



SHUBHRA RANJAN

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Political Science & International Relations

Crash Course & Test Series - 2023

Test 1

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name VISHWAJEET GUPTA

Test Date 10 - 06 - 23

Email Address

UPSC Roll No 6310923

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...!!!



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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)



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Que.1(b)

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

Rawls has been credited with revival of political philosophy through his theory of justice. The aim is to arrive at principles of distribution which are fair and universally applicable.

To arrive at these principles of justice as fairness, Rawls devices the ~~meds~~ hypothetical concept of 'veil of ignorance'. Herein, people are unaware of their social position in society and are asked to frame rules for distribution of primary goods.

Having basic knowledge of psychology, science, etc., these people arrive at the following principles:



1. Liberty principle

2a. Equality of opportunity in public employment.

2b. Difference principle.

These principles, in lexical order, will lead to a fair and just order in society where injustices are hugely negated.

However, Communitarians like Michael Walzer and Michael Sandel questions the practicality of such an experiment. For them, man is a 'situated self' and not free from cultural biases.

Nonetheless, the utility of Rawlsian concept has been appreciated by various streams of thought. "Every philosopher must work within Rawlsian framework or explain why not." (Nozick)



Que.1(c)

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

Will Kymlicka's theory focuses on the multicultural aspect in contemporary societies. As such, there can not be single, uniform values or system applicable to all. It leads to deprivation by destroying diversity.

Multiculturalism as a concept has gained prominence with evolving global village wherein migrants ~~over~~ across the world try to settle in a new environment and society.

The theory of multicultural citizenship argues for freedom of practicing and propagating cultural values by minorities.



Kymlicka argues that the notion of uniform standards of citizenship should not be applied to all the groups within a country as there can be diverging values among them.

By granting space to such diversity to flourish, we encourage harmony as well as incentivise populace to learn from each other's cultural values.

Some prominent examples of a multicultural society are Canada, Australia and India. Here, the presence of diversity has only led to enrichment of national culture.



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Que.1(d)

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



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Que.1(e)

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

Hannah Arendt is considered one of the most original thinkers. Her 'phenomenological approach' has been a torchbearer to judge the standards of polity.

Arendtian thoughts ~~of~~ on ideology and its uses are critical. She argues there is no point discussing metaphysical beliefs because they are not practical. There is more focus on the original and active participation of masses in the decision-making apparatus.

Arendt believes ideology is basically end of class politics and beginning of mass politics.



Ideologies are nothing but justification for power politics when other instruments fail. Such an arrangement leads to depravement of masses into passive beings, losing originality and following cult persona.

However, the over-critical view on ideology is to be observed carefully. In the hindsight, ~~idea~~ ideologies have provided a background for civil society movements, popular struggles and even civilisational improvements.

A cautious approach of ideology not turning into herd mentality while providing an more ideological framework seems to be the way out.



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Que.2(a)

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



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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)



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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)



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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 entire western philosophy is nothing but footnotes to Plato and Aristotle."
(Whitehead)

Such is the pervasive nature of contributions by Plato and Aristotle that they continue to inspire medieval, modern and even post-modern thinkers.

Aristotle is regarded as the greatest disciple as well as critic of Plato. The reason being a difference in approaches.

While Plato is a romantic, utopian, idealist; Aristotle is pragmatic, worldly and relies on observation.



The philosophical approach of Plato regarding institution of Philosopher King has been corrected by Aristotle as out-worldly. Even the noblest person has passions. (appetite)
Aristotle prefers rule of law as there is no point "sacrificing good for the best" which is unachievable.

Plato suggests communism of wives, children and property as an additional safeguard. Aristotle however argues that family provides emotional security ~~while~~ and property aids social value while acting as an inspiration to work hard.



Plato has emphasised on world of ideas suggesting the redundancy of this-worldly objects. He argues that the true knowledge is only in the world of idea. Aristotle applies a pragmatic approach, arguing that observation of real world is equally important. One can not live solely in philosophical articulations ignoring the reality.

However stark the differences might seem, both thinkers are a lot alike. The substance in their thought remain similar :- A strong conviction in Socratic dictums, belief in rationality (use of reason) in understanding issues of society, etc.



Aristotle has been harshly criticised for defying Plato. He is actually "taking Plato far forward".

As suggested by Dunning, he has diluted Plato's other-worldly philosophy with common sense.

In the realm of political philosophy and applications, both have inspired philosophers like Hannah Arendt, Rousseau, post-modern philosophers, etc.

Gandhi even utilised Plato and Aristotelian values in his struggle for independence. It is rightly argued that Plato and Aristotle are the guiding lights for political and understanding of political philosophy.



Que.4(b)

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

Michael Foucault has devised the concept of governmentality as an improvement over bio-power. The essence being that power is being exercised on people in ways not visible/coercive.

