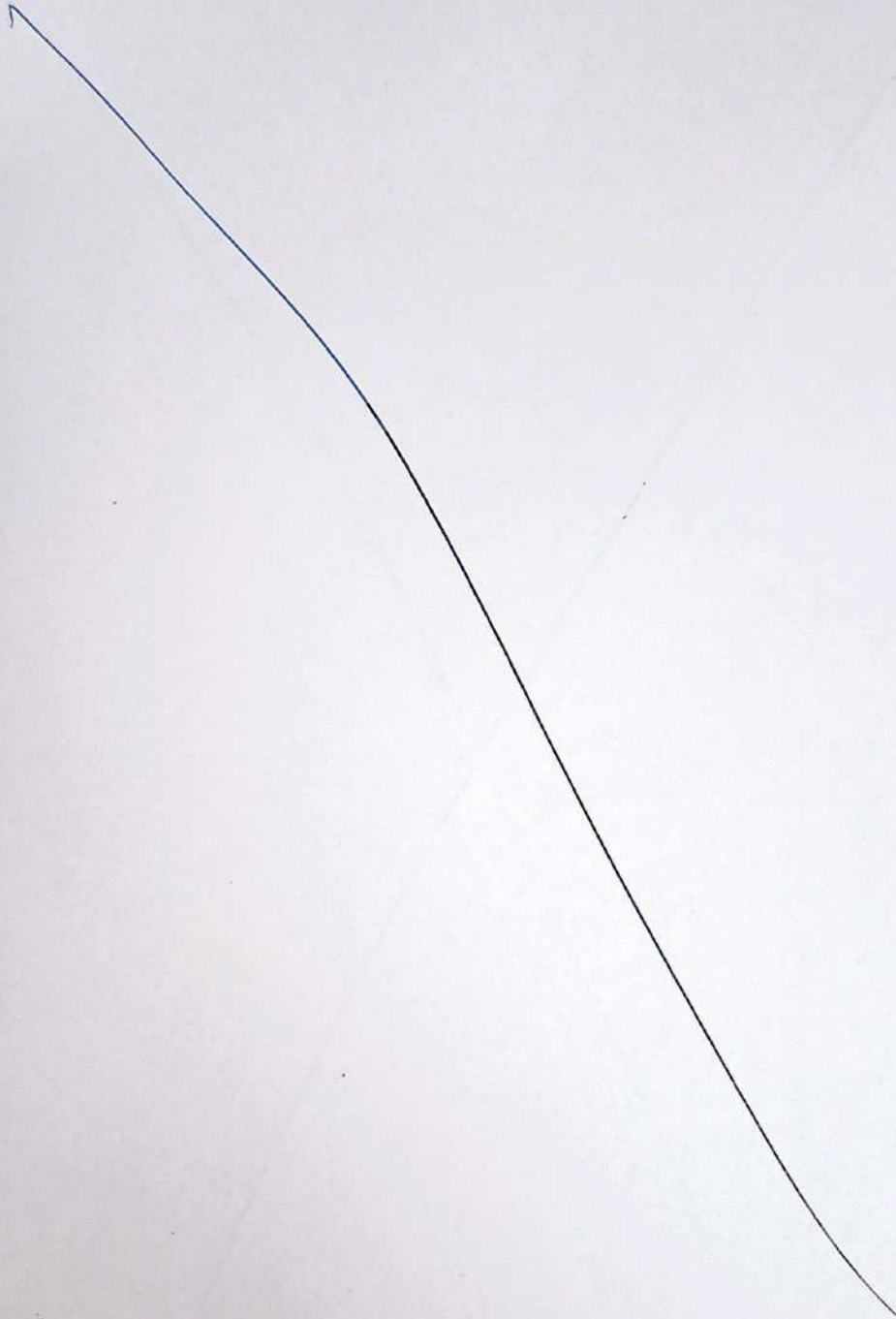


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Que.6(c)

