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Question No.
प्रश्न संख्या

U.P.S.C.

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सिर्फ अभ्यास के लिए

PSIR Test-05

NAME- SANJEEV KUMAR

Roll No- OAC 24 PITN030

Mobile No - [redacted]

Date - 06-08-024

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1.(a). Plato was the idealist who wanted to end the corrupt state of Athens, and to establish an ideal state.

For this, he provided a theory of justice where everyone will work according to their natural traits (souls). By performing the task using functional specialization, justice can be ensured.

However, while doing so, Plato sacrificed the individual's liberty by establishing his further theories such as philosopher king, Communism.

Plato advocated that there will be 2 safeguards in his theory of education, so that people do not divert.

In theory of

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Communism of property, he restricted people to own any property because they will become corrupt.

In communism of family, he ordered to not make any patners, not have child, these will be state's control.

He even gave absolute power to philosopher king who was above the law by giving ultimate authority to punish anyone.

By doing so, he take away individual liberty. Aristotle critised plato for communism because property is also a source of inspiration. Medicine can't be worse than disease.

Thus, Plato aim to create an ideal state, made him a utoplan. still whitehead calls Entire WPT is footnote of Plato.

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1.(b). Machiavelli was an Italian diplomat who wrote "The prince" as first book on state craft.

His writing was influenced by Italy's situation of not being a powerful nation state. He advises some opinions to prince. One of them is on religion.

He advocated religion as a tool to make people disciplinary. He was the first political thinker to separate religion and politics and provided idea of secularism.

Though, he promoted to use religion even if king is not religious in nature in personal sphere. He advocated End justify

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means in politics and prince should aim to get result right.

Religion is an instrument by which people are scared due to fear of God. So prince can use it to control the behaviour of its citizens.

King should have dual morality while using religion in politics.

However, Mr Gandhi criticised Machiavelli for separating ethics from politics. Sabine called him narrowly dated and located.

Yet, Dunning calls him first modern political thinker as everyone is Machiavellian in politics but no one claim.

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1.(c). Charles Berriam is the father of behaviouralism in political science who called for value-free analysis. It emerged after decline of political theory due to traditional approaches who were called as arm chair theories (David Easton).

The significance of behavioural revolution provided new insights such as rise of scientific analysis of politics by psephologists (eg: election surveys).

It gave rise to election manifestos (issued by political parties), opinion polls and exit polls based on facts and datas (not values).

Even the

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comparative politics get advantage of it by creating new approaches like System Approach (David Easton), structural functional approach (Almond-Powell), Political Sociology approach (SM Lipset) and others.

In international relations too, system approach of IR was created to provide grand analysis of IR politics. (Morton Kaplan).

However, Behaviouralism failed soon, as it could not explain the rise of feminist movement and civil right movements due to over-emphasis on facts.

Thus, Post-behaviouralism came as a synthesis with fact-value dichotomy to arrest the decline of political science.

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1(d).

Dharmashastra is the ideological indian tradition provided by Manu - the first law giver.

It is based on "Prithvi - dharanam dhritam" which provides divine origin of state. The ideological components are multifold.

Dharmashastra provides 4 phases of life in "ashram-vyashtha" including Brahmacharya, Grihashtra, Vanavash, sanyas. It advocates 4 varnas including Brahman, Kshatriya, Sudra, Vaishya.

But it has political component too where, the duty of king is mentioned. It says war is the kshatriya dharma of king - He should not indulge too much into women and respect the Brahmans.

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King should perform the task of Rashtra and Palan of their citizens. He should have the knowledge of Vedas.

In this, the king is a direct messanger of God as per divine theory. His state would be just the extension of society to ensure the security and stability of the nation.

However, this has been criticized by Ambedkar as he called to use dyanamites to destroy this scriptures. Feminists also criticize because, it has given no rights to women and treated women as inferior.

Thus, Dharmashastra provides a valuable political thought. S. Radha Krishan praised this text for its extensive laws.

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1(e).

Aristotle was the disciple of Plato. He is the father of political science as he studied 158 constitutions scientifically.

