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# Political Science & International Relations

## PSIR Mains Test Series – 2024

## Test 1

**Time Allowed: 3 Hours** **Max Marks: 250**

**Name** VIKAS
**Test Date** 13/07/2024
**Email Address** [redacted]

**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 psirtestseries@shubhraranjan.com

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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)

**"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 as held by Barber is a 'Master Science' and an 'architectonic discipline' for realisation of the vision of a good life.

Sabine emphasised on the historical approach to study political theory. Sabine held that "Political ideas are themselves the product of crisis phase of history".

This approach highlights the fact that theories of politics are a part of politics at that time. For example, Rawls' theory of justice came in the context of Black, women and environmental movements in USA in 1960's and 1970's. By studying context of politics, it will add to our understanding of the political theory.

Historical approach serves as the three advantages in studying political theories and that are factual, causal and Evaluative. Laski also upheld it by upholding that "No political idea is ever intelligible save in the context of its time". Machiavelli emphasised historical approach for an empirical view of politics. If History is past politics, Politics is present history.

Historical approach may not be sufficient to get a good analysis of political theory because of various reasons like 'fault of historicism' by Karl Popper, 'orientalism' of post colonial school. Oakeshott held that "politics is borderless & bottomless sea" so various approaches have to be used in combination for a better view.

**Que.1(b)** Social contract theory of the origin of the state is bad history, bad logic and bad philosophy. (10 Marks)

Social contract theory is provided by scholars like Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau.

It is built upon the human nature, state of nature and the context and objectives for the formation of state. It envisions that in state of nature, there were some difficulties as per them and then humans entered into social contract to create a state.

It is bad history because, there is lack of consensus among scholars themselves. Hobbes called state of nature as painful but Rousseau called it a "state of bliss".

Before the modern

modern states, there were monarchies in rule, almost everywhere in the world so how people will give to some other people, their powers and permission to use that powers against them making it a bad psychology.

It is also a bad philosophy, because if we transfer all of our powers under the contract, the state can become fascist and totalitarian which can be detrimental or suicidal for the people.

However social contract theory cannot be disregarded as utter fallacy. It has helped us to understand the evolution of human nature, society and state in a better way. Views of social contract theory scholars are like a bedrock for scholars of political philosophy in later times

**Que.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)**

"Power is the ability of an individual to impose one's thoughts on others" - Max Weber.

Hannah Arendt, in her book "On human condition" gave a phenomenological view of power. She differentiates between power and force, power and violence and power and strength.

Strength is individual's capacity where force is natural. She held that power exercised by the state is violence. "Power is the human ability to act in concert with each other".

Power is "sui-generis".

It comes into existence when people come together and disappears when people go into seclusion. power needs no legitimation. Power itself is legitimate. When people exercise power, the violence by state dissipates. Power is exercised by man due to his 'zoon Politikon' nature.

Inversely, Max weber held that state exercises authority and not naked power. foucault gave a sociological view and held that 'power is everywhere'. Her view of power comes close to Gandhi's concentric circles of power concept. Her view of power is important in context of of Democratic Recession [Diamond], Bolstering Authoritarianism and erosion of civil liberties.

Indians against corruption, judiciary protests in Israel are prominent example of Hannah's views on power. Her views on power will remain central in coming times for a more open society and accountability of the government.

**Que.1(d)** **Rights as Trumps. (10 Marks)**

Dworkin gave the idea of rights as Trumps. Laski defined rights as something without which nobody can realise "his/her best self".

Dworkin held that the rights of an individual has to be given consideration over anything else. His views are seen in the context of the debate whether "Rights are prior to good" or not.

Dworkin held that rights of an individual are absolute and they shall not be taken away. Even common good or the community interests is not the excuse to take away rights of the individual

Rights are also available against the government or authority to an individual. Government cannot take away these rights by any ordinary piece of legislation. In sum, Dworkin upheld that Rights of an individual shall trump over all other things.

However, Laski in his book "The Grammar of Politics" gave his theory of rights and held that rights are dynamic and they depend on time, place and context. Dworkin's absolute rights stance without corresponding duties is also criticised by Laski when he held that "Rights are present in duties in embryonic sense".