Judith Butler believes that there are no essential qualities that define a person as belonging to a specific gender and she puts forward a more inclusive idea of feminism. Explain. (15 Marks)

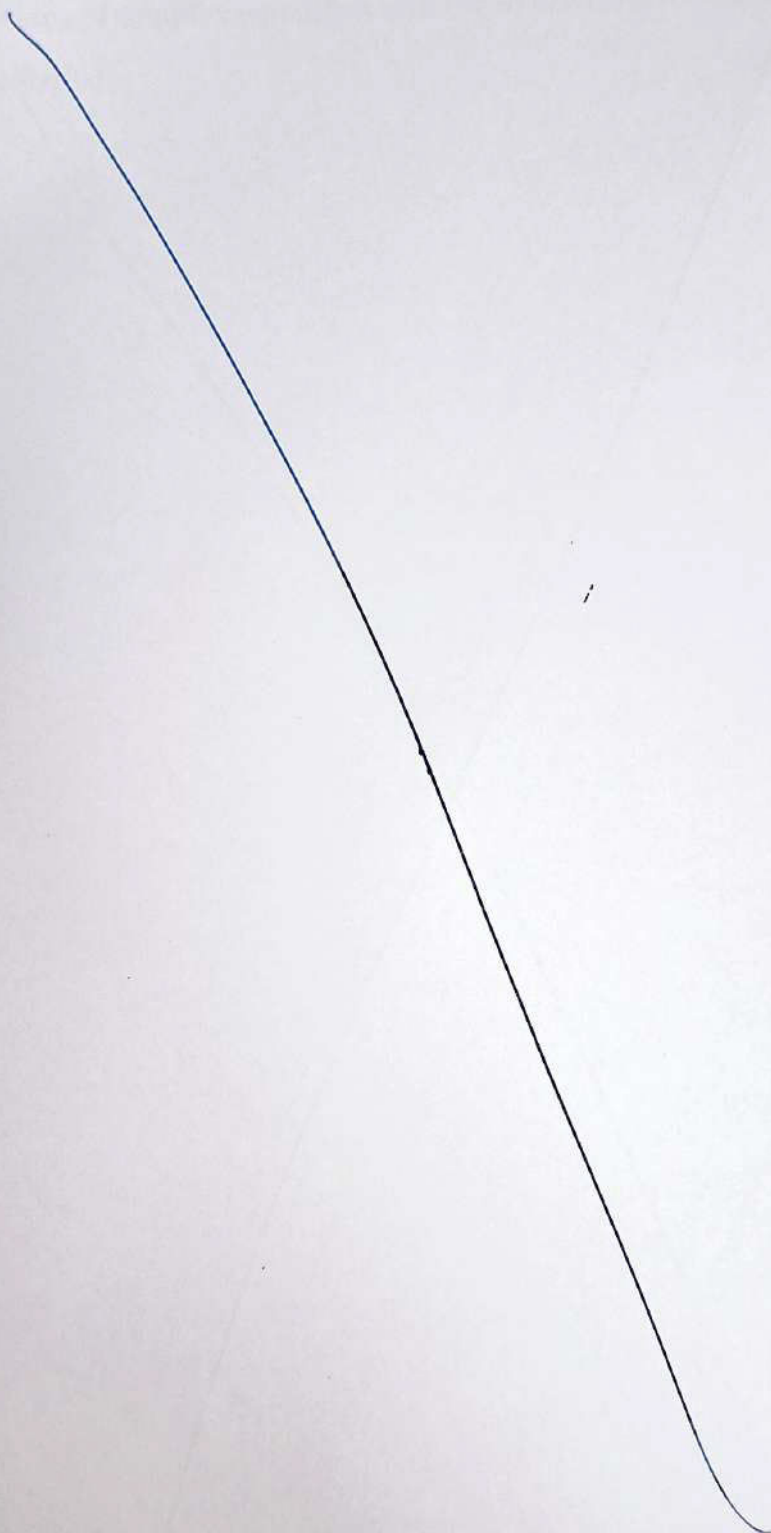


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e.7(a)

Discuss distributive equality and its different forms. In what sense is the idea of complex equality a critique of distributive equality?