Aristotle though criticized Plato for his theory of philosopher king and communism. Still, it is called that Aristotle was a genuine Platonists.

This is because Aristotle's ideas were shaped by Plato's ideas. Both agreed to establish a just state where there will be no corruption.

In this process, both agreed on natural inequality of man. As Plato called for natural traits (Reason, passion, appetite) while Aristotle justified slavery.

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Both believed in corruption free society, so they provided own philosophies such as polity and theory of education.

By this, Aristotle was seen a platonist RW Emerson calls plato is philosophy, philosphy is plato. So, whoever comes after plato seems to have influenced from plato in some or other way

Karl Popper calls one can be platonic or anti-platonic but can't be non-platonic

Thus, whitehead calls Entire WPT is based on footnotes of Plato, which eventually justifies Aristotle being a Platonist

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2.(a). Syed Ahmed Khan was a political reformer, advocate of scientific realms in the 19th century. His status is equivalent to RR Foy.

He was not happy about British policy towards Muslims after 1857 revolt. He wanted British support to provide education to Muslims too.

He contributed to modernize the Indian society firstly by advocating for scientific education. He in his "Tehdib-ul-Akhlaq" advocated to provide critical thinking to the Muslim texts like Quran. He wanted liberal interpretation of Quran and to be a adaptive from becoming fossilised.

He even called muslims to keep Quran in one hand and science book

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in other hand. He promoted western education by himself being a zealonist educationist. He opened several schools, colleges including Aligarh university.

Through his Aligarh movement, he questioned the unscientific rituals and practices in Muslims. For this, imam of Mecca had issued fatwa against him.

Secondly, he criticised the social practices by advocating for women rights. He criticised polygamy, purdah, divorce rules, child marriage, infanticide etc among muslim women. He called for annihilation of such practices to provide a basis for freedom

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of use to women. These initiatives was based on his scientific gazettes like "Aligarh Institute journal," "scientific journal society".

However, in the later phases of his life, he was used by Britishers as part of "Divide and Rule policy." He became critical of INC and advocated muslims to stay away from politics because it could disturb Britishers.

Thus, current radicalized muslim youth need leader like Syed Ahmed khan to stay motivated.

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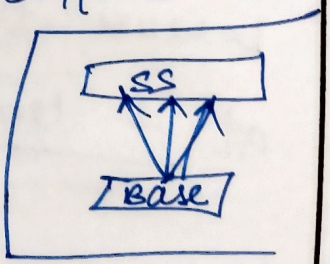
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2. (b) Marxist concept deals with socialism and communism where means of production is based on state's policy. It mainly deals with economic sphere.

Marxism emerged as an alternative to capitalism or liberalism which they termed as "false consciousness". Marxist put a lot of effort on property to make it an equitable to all.

Marx used "Base and superstructure" model to explain the importance of economy where whoever controls the means of production (Base) controls the superstructure (state).



So, Marxist wanted equality of outcome, where everyone will have equal property despite their historical positions.

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There will be land reforms where each one will get equal portion of land.

Marx termed that each will work according to their capacity and get according to their need.

However, this property is it in the hand of capitalists in the liberal state as state is the instrument of bourgeoise class. This has created a sense of Alienation among human beings because they are experiencing it at 4 levels.

First, human beings are not connected with their property which is product.

second, they are

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alienated from the production process of the property.

Third, they are alienated from their family, friends because of lack of free time.

Fourth, they are alienated from themselves, nature too because they have just become consumerists.

However, liberals criticise them to reduce whole ideology to just economy (as superstructure is just reflection of base).

Yet, Marxist concept will remain relevant until property inequality not ends.

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2(a). Plato is the father of political philosophy who wrote "The Puplic: the concerning justice".

He was not happy with Athens because of Corruption and wanted to establish a just state based on justice.

For this, Plato provide several mechanism like finding of natural traits (souls) using theory of education. Justice denotes performing one's duty as per their souls.

In theory of education, plato divided it into several stages to find out souls. There was a filtration test at the age of 20 years to find out who will be

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producer class with appetite as its natural trait.