However, despite criticism, Dworkin's emphasis on rights of an individual is commendable especially in times of democratic recession [Diamond], erosion of civil liberties around the world and Bolstering authoritarianism in form of "China challenge"

**Que.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)**

Ideology was described as "world view" by Count d'Tracy. End of ideology as given by Daniel Bell held that ideology has lost its relevance in 1950's and 1960's.

Everywhere in world, Technocratic and Bureaucratic systems of government have come into place. So in our times "politics doesnot matter", "only economics matter" held Daniel Bell. He supported his theory by Rostows "stages of economic growth" theory where he held that every country passes through same stages of growth irrespective of ideology.

MacIntyre criticised 'end of ideology' as itself an ideology. He held that in a subtle form, Daniel

Bell is upholding western model as superior. In 1950's and 1960's, USA's economy was doing better than USSR's economy so from that perspective, Daniel Bell proved that since west is doing good, western model is better and superior in context of time and space.

S.M. Lipset was more vocal in upholding superiority of the western model. But MacIntyre contradicted him with counter arguments like the level of inequality in the west.

"End of History" by Fukuyama upheld superiority of liberalism or western model after collapse of USSR in 1991.

But the challenges to liberalism from "China challenge", rise of nativism in EU [2024 election], rise of populism has altered the debate once again.

**Que.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)

**Que.2(b)** **Critically examine Hobbes's methodology to study political science. Compare it with Machiavelli's Methodology. (15 Marks)**

**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)**

**Que.3(a)** **Liberalism is not a fixed mode of thought but an intellectual movement. Explain. (20 Marks)**

Liberalism is a political ideology that advocates minimum interference by the state in the activities of an individual.

Liberalism has been a revolutionary thought when we put things in context. It gave primacy to individuals in times when political idealism was at peak in writings of scholars like Plato, Aristotle etc.

It has been a revolutionary system of thought also because it is not a fixed mode of thought. It has adopted itself to the changing needs of the time and circumstances.

To counter political idealism, classical liberalism led by

Bentham and Adam Smith in his book "wealth of Nations" proposed alternative to it. It worked on the principle "Drunkard in the gutter is where he belongs".

Then due to excessive individualism of classical liberalism, inequality and concentration of wealth in 1920's & 1930's, Great Depression took place challenging liberalism as a school of thought.

The Modern liberalism based on positive liberty and welfare state politics of J.M. Keynes gave a new direction to liberalism. It successfully saved itself from opposition. 'New Deal' policy of President Roosevelt was based on Modern liberalism.

Then in 1970's and 1980's, due to excessive welfare policies, economies faced recession. It gave birth to Neoliberalism which believed in "Rolling back of state" and the belief in market as "central nervous system" by Hayek. It was called as Reaganomics in USA, Thatcherism in UK and ManMohanomics ~~of~~ in India. It was based on washington Principles of James williamson. in 1980.

Neoliberalism successfully saved liberalism and led to tremendous economic growth.

Later in late 1990's, due to inequalities, social movements, protests and opposition social liberalism led by John Rawls, Amartya Sen, Dworkin advocated that state shall

shall provide equitable welfare along with industry and society. It was called as return of Modern Liberalism.

So this aspect of liberalism makes it as an Intellectual movement instead of just a mode of thought. This aspect helped liberalism to win the historical battle of ideologies in the concept of "end of ideology" of Daniel Bell and "end of history" concept of Fukuyama. It hasted the victory of USA over USSR in the cold war.

However rise of right in west as evident from 2024 EU elections, rise of "china challenge", protectionism are the fresh challenges to liberalism.

So liberalism's liberal attitude is the reason behind its aspect of being an intellectual movement.

**Que.3(b)** The principles of democracy can't be divorced from the principle of equality. Comment. (15 Marks)

Democracy has been ~~to~~ defined as a mode of government in a narrow form and as a form of social organisation in a broader definition based on equality.

Democracy has a crucial relationship with equality in various spheres. First of all, the birth of democracy came from the period of Renaissance and reformation.

It overthrew the "Divine rights theory" of kings and it established equality before law. It abolished special rights and privileges of the kings and the aristocrats.

Democracy is all

about giving voice to voiceless and power to powerless as per Gandhi. B.R. Ambedkar held that one man, one vote principle of Democracy has no value without the the principle of 'one man, one vote, one value' signifying importance of equality.