Foucault argues that power flows in society like blood flows through capillaries. His argument that "Power is everywhere" is derived from Bentham's concept of Panopticon.

Herein, a large prison is monitored from a single central tower. The inmates are constantly under



the impression that they are being watched.

On similar lines, Foucault argues that power in today's society is not exercised through coercive arms of state - police, army. Rather, it is the institutions of the state (school, college, civil society) that actually act as power exercising instruments.

Citizens are constantly under the apprehension of being surveilled. Such an architecture of society causes people to conform to prevailing standards and not put a toe out of line.



The modern nation-states have amassed huge potential of over-arching surveillance with advancements in technology.

Eg. The cyber-state in Hong-Kong.

Foucault's concept of governmentality helps us understand the nature of 'interpellation' being done in society.

Every citizen is being watched / observed by other. A surveilled state deprives original thought, reduces citizens to passive observers of law. Thus, creating a 'mass' of people which Hannah Arendt cautioned against.



Que.4(c)

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

Ambedkar and Gandhi have been tall figures in Indian national movement and their contributions transcend geographical and time boundaries.

The debate focusses on the means for attainment of betterment of people (same goal).

Ambedkar being the representative of downtrodden and backward classes had argued for continuance of British rule and improvement of Dalits before achieving independence.

Gandhi was a mass leader whose priority was to attain independence while



keeping the social fabric intact. Any improvements are to be achieved internally in society.

Ambedkar called villages "den of ignorance" while Gandhi argued for "village republics."

Ambedkar supported separate electorates while Gandhi suggested reserved seats.

The dichotomy of ideas was based on the assumption that a ~~social~~ society cannot achieve independence if the masses are not united. ~~As~~ So long as there are those who benefit from divisions in society, any improvement in condition of masses is not possible.

Gandhi himself stood for 'Harijans' and supported their upliftment but not at the cost of independence.



This debate however has become bit redundant in contemporary discourse.

Reasons being diversification of castes and social groups, mandalisation of politics, rise of regional political parties and pressure groups.

More importantly, the recent amendments 73rd & 74th on Panchayati Raj, 103rd CAA on Economically Weaker Sections (EWS),

proliferation of identity politics and economic status-based government policies have given rise to a 'labarthi' group among the backward classes.

Hence, gone are the days of simpler classification between Upper & Lower castes.

There is a lower caste in every caste now.



Que.5(a)

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

Marx has been ^{one of} the most consequential political philosopher in modern times. The originality of Marx has put a stark divide between philosophies before him and after him.

Marxist concept of history has been based on the assumption that history tends to repeat itself. The concept of historical materialism proclaims "The history of all hitherto existing ^{societies} ~~states~~ has been a history of class struggle."

Moving forward, Marx suggested that those who do not learn from history often end up repeating it.



This can be regarded as a subtle indication towards inherent contradictions of Capitalism. Since historical times, the class struggle between the propertied and property-less class have caused the exploitation of latter.

The upheavals in form of French Revolution, Russian Revolution, Mao's Communist Revolution have been the prime examples of Marr's predictions.

Consequently, capitalism modified itself into a humane form but the emerging socio-economic inequalities (Oxfam Report) will further lead to a breakdown of liberal-capitalist order if not mended timely.



Que.5(b)

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

Rawlsian theory of justice (1971) talked about universal acceptability of principles of justice as fairness. Communitarian critique caused a rethink and Rawls responded with a rectified form of his theory.

Michael Walzer and Michael Sandels called out intrinsic problems in Rawls' theory. They argued that man is an "embedded self" and not free from influences of ~~said~~ society.

Further, the cultural context of a society decides what is right and wrong, there can't be universal acceptability. Eg. What is acceptable in America may not be in Afghanistan.



In his book 'Political Liberalism', Rawls responded that though there may not be an overarching consensus among societies but for people living in a democratic liberal society, there will evolve an overlapping consensus in political sphere over the principles of distribution of resources.

Such a consensus will be pivotal for an agreement over primary goods distribution as well as rational plans because it is purely procedural.

Thus, it will help in establishment of a just, peaceful society with harmony among citizens.



Que.5(c)

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

The concept of 'Differentiated citizenship' as propounded by Iris Marion Young calls for a special accommodation to minority interests in the social scheme of things.

Multiculturalists like Iris Marion Young argue that not all social groups in a society are equally placed socially, economically, and have varied influence in decision-making apparatus.

It would be unfair to such groups if state frames laws that ~~are~~ do not recognise their special position.

Such groups could be minorities of language, religion, gender, etc.



Young argues that such groups should be given a leeway in practising their cultures or promoting their values.

A differentiated citizenship would thus enhance the diversity of society and contribute to the harmony among citizens.