At 30 years of age, there was 2nd filtration test to find the soldiers class and finally at the age of 50, there will be one philosopher king or queen who will establish a ideal state.

However, this theory of education was not enough because Plato was not sure, it will make greedy people just. so, he added several supplementary mechanism such as communism of property and family.

It was only applicable to upper 2 classes ie auxiliary classes because they were the guardian class.

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Plato said Communism of property will ensure that no one acquire any property. All will be under state's control. This will reduce the corruption in the state to establish just state. However, he relieved from this to producer class because their trait is appetite itself, they can't resist from having property

communism of family as 2nd safeguard because Plato wanted to be 100% sure that no one waste their time in nurturing caring and having emotional connection to favour nepotism favouritism.

All will do have a sexual relationship with

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whomever they want, also have a baby but that will be under state's protection and parents will not be known.

These communism was to protect any mis-adventure in his ideal state. But Aristotle criticised plato for this because property is also a source of inspiration and family is a social institution where it provides economic-social-emotional support.

Aristotle called prevention or medication can't be worse than disease.

Thus, Aristotle's criticism ensured plato's improvement in his next work "The laws".

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4(a). MN Roy was the most educated person of India during 20th century. He was a radical - communist - socialist.

Roy was not happy with liberalism or socialism they had just fulfilled the partial need of man. He wanted to provide a brand solution to this.

In his "Radical Humanism: A manifesto", he written that human beings should be at the centre of political philosophy to provide freedom to man.

He was influenced by Ethics of Spinoza, Marx, Hobbes. He provided 3 basic features to ensure radical humanism.

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Firstly, morality based on reason and not religion. This will ensure a rational decision making not influenced by religion or culture.

secondly, Rationality refers to scientific decisions to ensure men can not just choose religion but also reject religions.

Thirdly, Freedom to choose whatever a free man can choose. They would be an independent inviduals.

These 3 core components of Radical humanism provided the basis to ensure human emancipation from the clutches of colonialism and capitalism.

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MN Roy wanted to create a cosmopolitan world where all free individuals can interact with each other. It was similar to "Vasudev Kutumbkam ethos".

However, he was criticised for this meta-narrative as it was too radical to be adopted in a spiritual land like Bharat.

Thus, Sudipto calls MN Roy as a remarkable failure because Indians could not understand the revolutionary ideas of Roy.

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4(b). Virgina wolf defines feminism as a strategy to ensure equal rights and principles for women. There are 3 waves of feminism, first and second being socialist and radical respectively

Socialist feminism as a first wave of feminism questioned on basic economic rights to women. Engels argued that in communism, females will automatically get all their due rights when they participates in revolution.

Lenin was a advocate of this, he proved by making Alexandera Kollantai as first female minister.

However, radical feminists criticise socialist

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feminists because they could not achieve anything than just some bizarre pieces of legislation like right to work, right to get equal pay etc.

Radical feminists like Simon de Bouvoir, Catherine MacKinnon called patriarchy as the basic structure and till it remains, there can't be any real equality.

Carol Hanish calls for "personal is political". Simone explained it to provide state's intervention in private sphere too to end the discrimination. State can improve the position of women by indulging into private sphere like domestic

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Violence act-2005.

They even called gender is a social construction to prove the masculanity and subordination of men over women.

So, IM Young called for differentiated citizenship because they face different kind of violence eg: Metro's first coach reserved for ladies.

However, Sigmand Freud calls women only task is to look attractive to men. As they lack physical capacity vis-a-vis men.

Yet, Both discourses provided to ensure justice to women. As women are already strong, we need to percieve it.

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4(c). Harold Laski defines fascism as the "systematic destruction of liberal values" and owing of economic power.

Fascism is not a systematic school of study but a hodge-podge of ideology (Sabine). It is inspired from fens of philosophers like Hegel (State is a march of God on Earth), Plato's philosopher king, Hobbes' Leviathan etc

So, its features are also mixture of all the philosophies.

Firstly, they promoted a totalitarian state where there will be absolute political obligation (Hobbes) of state authority on the people.