Democracy is about achieving a balance between personal freedom and popular rule. It is based on 'trinity of liberty, equality and fraternity' of B.R. Ambedkar signifying value of social equality. He categorically held that 'social and ~~political~~ economic equality is crucial element with political equality' signifying value of a substantive Democracy.

Democracy is not just about procedural aspects like regular elections as held by Weber & Schumpeter

Substantive democracy results in socio-economic equality of the citizens. Michael Walzer in his book "Spheres of Justice" held that equality is a "complex" concept.

There can be different principles of equality in different spheres of life. So affirmative actions like Indian Reservation, "Differentiated Citizenship" concept of Iris Marion Young and "Difference principle" [Democratic equality] of John Rawls help to achieve equality in democracy for disadvantaged sections.

In Indian context, rise of inequalities due to K-shaped growth and ~~conc~~ concentration of wealth as held by Oxfam Report that top 1% own 40% of wealth make equality crucial for the future of Indian democracy in the coming times.

**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)**

Marx gave his theory of communism in his book "Communist Manifesto" for which he is called as greatest socialist philosopher of all times.

In his Historical Materialism, he held that in every stage of history there have been conflict between two classes. There was conflict between lords & serfs in feudal society, between Masters & slaves in slave society due to Dialectical Materialism resulting in the class struggle.

In today's time, Marx held that we live in a capitalist society where there is a conflict between the interests of the bourgeoisie class and the working class due to the difference of 'haves and have-nots' [Dialectical materialism] resulting in class struggle.

In today's time, this class struggle is clearly visible due to a number of factors. Marx held that 'capitalist dig their own graves' due to excessive accumulation of wealth. It has resulted in big difference in the status of capitalists and workers. As exploitation will increase, the low level of consciousness among the workers will turn into the high level of consciousness. Workers will move away from "false consciousness" to 'Revolutionary consciousness'. This will turn them from class-in-itself to class for itself making conditions ripe for a bloody revolution as "there cannot be a change without blood".

In previous stages of history, the gap between two classes was not so big making revolution impossible. But in capitalist society, this gap is evident to simplify class antagonism for a revolution.

Thomas Piketty in his book "Capital in 21st century" talked about increasing inequality and K-shaped growth in the work. He held that these stark inequalities can fuel the growth of struggles & revolutions.

However, Marx's views were deficient on this point as no revolution happened on such lines. Gramsci explained the anomaly in his theory of superstructures where he talked about Hegemony and intellectuals making revolution difficult due to opaque nature of society.

**Que.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)

Cultural Relativism as propounded by Franz Boas, held that culture is the part and parcel of one's identity. We have to accomodate cultural diversity in our conception of human rights to make them acceptable to all.

Cultural relativists held that we have to take a more substantive view of culture and community and about their importance in one's life. They hold that man is "embedded self" or "situated self" and his cultural values shape his conception of rights. for e.g. female genital mutilation is common practice in Somalia but it is unthinkable in the west.

Cultural Relativist perspective of Human rights criticises the the universal nature of human rights as envisioned in Universal Declaration of Human Rights [1948].

They held that western cultural values cannot supersede other cultures. West has to respect the cultures of others and also the sovereignty of other countries.

Cultural relativist perspective has given birth to arguments like 'Asian values' where they differ with the western concept of universal rights based on liberalism.

They point out that under the guise of protection of human rights, western countries & achieve their geopolitical objectives to maintain their hegemony. for example USA's actions in Libya in 2011 when Nato took down regime of Muammer Gadaffi. by military actions.

Human rights is an industry now where people make quick money and cultural relativists hold that the west funds them to create instability.

Cultural relavists hold that Human rights concept violate the dignity of other cultures and it has become a basis of "clash of civilizations" concept of Huntington.

They hold that instead of a universalistic approach of human rights, we have to take a particularist approach.

However cultural relativist perspective is criticised by cosmopolitan scholars who take it as a roadblock in emergence of a universal/cosmopolitan culture. feminists hold that cultural relativism is bad for women as Hillary clinton held that "human rights are women rights".