(20 Marks)

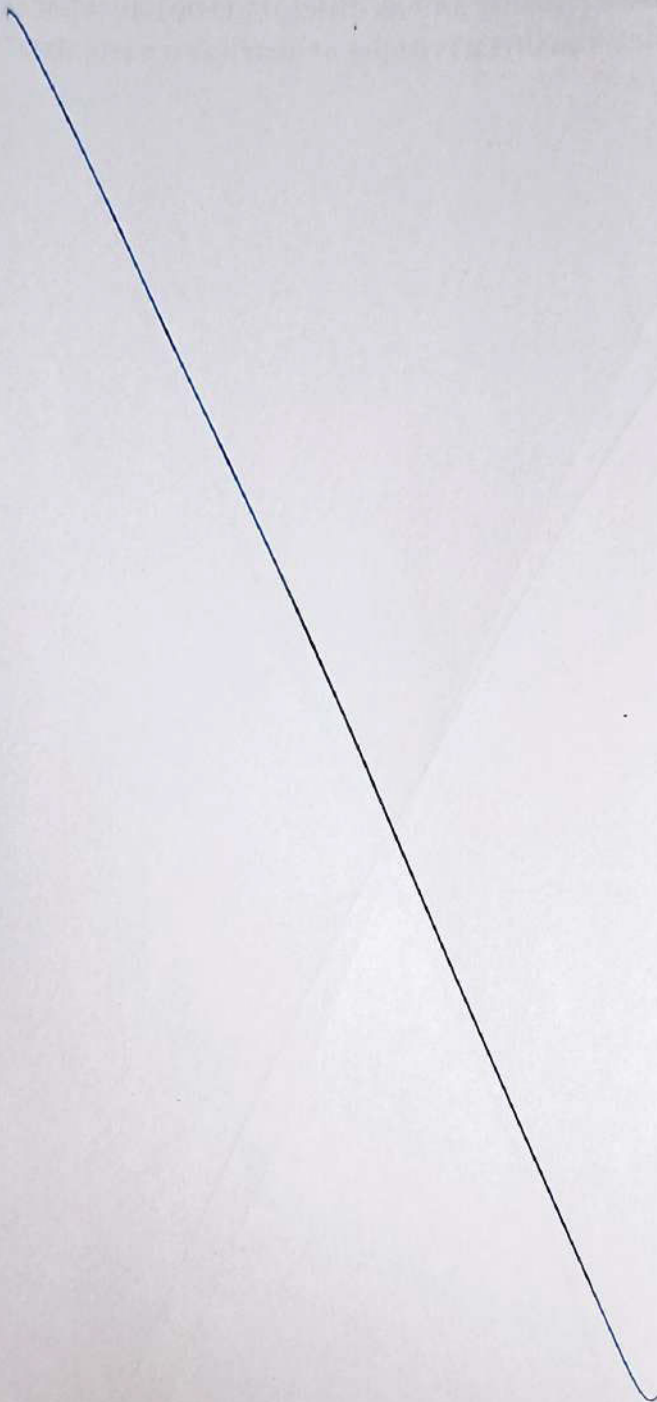


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Q.7(b)

Foucault's concept of power helps in deepening our understanding of the state in the subject of political science. Critically examine.