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Secondly, no rights but only national duty. Mussolini called there is no liberty, equality, fraternity but there is duty, discipline and sacrifices for the state.

Thirdly, Economic policies based on "autarky" ie self sufficiency and protectionism.

Fourthly, Jingoistic nationalism and war hysteria to promote ultra-nationalism.

Fifthly, no reasoning and questioning against the state for any action

Sixthly, imperial foreign policy and expansionist policies that led to several wars to occupy territories.

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Seventhly, a military rule based on small grouping like Junta (eg: just like current Myanmar).

This fascism was different from the state in Marxian ideology in several ways. Marxists never called for a military rule, they only promoted dictatorship of proletariat which was also for a short period of time. They even favoured stateless society where state will wither away after communism.

Marxists like Karl Marx himself promoted freedom over liberty to ensure people free will to do-whatever they

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wants to do. But there is no rights or freedom in fascist state.

Young Marx even promoted human emancipation by linking it with human being as a social animal in an Aristotlian sense. However, Human's genocide was seen during Nazism rule, where the killed Jews.

Thus, Marxism is an alternative to capitalism which eventually made Liberalism - a humane ideology (welfare state). But Fascism is based on totalitarian ideology and autocratic rule. There is a structural difference between both.

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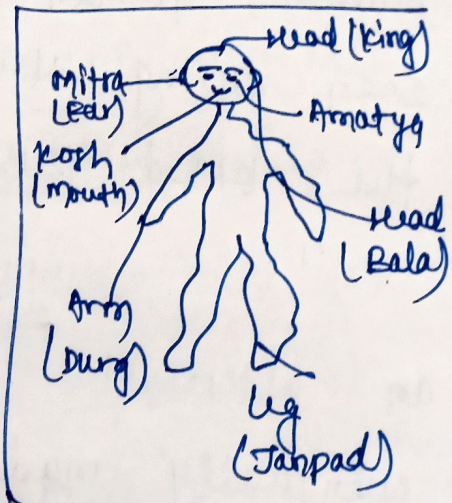
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5. (a). Saptang theory is written by Kautilya in his work "Arthashastra".

Kautilya analysed the state's condition before going into any war. He provided that King should be aware of seven elements.



He represented it with 7 organs of human body namely :-

King (vijigushu) is the most important element. If weak army is there, strong King is present. He can still win the war and not vice versa.

Mitra (Ally) which is like ear who help in time of crisis as a friend.

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Amatya (ministers) act as eye and there should be atleast 3 ministers, so that atleast 2 will be with kings.

Kosh (Treasury) will ensure economic support in the war that will act as mouth.

Bala (Army) who will eventually help a king to win the war by fighting on the ground.

Durg (Fort) which is strong enough to fight from inside.

Janpad (territory) includes whole population.

Thus, Saptang theory forms the basis of statecraft which make aware of situation of a state in advance.

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5(b). Hannah Arendt is a phenomological thinker in the male dominated discipline.

She was a Jew during the time of Hitler in Germany, who had faced atrocities of him.

She defined totatalianism as totalitarianism because nothing has happened like this before. You have to be in Germany in Hitler era to understand what does it mean.

She calls there are certain Ideologies which was propagated by totalitarians, to sell dream of secure nation.

The characteristics of totalitarianisms are sum of use of terror, ideologies and,

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propaganda. He called people had lost their critical thinking to question state. They had entered into private sphere by leaving public sphere.

She called revolution as a way to become non politics. The "action" is the most important component which can be done through political participation. When people act in concert it creates power (sui-generis) which can end the ill-effect of modernity and "false-consciousness".

Thus, Bhikhu Parekh praised her by calling her thinker of public sphere who inspired several protests.

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5(c). Rousseau is the father of french revolution who gave trinity of liberty, equality, fraternity. He was not happy with modernity because people are now in chains of consumerism who used to be noble savage in state of nature. He provided way to come out of this situation by a social contract which he calls popular sovereignty (General will). He provided people would provide their real will which will transform into general will. It will secure the people from any crime and harm.