These two perspectives can be reconciled by Bhikhu Parekh's "cosmopolitan approach" based on the "dialogue among civilisations" and the 'Harm principle' of J.S Mill. He held that the west cannot claim supremacy and we have to accomodate other models of rights through dialogues and discussions which can harmonise the both conceptions.

So, a "middle path" or 'Golden mean' between both of the perspectives through dialogue can be the way forward for a more peaceful world.

**Que.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)**

Affirmative policies refers to a positive discrimination in the favour of disadvantaged sections of the society to bring them at par with others.

John Rawls' 'Difference principle' for 'democratic equality', Iris Marion Young's "Differentiated citizenship" etc. advocate for affirmative action policies.

Social liberal scholars hold the view that certain sections of society may be disadvantaged like Blacks in USA, Dalits in India. So we need an affirmative action to help them come out of disadvantage. for e.g. Indian reservation system.

Equality of opportunity as advocated by classical liberals like Nozick can lead to discrimination against disadvantaged sections.

Social liberals go for a "fair equality of opportunity" by affirmative actions for equitable development instead of equal development. We have to go for an equitable distribution of resources. Joseph Stiglitz and Amartya Sen held that Indian Reservations have led to equitable development of SC's, ST's & OBCs proving efficiency of affirmative actions without compromising the merit.

However, classical liberals like Nozick criticise it as an attack on dignity of others. Socialist criticise them as justification of inequalities and they are also criticised as a compromise of merit by the critics.

Women have been a "secondary sex" as per Simone de Beauvoir so we need affirmative actions to help women move out of patriarchy.

~~worn~~ Feminist perspective of state led by ~~sta~~ Catherine McKinnon believe that state can improve the position of women in society. They talk about "personal is political" [Hanisch]. It means society is regressive but state can work for betterment of the women.

Affirmative actions have improved position of women. For example, reservation to women in local bodies under 73rd and 74th amendment acts have led to 45% representation of women in them whereas it is just less than 14% in Lok Sabha [2024 election] and 9% in state legislative assemblies where there is no reservation as per PRS. Nari Vandan Adhiniyam providing 33% reservation was necessary to uplift women.

However scholars like Amartya Sen held that affirmative action policies may be good in short term but in long term we need a more comprehensive approach to deal with inequalities & disadvantaged sections.

**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)**

C.R. Das called Aurobindo Ghosh as "poet of patriotism, prophet of nationalism and lover of humanity".

Aurobindo's Theory based on Herder's conception of "Universal spirit" and Vivekananda's "neo vedantism" and 'Shakti' of Bankim Chandra Chatteryee holds great relevance in present times.

His theory of nationalism is a message to the youth of present India to work for the betterment of the country. He held that nationalism is creed, race, soul and religion. Youth shall have same dedication for the nation which they have for their religion.

Youth shall forget the

differences among them which will help in countering riots, conflict in the country like recent Haldwani riots.

He emphasised unity and power of India in "Shakti of Bharat Mata" concept. unity is needed in times of conflict, hate, secessionist movements in Northeast, Punjab and other places". PM Modi also emphasised it in his Panch Prans that will be crucial to achieve goal of VIKSIT BHARAT by 2047 in Kartavya kaal to make it "Amrit kaal" for India

Aurobindo's theory of nationalism was not jingoistic. He was a firm believer in "vasudhaiv Kutumbkam". He held that every nation shall ~~sh~~ seek its fulfillment as every nation is a part of a specific dimension of universal spirit. every nation is here to spread a message in world. India will spread the message of spirituality as per him.

Hence emphasised 'Human Unity' & held that "Aggregation is the law of nature". we have to come together to face problems of humanity.

In today's ~~con~~ world, we are faced by "problems ~~the~~ without passports" like climate change, Trade wars, Global warming etc. one nation cannot solve this problem all alone and we have to come together to face them. PM Modi highlighted this aspect in CoP28 and G20 meeting in Delhi emphasising on "sabka saath, sabka prayas". for enhanced cooperation.

Aurobindo's ideas are crucial for present day India and the world for carving a safe and secure world.

**Que.5(a)** **Write a short note on the significance of Kant's categorical imperative. (10 Marks)**

Immanuel Kant emphasised on "Categorical Imperative" that is we should treat everyone with dignity because of human dignity of every individual.

