

NEXT IAS

(To be filled by candidate)

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Exam Centre : Old Rajinder Nagar ☐ Bhopal ☐ Jaipur ☐
 Mukherjee Nagar ☐ Prayagraj ☐ Online ☒

CSE (MAINS) TEST SERIES-2024

Test-06

POLITICAL SCIENCE &
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Dated : 04-08-2024

Time Allowed : Three Hours

Maximum Marks: 250

QUESTION PAPER SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS

(Please read each of the following instructions carefully before attempting questions)

There are **EIGHT** questions divided in **Two** sections and printed in **ENGLISH**.

Candidate has to attempt **FIVE** questions in all.

Question No. 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, any **THREE** are to be attempted choosing at least **ONE** question from each section.

The number of marks carried by a question/part is indicated against it.

Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the Admission Certificate which must be stated clearly on the cover of this Question-cum- Answer (QCA) booklet in the space provided.

No marks will be given for answers written in a medium other than the authorized one.

Word limit in questions, wherever specified, should be adhered to.

Attempts of question shall be counted in sequential order, unless struck off. Attempt of a question shall be counted even if attempted partly. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the Question cum Answer (QCA) booklet must be clearly struck off.

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(For filling by Examiners only)

Q. No.	Page No.	Max. Marks	Marks	Total	Signature
1. (a)	4	10			
1. (b)	6	10			
1. (c)	8	10			
1. (d)	10	10			
1. (e)	12	10			
2. (a)	14	15			
2. (b)	17	15			
2. (c)	20	20			
3. (a)	24	15			
3. (b)	27	15			
3. (c)	30	20			
4. (a)	34	15			
4. (b)	37	15			
4. (c)	40	20			
5. (a)	44	10			
5. (b)	46	10			
5. (c)	48	10			
5. (d)	50	10			
5. (e)	52	10			
6. (a)	54	15			
6. (b)	57	15			
6. (c)	60	20			
7. (a)	64	15			
7. (b)	67	15			
7. (c)	70	20			
8. (a)	74	15			
8. (b)	77	15			
8. (c)	80	20			
Grand Total					

Remarks

Observations:

SECTION-A

Write the following question in about 150 words.

Q.1 (a)

Affirmative action and Equality. Comment.

(10 marks, 150 words)

D.W Holmes carried forward what Aristotle held that 'It is unjust to treat unequals equally'

thus, Inequality is the greatest cause of revolution and Injustice which demands positive catalysts like Affirmative Actions.

Although no conservative theory criticizes Affirmative Action because it kills the merit, but recently Chief Justice of India, DY Chandrachud argued that 'Equality of opportunity' is not enough for today's competitive atmosphere.

Similarly, although broader social rights and Justice theory held that

Equality is Antithetical to Liberty and rejects concepts like Affirmative Actions.

But, Dworkin in 'Taking rights seriously' calls for concepts like Affirmative Actions to equalize the differences to overcome the 'brute luck' and historical injustices.

Thus Affirmative Actions balances the concept of Equality and Liberty as per social liberals like John Rawls in his substantive theory of Justice (1971).

~~Thus~~, this means that Equality and Affirmative Actions are based on the concept of 'Differentiated Equality' through which we can give a chance to the hitherto Unrepresented sections of society.

Q.1 (b)

Idea of natural rights in western political thoughts.

(10 marks, 150 words)

Natural rights are based on the concept of inalienable rights by virtue of existence as given by classical liberals like John Locke and Thomas Paine.

In western political thought it emerged with Thomas Hobbes social contract who calls natural rights as powers in state of nature where 'might was right'.

thus he formed the basis that state is the source of rights [Utilitarian view] which Bentham too in his Anarchical fallacy called 'legalistic theory of rights' where 'Natural rights are non sense upon stilts'.

But, John Locke in his progressive view of human nature [through glorious revolution 1688] called reason as the source of rights where Natural Rights are given to us by nature and our existence o

Natural rights tradition thus goes for rights as Universal, inalienable, Equitable, Indivisible and Permanent o
It formed the basis for human Rights Declaration on 10th December 1948 and the 3 Generation of Rights given by Karel Vasch.

Although later criticised by Edmund Burke who called Society's Culture as the source of rights and called Natural Rights as 'metaphysical abstraction'.

But, Natural Rights are thus today the most powerful Idea of Liberalism and need Depoliticisation.

Q.1 (c)

Explain Gramsci's Distinction Between Hegemony and Domination.

(10 marks, 150 words)

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Gramsci, father of Neo Marxist theory and theoretician of Structuralism called Hegemony as 'Intellectual - Cultural Domination'.

He called Hegemony as the consent of the Governed where it results into a Two-way Exchange process, however Domination is a One way Domination / Power Exercise from top to Bottom.

He held that while Hegemony resides with civil society and Integral State, but Domination lies with the State.

Through his 'Integral State', Gramsci calls Hegemony as the basis of class of

Position² which can later result into
a loss of Manoeuvre •

Thus, Hegemony is Controlling the mind, while Domination is a mere control of the Bodies • He calls for Intellectual Class to form the basis of Hegemony in society to counter the Dominated Junta or the totalitarian rule of Mussolini, that is why Mussolini held that Gramsci should not be allowed to think •

For this reason, Chantal Mouffe called Gramsci as the one who saved Marxism from being called as 'crude Economic Determinism', and held that we have entered into an era of Gramscianism from Marxism.