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Popular sovereignty would be always right and it will have power to punish people when they don't agree on it. "Men is forced to be free".

for eg: Indian preamble reads "we, the people", this represents general will.

However, this became a noble lie because, 'we' don't include whole Indians in the preamble.

It also became inspiration of fascist leaders like Mussolini and Hitler to impose general will forcefully.

Still, Rousseau's ideas act as Inspiration for democratic tradition in several nations.

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5. (d). Political science deals with various thoughts, processes, behaviours. To study these, there are several approaches.

Two of them are empirical and normative approaches. Both have certain structural differences.

First, Normative or philosophical approaches is the oldest approach that deals with "what ought to be" rather than "what is", to find the purpose of good life

However, Empirical approaches developed by Machiavelli who focus on "what is" based soley on observation.

second, Normative approach focus on "values" as provided by idealist like

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Plato, Berlin and Leo-Strauss.

However, Horrowitz Empirical approach focus on "facts". As Lord Bryce called we need only "facts, facts and facts".

Third, Normative approach considers "right or wrong" whereas empirical approach considers "true or false".

Fourth, Normative considers "other worldy" scenarios whereas empirical considers "this worldly" ie practical approach.

Thus, Both are traditional approaches which later led to decline of political science. It was revived by Behaviouralism and post-behaviouralism.

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5(e). Dhananjay Keer calls Ambedkar as the tallest dalit leader who achieved so much for them.

Ambedkar's view on democracy differs from procedural democracy. He consider it as a tool for social justice. He aimed for substantive democracy which will not just limited to political democracy.

Ambedkar called democracy is not just a top-soil or merely form of government. It is the reverence or respect towards fellow man.

He aimed to ensure social democracy by ending the varna system and

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establishing the social welfare of the vulnerables

Economic democracy refers to ending poverty, inequality via economic reforms. He promoted land reforms (state's ownership of land) which was itself radical in nature. Also state has to fulfill the basic needs of humans.

Political democracy in terms of strong opposition and free and fair election to stop the tyranny of majority.

Thus, Ambedkar used TH Green principle to hinder the hinderances in the path of liberty, equality, fraternity (the trinity).

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7.(a). Kautilya has written "Arthashastra" which deals with different principles ranging from politics to society.

Kautilya was concerned with the state of nature (Matsya-nyaya) during Nanda dynasty, so he wanted to establish a peaceful society (similar to Hobbes).

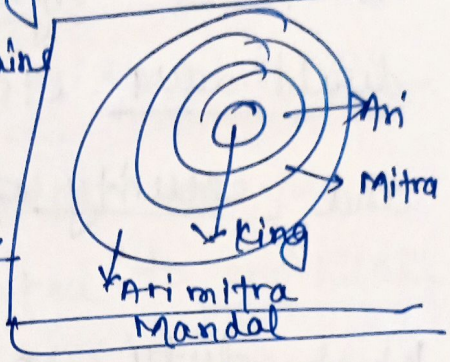
Though, his Arthasastra deals with multiple topics and don't directly concern with state, still his writings provide insights of statecraft.

In his Mandal Siddhant, where he gave 12 kinds of Kings which need to be take care in the neighbourhood. He provided an insight for

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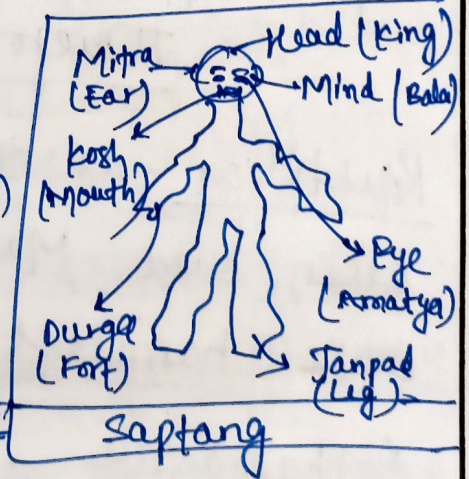
king to aware about any treachery and attack from any side.

This siddhant still remains relevant as Pakistan is our natural enemy (Ari).