Kant's Categorical imperative gave birth to 'Moral Basis' of human rights. It held that origin of natural or human rights is there in the moral consciousness of the society.

Scholars like Kant and Thomas paine didnot agree with the contractual basis of natural rights of John Locke. They believed that it is injustice to the future generations that we are snatching away their right to enter into the contract

T.H.Green also upheld that "Rights of individual are those in the moral consciousness of the society".

Categorical Imperative also emphasises on deontological approach of favouring duty over outcomes, means over ends. Kant believed in purity of means.

John Rawls inspired by Kant's categorical Imperative held that "Justice based on fairness and human dignity is the basis of society". He followed a deontological approach to reach to his theory of justice.

Kant's Categorical Imperative is criticised through arguments like should criminals, terrorists, rapists etc. also have dignity. Shall ~~to~~ they be treaty with dignity when they caused insane damage to the society.

Despite criticism, Categorical Imperative have shaped political philosophy and enriched it with immense content.

Que.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 was a revolutionary, social reformer and political philosopher of 20th century.

He gave idea of Radical Humanism in his ~~phom~~ pamphlet "New Humanism: A manifesto" where he aimed to create a "Cosmopolitan Union of spiritually liberated men". His manifesto had both critical & constructive aspects.

critical aspect include critical analysis of parliamentary democracy and Marx's approach towards Revolution.

He held that "Intellectual Revolution shall precede materialistic revolution of Marx". He held that Historical Materialism of Marx avoids importance of idea in shaping history

History moves through class cooperation which Marx skipped in his class struggle. "Dictatorship of Proletariat" subjugates Individual under the collective identity of class.

Roy held that human freedom and rationality is of supreme value. He held that man should be free from identities of religion, class or nation. He focussed on soverignty of individual.

His constructive aspect revolves around building a scientific temper and a scientific rationality that will lead to a revolution instead of the revolution as advocated by Marx.

Granville Austin called him "a remarkable failure" because Indian society was not on the level of rationality to understand and process his thoughts.

**Que.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)

Ambedkar, as held by Sudipto Kaviraj is the "tallest leader of dalits" till this date.

He criticised caste system of India, which is a graded system of hierarchy based on purity and pollution [Andre Beteille]. In the ascending order with Brahmins at top, receives huge respect and reverence. But in downward direction, dalits, scheduled tribes recieves immense contempt.

He envisioned an equal society based on a "trinity of liberty, equality and fraternity". Fraternity will harmonise liberty and equality and will lead to a compassionate society. He called for "social and economic democracy as tissue and fibres of Political democracy' based on vision of "one man, one vote and one value" to achieve equal society

He called for compensatory justice in the form of reservations to dalits for their upliftment and to give them a life of dignity. He emphessed on inter-caste marriages to dilute the caste identities and establish equality in the society. He emphasised on women control over their sexuality that can break caste-gender nexus that reproduces caste system in India in his "Rise and Fall of Hindu women" pamphlet.

Ambedkar's vision of an equal and compassionate society is still an unfulfilled dream that we all shall cherish for the vision of VIKSIT BHARAT.

**Que.5(d)** **“Truth is not outside power”: Foucault”. Analyse (10 Marks)**

foucault gave his concept of "Discourse" in his book " Madness and Civilisation" where he gave a post modernist view of power and truth".

Nietze gave the concept of "will to power" in every human action. He held that there is a will to power in every human action including in production of knowledge.

Foucault build this Discourse on this "will to power". Discourse as per him, a set of statements that are told in a way and supported by majority, that starts appearing truth so we donot discover truth rather we invent truth.

only that truth is accepted that is supported by the majority. Knowledge, as per him is majoritarian in nature.

only that truth that is supported by majority become truth & enables exercise of power. for e.g., notion of homosexuality as wrong supported by majority.

Discourses are built by Hierarchical observation, Examination and providing judgement. So the aim of discourses is to discipline us and to make us docile for the productive requirements of the society.

every discourse is a part of power called as "Discipline" by Foucault. Discourses are built to discipline us in the society. No truth is final. All truth are "meta-narratives" supported by majority.

Foucault's conception of Discourses helps us to understand the power in a better way in the society.