(15 Marks)

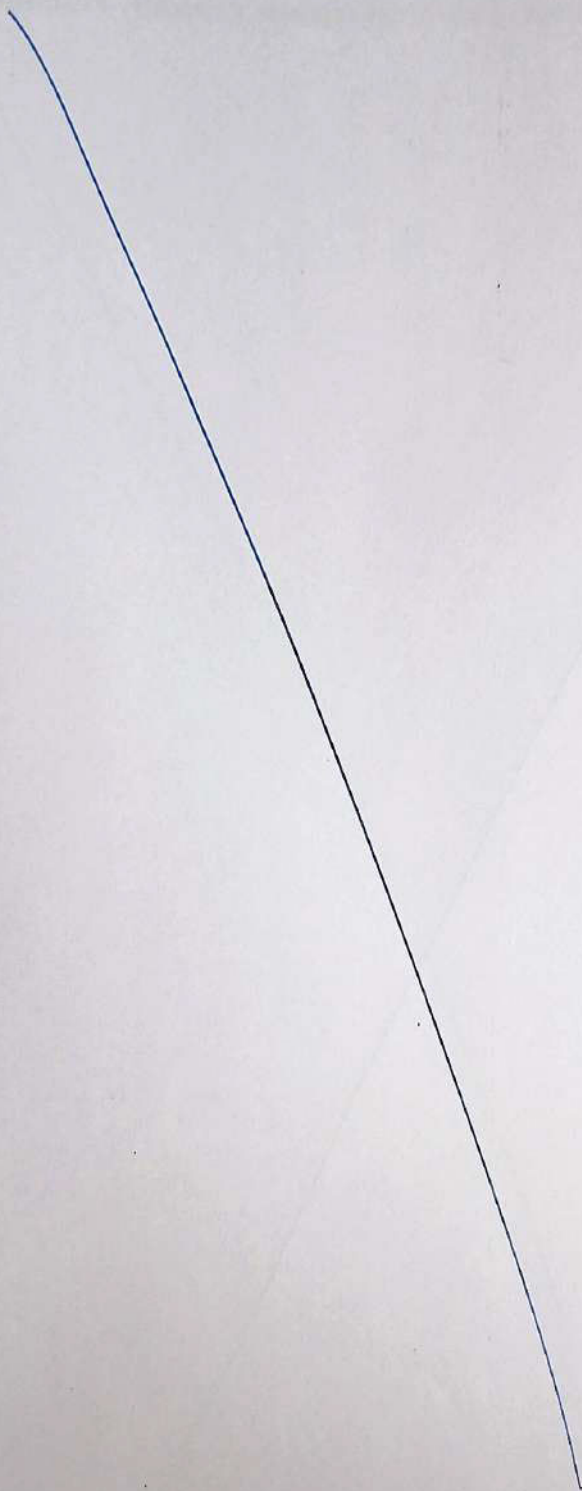


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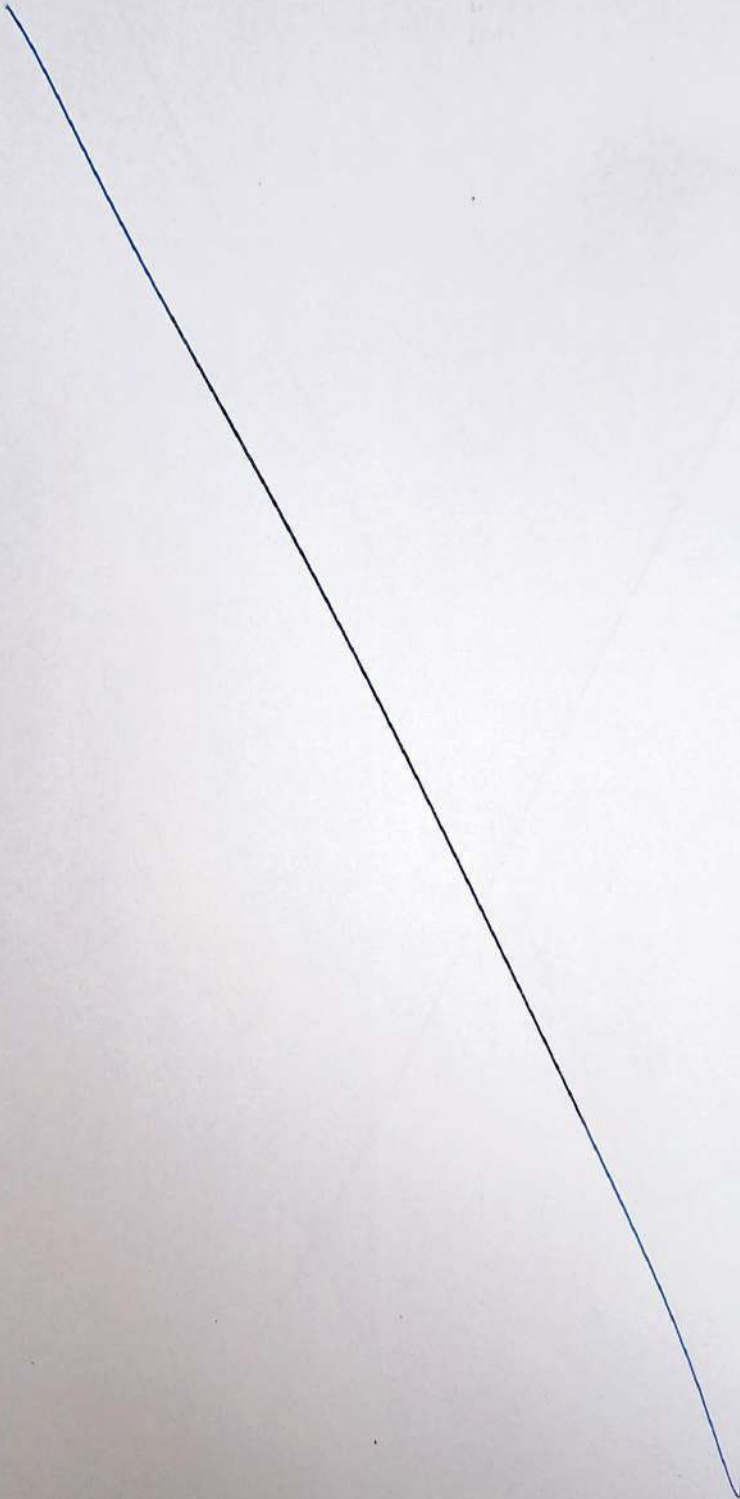
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Que.7(c)

Explain the salient features of Postmodernism. Can post-modernism be defined as incredulity towards meta-narratives? (15 Marks)





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Que.8(a)

In what ways the conception of the public sphere as theorized by Habermas has undergone a change in India? (20 Marks)

Habermas, a Neomarcist and a Radical Democrat believed in the idea of Participation and Deliberation in a true 'functional Democracy'² where the three conditions of Public Sphere, Ideal Speech Situation, and Communicative Action is vital for the functioning, otherwise there comes the risk of even welfare state heading towards 'legitimation crisis'².

The conception of Public Sphere as propounded by Habermas is based on the fact that Deliberation, Debate and Discussion is never a stumbling block, and it is not the parliament,



Rather coffee houses where democratic culture takes shape.

This means dialogue, counter dialogue which is very similar to the Dialectic Method propounded by idealists like Plato and Socrates and Idea of Sabha and Samiti in the Vedic times in India's Ancient History.

The Idea of Public Sphere thus helps form not only of General will of Rousseau, but also forms Overlapping consensus of Ten Ravel.

Hence, India which is known as the Mother of Democracy, inspired from Enlightened theory of Democracy by J-S Mill and Rousseau, at the



time, nowadays there has been
allegations of hijacking / Democratic
~~be~~ backsliding due to the elitist
(Political Party Hegemony) ~~and~~ rather
than Pluralist Democracy (Pressure
Groups, Civil Society)^o

Democratic Culture of Public Sphere
has been eroding because Parliament
which represent the 'Will of People'
(Rousseau's General Will) has been
the venue of Talking Shops [Chhatrap
Bhanu Mehta] (Eg) In 1960s, average
parliamentary sittings used to be of 120 days
which has taken a hit to mere 56 days
in 2022.