Even in his saptang theory, he provided 7 elements to take care off before indulging into any war such as bala, janpad, mitra, amatya, Nabhi (Vijigishu), durga, kosha.

Even, his Arthashastra deals with foreign policy. He calls national interest is the best interest for the state and don't opt for compassion in international sphere.



There are six-fold policy (Sadhguna niti) to deal

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with state in the external affairs such as Vigraha, Asana, Niti, dvaid-dava etc to ensure survival and security of nation.

He even deals with king's duty to fulfill material wellbeing of the citizens (as Yogashem). Corruption, spy system, a strong bureaucracy are also his sphere of work.

Therefore, Max weber called Kautilya as the Indian Machiavelli, even said Machiavelli's prince looks harmless in front of Kautilya's Arthashastra

Thus, Medha Bisht in his "Kautilya's Arthashastra: a strategy of philosophy" called his work filler in Indian strategic thought.

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7.(b). Marx and Ambedkar both are the mass leaders and revolutionaries who worked for emancipation of human.

Ambedkar as the leaders of dalit wanted to annihilate the caste system using state's machinery. These became the major criticism of Marxism by Ambedkar.

Marx called state as the instrument of bourgeois class and preffered stateless society. Whereas Marx's ideas was criticised by Ambedkar who called for affirmative action by state to provide welfare to dalits via reservation.

Ambedkar criticised Marxism for calling economy as

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basic structure of the society because there is a superstructure which is also a basic structure.

Ambedkar called caste being the basic structure in India, therefore he proposed Gramscian method of war of position and manoeuvre.

Ambedkar also not promoted violence and even did not like Marx's views on religion (opium of masses). He called Buddhism is a good religion. It is not an opium.

so, the criticisms are more prevalent.

Ambedkar's idea of socialism was also different from

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marxism because he supported a representative democracy. Unlike socialism, Ambedkar called it democratic socialism where emphasis would be on liberty, equality, fraternity (the trinity of social justice).

He wanted a substantive democracy at 3 levels ie social, economic, political to ensure social welfare by ending the mechanistic man made inequalities in the society.

Thus, Ambedkar democratic socialism can be seen in DPSPs and today's welfare state of modern liberalism.

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Question No. प्रश्न संख्या

U.P.S.C.

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7(c). Neo-Marxism is a neo marxism started by Antonio Gramsci through his prison notebooks (pg 29-35).

Neo-Marxism differs from Marxism in the discourses as it focus on superstructure than base. Gramsci had analysed why the Pod-Marx's ideas ie revolutionary did not come. He found the answer in hegemony.

The core arguments of [Neo-Marxism] focus on culture factor being inspired by Benedito Croce. Gramsci called Marx's mistake was to ignore superstructure. As Marx has said superstructure is just the

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reflection of base. But Gramsci called superstructure is also a structure in itself and not just a reflection.

capitalists are ruling with ideology and not just force that is seem like a common sense

eg: through soft power like pop-music, hollywood etc.

Neo-marxists analysed that there are 2-layers of defence - first being the layer of attraction where consent are being manufactured (Noam-Chomsky).

Second layer is the layer of coercion which comes into play when first layer fails.

eg: use of military force but it causes resistance, so they don't use generally.

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So, Neo-marxists called that just change in base would not lead to end of capitalism because the superstructure's hegemony would be still there.

Therefore, Neo-Marxists like Antonio Gramsci provided a 2 level solution. First as war of position (counter hegemony) to generate consent among public to end their Ideologies.

eg: Dalitism against Brahminism.

Second as war of manoeuvre to fight against capitalist in a direct attack. This is just in short time to replace the bourgeoises.

eg: Gandhi used this

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strategy in Non-co-operation as war of position and Quit India as war of manoeuvre (Bipin Chandra).

This can be done with the help of organic and traditional intellectuals who can build the counter-hegemony, and forms dictatorship of proletariat.

However, Neo-marxists failed to focus on multiple apparatuses such as coercive and ideological both as per Althuser.

Thus, Neo-marxism has revived the Marxism from decline and makes it relevant in contemporary conditions (N. Bobbio).