**Que.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)**

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was the tallest leader of the muslims in 19th century and he was a political philosopher for his views on rationalism and education.

He emphasised on rationalist through his magazine "Tehzeeb ul-Akhlaq" where he criticised the outdated customs and traditions of the muslim community. He emphasised on scientific education and morality among muslims.

He started Indian Institute Gazette and Society for scientific knowledge to incorporate scientific rationality among youth. He held that Muslim youth shall have Quran in one hand and the book of science in another. He started Aligarh Muslim University to spread education among muslims He appealed to muslim youth to leave British resistance and get education. He appealed to Britishers for providing education to muslims in his pamphlet "Loyal Muhommadens of India"

In present Indian context, his views are highly relevant for the radicalised muslim youth. Sachar committee highlighted critical deficiencies like only 3% Muslims are graduates that is even lower than SC's and ST's, so his ideas are highly relevant for today's youth.

PM Modi while outlining "Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas, Sabka prayas, Sabka Vishwas", praised Syed Ahmed Khan and held that "one hand should have Quran and other should have computer" to achieve the vision of development of muslim community in vision of VIKSIT BHARAT by 2047.

Que.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)**

**Que.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)

**Que.6(c)**

**Judith Buttler 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)**

**Que.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)

Que.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)**

Que.7(c)

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

**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 talked about public sphere in his book " structural Transformation of the Public sphere ".

He held that Public sphere is the place where people come together and discuss the affairs of the state. They exchange opinions, information and discuss the policies and actions of the state.

He held that "ideal speech condition", "communicative action" and a "discursive model of democracy" is necessary for a healthy public sphere.

Habermas argued that presence of freedom, civil liberties, platforms, media etc. are crucial for public sphere. He talked about structural transformation in public sphere from ancient times to modern world. Previously, salons, cafes, shops, community meetings etc. constituted public sphere and now arrival of media has altogether changed the public sphere.

Coming to the Indian context, Public sphere has undergone a massive shift in India. Previously during British rule, limited media in the form of journals, newspaper in vernacular, gatherings in community, Indian National Congress sessions were a part of public sphere which shaped the thoughts and opinions of the people.

After Independence, in 1970's

and 1980's, the boom in electronic media like radio, newspapers, educated public opinions, schools, colleges, newsrooms, community places like parks etc. enriched the public sphere. It helped in political education of the masses and helped India to counter the "Black era" of Emergency in late 1970's.

After 1990's, we saw a boom in Television Media where debates, discussions and deliberations enriched public opinion and acted as a political education medium of the masses. It influenced the government due to more informed public opinion.

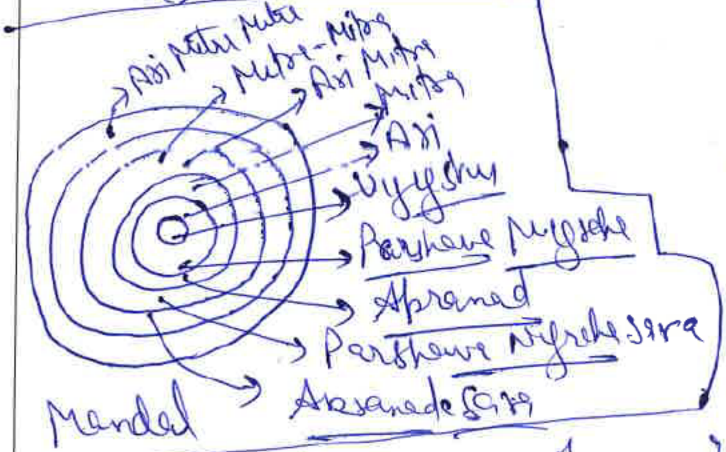
After 2000's, we saw a revolutionary change in the form of arrival of social media. Social media platforms became a platform for people to discuss affairs of the state. Platforms like Twitter, Facebook etc. became a hub of news circulation. Echo chambers, group formation on platforms, public posts about affairs of the state, comment section below the social media posts became engagement platforms for people to debate and discuss. The 'hashtag culture' has enabled people to raise their voices and gain support.

Habermas held that public sphere shall be closely watched by state for good policies and decisions and to avoid threats. Threats like Toolkit case, fake news, disinformation, 'infodemics' endanger the public sphere today.