Also, Debates are rather, informal
debates much rather, and the consequence



being? Judicial Governance, where judges have to tell the law making to the Legislature (Eg) Usha's guidelines, Anoop Baranwal Judgment (Election Commission appointment), which is leading towards country being run by Non Elected Representatives (Post Democratic Adm) which is in stark contravention of what Habermas 'Public sphere' aimed for.

But, all hope is not lost because of the 3rd tier of India's Governance which is the Gram Sabha, can be the source of Debates over Choices, and Discussion over voting, which can make us realize the idea of Democracy having the value of Intrinsic, Instrumental and Educational well - but only if we come into Action.



Explain Kautilya's Raja Manda theory and it's relevance in contemporary Indian philosophy. (15 Marks)

Que.8(b)

Kautilya's Raja Mandala theory is India's contribution to the Realist tradition of global politics, where Kautilya through his Mandal Siddhant gave the concept of 12 kings with 7 element equalizing to 84 elements of Raja Mandala. They are.





Kautilya's theory thus explains that our neighbour (Ari°) is our natural enemy, this is because state is like an Organism which needs space to expand, thus due to land, the other person is source of enemy [Security Dilemma]. (Eg) Pakistan, China

However, our Neighbour's Neighbour [Mitra] is our friend, and is important to maintain Balance of Power in the region. (Eg) Japan, Afghanistan. Supply their Resilience Initiative with Japan, Quad etc.

Thus, it is India's contribution to Balance of Power in the region, where we have our own Strategic Autonomy.



Belwani is Contemporary Indian
philosophy can be gauged from the
 fact what Pemri Minister held that
 our civilizational ethos are guided
 by Yathasthavad [Realism → Kautilya's
Realism, and necessity to increase power],
Seh bhagita [cooperation → (eg) with our
Mitra like Japan, Russia], Seh asthita
 [Coexistence] → even with Ari and Mitra
 (eg) Udhami Maitri and Seh yag (partnership).

Thus, Indian values of mixing
Realism with Idealism and toleration,
Accommodation, principles of Non Interference
 in External Internal relations of other countries
 (eg) Bangladesh seventy protest, show our
Kautilya's Idea of Realism where it is
 necessary to be firm and Generous [Dr. S. Jaisankar]



Que. 8(c)

Examine how the Buddhist statecraft is an expression of the Comprehensive doctrine given by Buddhism. (15 Marks)

Gopal Guru and Gane Omvedt
called Buddha as the political
philosopher who gave 3 principles
Anicca, Anatta and Dukka and 8 fold
path as the basis of his theory of
Statecraft which is an organic contract
between Men and Men, rather than
God and Men [Quasi-contractual theory
held in Manusmriti Chapter 7 and
Arthashastra]

Buddhist Statecraft is thus
based on Moral Statecraft where
king belongs to the moral world as
he is described as World Monarch
who wins Hearts (rather than land).



Buddhism, as a doctrine believed in worldly values where the king possess qualities of Charisma, Honesty, Integrity which was also rejected by Asoka after the Kalinga war.

Through 8 fold path which are right conduct, right thought, accommodation, belief, action, kindness, effort, speech, and right contemplation, we can overcome the fact that the world is full of sorrows (Dukkha).

This made contrast between man and man a source of bliss, where Each man is an end in itself, for example Lotus for the concept of Sangha in Buddhism was the one of earliest sources of Deliberation.



Democracy, similar to the Sabha and Samiti o

Similarly, state does not rule with the Iron hand, and the concept of 'Tolerance', less hierarchical is more important as compared to Hindu's Varne system o Thus Buddhism as a comprehensive doctrine evolved as an Heterodox Tradition not based on the traditional Dharma and Danda concepts of the Manusmriti and Arthashastra o

Hence, it is often said by Shubhra Ranjan that Buddhism can be considered as Protestantism of East² or rebel child of Hinduism², but the sole focus on Deliberation is the common link between the two