In contemporary global village, such a concept is even more applicable because of increasing number of hate crimes and targeted violence.

A sensitised, aware and sympathetic people would go a long way in securing rights of these people who in turn contribute immensely to the growth of any country.



Que.5(d)

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

Sovereignty has been the central concept of political philosophy. The various schools only argue about the centres of authority exercising sovereignty but agree on the importance of the concept.

Austinian theory of sovereignty vests absolute power in the state. State has supreme authority over the exercise of power and citizens must display unconditional obedience to it.

Sovereignty as understood by Pluralists is more diverse. For them, ~~if~~ if society is federal, authority should also be federal. (Laski)



State for Pluralists is neither the first
nor the most important institution. Therefore
it can not command obligation over people.

Austin's theory was in the backdrop of
struggle with the Church over power while
Pluralist conception develops in a more
diversified, developed state of being.

Though there can not be an overarching
agreement over one or the other, it is
the healthy mix of both that is
desirable.

Even Pluralists argue for an intervention
of state while trying to restrain its
powers, which seems improbable.

Therefore, state emerges to be a
necessary evil in both schools of
thought.



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Que.5(e)

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



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Que.6(a)

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



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Que.6(b)

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



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Que.6(c)

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



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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)

The concept of freedom has been most contested in political philosophy. The variations range from definition to means to ends.

Social liberals like Amartya Sen calls for an active intervention of state to ensure freedom in most varied sense. The concept of - 'welfare state' is particularly widened in theory of Amartya Sen because he argues that freedom is not merely restricted to negation or absence of constraints. Freedom is actually development of capacity to achieve a good life.



Such freedom-centred development favours expansion of freedom not just as primary end but also as the principle means.

Freedom is to be achieved individually by ensuring equality of opportunity.

(Primary end)

At the same time, freedom is also to be achieved individually by enhancing capabilities of a person.

This includes reducing inequalities of 'brute luck' as well as skill development including health and education.

(Primary means)



In this way, Amartya Sen argues that freedom contributes to development of a better society as individuals are capable and more or less equal in opportunities provided. They will have respect for hardwork of others and society will be more stable.

It will also lead to growth in economy because individuals will be better equipped with the skill set to ride the wave of technological advancements.

One prime example of A. Sen's philosophical argument is the state of Kerala. The state boasts of the highest literacy rate and one of the best healthcare infrastructure.



This state has been communally calm and economically proficient. The issues of caste & identity flare-ups are relatively less.

Therefore, the concept of freedom when developed and applied as a means as well as end can lead to wonderful results in development of society.

Critics of welfarism will ~~also~~ argue it to be far-fetched and uninspiring.

But it can not be denied ^(Nozick) that the philosophy of Sen seems very promising for ~~a~~ ~~so~~ the developing countries of the world.



Que.7(b)

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

Feminism came as a wave and not as a movement. It continues to evolve each passing day with promises of improvement in all aspects of a woman's life.

Simone de Beauvoir belonged to the second wave of feminism which has been the most significant contributor to the philosophy.

The statement refers with regard to conditioning of women in gender specific roles by the society. These roles transcend the 'sex' distinction of 'sex' and are gendered.



Beauvoir argues that ever since childhood the distinction or rather conditioning of girl child begins. This is apparent in choice of colour pink, playing with dolls, use of kitchen set, etc.

Adulthood sees even varied roles but all within the framework of gender. The nutritional needs are ignored, gender stereotypes are enforced, dresses are selected and even the nature of a woman is tried to influence (soft & caring).

Womanhood comes with floodgates wide open. The roles are set $\pm$ secondary to male, household responsibilities, constraints on movement & glass ceiling in occupational structure/hierarchy.



Therefore, the process of becoming a woman is long and entrenched in society which stems from patriarchy.

Feminists argue for rooting out the evil by promoting ~~value~~ gender-neutral values, institutions and roles.

However, such a catastrophic move could threaten the entire social fabric of the society. Any sudden change would lead to chaos and confusion because not all societies are at same level of development. ~~and~~

A practicable approach would be to sensitize the masses, making them aware and gradual movement towards change in gender stereotyping.



Que.7(c)

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

Right - Good dichotomy represents the conflicting values of Utilitarians with social liberals. It transcends philosophically to debate between Teleological and Deontological thoughts.

'Right is prior to good' is the basic tenet of classical & neo-liberalism. The right of man is far more sacred to be sacrificed for the good of others. This inviolability of human right stems from the Lockean and Kantian traditions of social contract and categorical imperative.

Other end of the spectrum is Utilitarianism. Utilitarians like Bentham



argue that rights of few can be sacrificed (violated if greatest good is achieved by doing so.

Here, this reflects the consequentialist philosophy where ends justify the means.