So public sphere has to be used judiciously to achieve national goals and maintain a balance between personal freedom & national security.

**Que.8(b)** Explain Kautilya's Raja Manda theory and it's relevance in contemporary Indian philosophy. (15 Marks)

Kautilya gave his Raja Mandal theory in his book "Arthashastra" which is called as the "1st textbook of Geopolitics". Belonging to dandashastra tradition, he is the father of Indian strategic thought and political economy. "Arth" is the primary responsibility of state and land is the source of "Arth". The first land to be captured is that of your neighbour so neighbour is your natural enemies. Building on it, he gave his Mandal theory.


Ari Mitra Mitra
Mitra-Mitra
Ari Mitra
Mitra
Ari
Vijigishu
Parshave Nigrahe
Aprand
Parshave Nigrahe Sara
Akrande Sara
Mandal

So neighbour is natural enemy which is "Ari". The neighbour of your neighbour is your friend so 'Mitra' represent the friend of king whom Kautilya calls as 'Vijigishu' or 'Chakravarti samrat'.

on similar lines, in the direction of expedition then come 'Ari Mitra', "Mitra Mitra" and 'Ari Mitra Mitra'. King has to look in backward direction also. Parshnigraha represent enemy from behind, "Akranda" is friend to counter Parshnigraha. Similarly, there are Parshnigraha Sara and Akranda sara.

Two other types of states are 'Udasin' [Neutral] and "Madhyam" [Buffer]. King should try to bring them in his favour. By this logic, India shall keep Bhutan & Nepal to its side in conflict with China.

By saptange theory, he took an organic view of state and held that before carrying out an expedition king has to calculate 12×7 => 84 elements of sovereignty for a wise move.

Dr Jaishankar in his book "The India way" & "Why Bharat Matters" held Kautilyan wisdom as crucial in contemporary times. Indian approach to Afghanistan to counter Pakistan is decided by Mandal siddhant.

India's Neighbourhood first policy, Gujral doctrine, SAGAR doctrine to counter China and keep its neighbour in its camp is also influenced by Kautilya's Mandal theory. India's approach to Iran through Chabahar, Necklace of diamonds Theory and Fish Hook strategies in Eastern & western Indian ocean to counter Chinese "String of pearls strategy" and 'Blue water navy policy' are decided by Mandal theory.

So Kautilya's Mandal theory is crucial for India to swim through hard water of today's geopolitics.

**Que.8(c)** **Examine how the Buddhist statecraft is an expression of the Comprehensive doctrine given by Buddhism. (15 Marks)**

Bhikhu Parekh categorised Indian political thought in two parts → Hindu and Buddhist political thought.

Buddhist political thought sees its origin from the teachings of Buddha, Buddhist texts and Jatakas. Bhikhu Parekh held that "Dhamma" is central to Buddhist political thought just like "Dharma" in Hindu political thought.

Buddhist statecraft is republican based on ideals of non-violence, Karuna [welfare state] and Dhamma. King is called as "Mahasammat" means the great elect. He is elected by an assembly and people will choose the most noble, gentle and knowledgeable as King. similar to Philosopher King in Plato's "Ideal Kingdom".

King has the duty to ensure the welfare of the people and his rule should be guided by the ideals of buddhism that are mentioned in the eightfold Noble path. King should be called as 'chakravartin samrat' and his foreign policy shall be based on Dhammaghosh [Dhamma] & not Berighosh [violence].

King shall not suppress people or carry out violence on them. Ashvaghosha's Buddhacharita held that "Kingship is a dangerous delusion like crown full of thorns and tasty food mixed with poison" to avoid king from misusing his power.

King shall look after destitutes, poor and the vulnerable in the society. Jataka tales mentioned various political stories that act as best practices for the king in power to follow and emulate.

Buddhist statecraft is visible in Bhutan's Happiness Index focussing on welfare of people, environment and policy of non-violence. In Indian context, it is evident from policy of "Panchsheel", Gujral doctrine etc.

Buddhist statecraft based on ideals of Buddhism represent a rationalist approach based on "categorical imperative" of Kant emphasising on human dignity, peace & welfare state which forms the base of Buddhism.

## Space for Rough Work

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