Priority to rights has also been accorded by Neo-liberals like Nozick and Hayek who considers any infringement on rights of man non-justifiable.

Concerned for rights are multiculturalists as well. They argue that for the sake of majority, cultural rights of ~~the~~ minorities should not be sacrificed.
(Bhikhu Parekh)

Feminists have also argued that the rights of women should not be



trampled upon in a status-quoist society in the name of stability.

Hence, right gain a transcendental importance over good because the violation of right is a self-perpetuating process. Everyone is a minority in one way or other. Therefore, it becomes difficult to draw the line justifying one violation over other.

However, certain decisions in the society are to be taken by majority. Considering every person's opinion will only lead to disagreements and confusion.

Though explicitly favoured, rights can not ~~be~~ always be chosen over good of society.



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)

"Caste system is not just division of labour. It is division of labourers."

— Ambedkar

Dr B.R. Ambedkar has been one of the tallest figure in Indian politics standing for the cause of socially backward & classes.

Ambedkar can not strictly be categorised into a doctrinal Marxist or Socialist.

The reason being his objective was not achieve an overbearing change in structure of society. His primary concern was upliftment of Dalits and downtrodden. The objective was glaringly clear to him throughout



this life. Accordingly, he was not bound by any doctrine or philosophy. Along the way, he evolved his own blend of socialist ideas that suited his purpose.

Ambedkar's vision of social justice was neither water-tight nor restrictive. He wanted communities to prosper in all spheres of life.

Politically, he argued for separate electorates but settled for reserved seats for the sake of unity.

Socially, he advocated education for the downtrodden classes. He brought out weekly ~~new~~ magazines, newspapers spreading his message.



He fought for abolition of untouchability at all levels of national movement.

Economically, he demanded reservations for weaker sections so that the historically disadvantaged are not left that way forever.

Therefore, Ambedkarite vision of socialism is much more broad and encompassing than simple doctrines of philosophy. His socialism was about bringing respect and dignity to the historically underprivileged.

For the sake of his objectives, he went on to support British rule in India because it was a way of achieving social, political & economic equality.



However, Ambedkar has also been criticised for sectarian politics and not being a team player in national struggle. Right-wing leaders and upper caste leaders have even tried to paint him as anti-patriotic.

It is to be understood however that any development is achieved by pieces. By improving the condition of Dalits, he was ultimately contributing to the empowerment of society.



Que.8(b)

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

The concept of 'Affirmative action' is within the framework of equality to ensure a fair and just chance at resources to those who are historically deprived and under-privileged.

Affirmative Actions are a kind of 'positive discrimination' to provide a fair chance and level-playing ground to the historically bagged.

The concrete manifestation is the ~~past~~ policies under Art 15 (3), 15(4) & 16(4) for women, children, socially & educationally backward classes, etc. in the Indian Constitution.

Eg., Reservation of seats in public employment,

Reserved seats in Parliament, etc.



Such policies of affirmative action help in mitigating the disadvantages of certain communities which are due to social backwardness, educational deprivation or economic disenfranchisement.

Scholars like Yogendra Yadav have argued that policies of affirmative action provide a headstart to the deprived sections by ~~the~~ giving them institutional support.

Critics however point out that such divergence of resources affect the national growth. They argue that institutional support should be provided in form of basic skills — health and education, not in employment,



It affects the merit of the system and compromises on quality of manpower employed.

Certain other limitations have also been identified in the course of history.

Affirmative actions once rolled out can not be taken back. The political costs are huge and no one ^{is} willing to take the risk. Furthermore, the benefits are ~~now~~ generally cornered by the well-off sections among the group itself, thus defeating the purpose.

Finally, affirmative actions sometimes acts as reverse discrimination towards the other section of society.

Therefore, affirmative actions are no panacea to the ills, they should be cautiously employed.



Que.8(c)

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

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan holds the stature similar to Raja Ram Mohan Roy in Islam. His aim was to improve the condition of Indian Muslims socially as well as economically.

Sir Khan had liberal beliefs in the initial stages of life but the evolving circumstances of Indian national movement turned him bitter towards sectarian politics employed by right-wing hardliners.

Sir Syed proposed the Muslim youth to work towards betterment in education and not to minge with reactionary elements.



In his book "The Loyal Mohammedans", he ~~or~~ requested the British rule to be considerate of the plight of Indian Muslims.

He refrained from participating in the Indian national movement and advised the same to other Muslims.

His primary focus was on upliftment in social status of Muslims through noble means of education and employment.

He went on to establish Anglo-Mohammedan Oriental School for advancement of education in Muslim community.



The judicious ways shown by Sir Syed have been the harbinger of wisdom for the new generation.

However, the selective focus on community specific goals has earned him criticism as well. It is argued that there can be no development of a particular community if the nation as a whole suffers.