Q.1 (d)

Examine the postmodernist theory of power in the contemporary world.

(10 marks, 150 words)

Post modernists held that what money is to Economics, power is to Politics.

In contemporary times, we can see the logic of Nietzsche's 'Genealogy of morals', when he held that God is dead and we have killed him, he even held that power can make a person become a Super Man.

But, Michael Foucault through his knowledge-power connection in book 'Birth of a clinic' carried it forward.

Post modernism thus believed that Foucault's ideas of 'power is everywhere' and focus in society like 'capillaries'

and in a diffused form, and criticizes Thomas Hobbes Unidirectional Monistic theory of power, instead gives a 'Micro View of power' where 'Discourses' represent power, Example Science is a Discourse today, what Christianity was in medieval times.

Through concepts like Governability (conduct of the conduct), Bio-power and Disciplinary Power, today the concept of Panopticon Design of prison shows the 'Power of self conduct' and the Autopilot mode where people fear that they are being watched, hence are Governed on that basis.

Thus, Post modernism theory of Power shows us that Power is Diffused & civil society, people, state, all possess power.

Q.1 (e)

Rawls's critique of utilitarianism is in line with his concept of the basic structure of society. (10 marks, 150 words)

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John Rawls, a social egalitarian, devised Normative theory through his 'A theory of Justice'.

He criticised Utilitarianism as a principle of Ethics and Justice and gave a Holistic idea of Justice through his article 'Justice as Fairness' (1959) where he wanted Justice as the basis of the society (1st Virtue) just as Truth is the basis of Idealism.

Inspired from moral Individualism of Immanuel Kant and concept of Human Dignity, he wanted 'Justice' and not 'Utility' as the basis of society.

Through his veil of Ignorance, where people are moral Individuals in Kantian

Sense, he came out with lexical
order through maximin principle of
'Desert, Merit, Need' and through reflective

Equilibrium gave a lexical order :-

- ① Liberty principle
- ② Equality of Opportunity
- ③ Difference principle .

Thus, he criticised Utilitarianism
of Jeremy Bentham where 'Man' becomes
Selfish in outcomes but what is
required is balance between Liberty and
Equality .

He thus supported Progressive
Taxation as an ideal of Distributive
Idea of Justice, but Robert Nozick

criticised it through his Procedural theory
of Justice based on rights theory .

Thus John Rawls position in Political
theory is similar to of Plato's in Ancient
Greece

Q.2 (a)

Discuss how equality of opportunity is different from equality of outcome.
(15 marks, 200 words)

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Dworkin called Equality as a sovereign virtue and as a moral minimum to achieve the idea of meaningful life in a Democratic Society where there are no second class citizens.

However, Equality of opportunity is a 'Liberal Discourse' whereas as 'Equality of Outcome' is a 'Socialist Discourse'.

Equality of Outcomes means applying the socialist idea of Equality as the basic structure of society where they consider it the basis to achieve Political Equality. Thus social and economic Equality is the most desired virtue.

However, Classical liberals like Graham Sumner held that 'Drunkard in the gutter is where he ought to be'.

which means you cannot always compensating someone who messes up with their life again and again and for this reason they believe that equality is antithetical to liberty .

Hayek in book 'Constitution of Liberty' called 'Progressive taxation as a bonded labourer' and Robert Nozick in book 'Anarchy, State and Utopia' believed in idea of handling our even Security functions to Market, thus called as Semi Anarchist.

However, Communists like Karl Marx gave the concept of distribution to each according to his need, Socialists believed in distributing 'to each according to his work', where as liberals believed in 'to each according to his ability'

Thus, Socialism of Ralph Miliband

in book 'Socialism for Skeptical Age'
applied Instrumental theory and held
that state is an instrument of capitalist
class which means there is a need
for Equality of outcomes through social
and Economic Equality because state
would ultimately favour the rich class.

Thus we can say that, while
Equality of outcomes attempts to form
egalitarian society, but it has been
criticized for killing the merit, but Equality
of opportunities while on one hand provides
fair chance to everyone, but ignores
the inherent 'Brute luck' concept like
disadvantage at the time of birth.

Hence, what is needed is Capability
Approach of Amartya Sen and Martha
Nussbaum which balances both through
access to health, resources and Education -

Q.2 (b)

Deliberative democracy is meaningless without participation, and participatory democracy lacks credibility without deliberation. (15 marks, 200 words)

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Democracy has Intrinsic, Institutional and Educative value which can come through Deliberation and Participation both and not excluding any of both.

Deliberative Democracy in true sense means 'Informed Participation' while Participative Democracy means Debates over choices and Discussion over voting.

Deliberative Democracy is thus meaningless without participation because without participation one can never Deliberate. For instance Habermas (radical democrat) through his Idea Of Public Sphere, Ideal Speech Situation and Communicative Action shows that it is not the Parliament but the coffee

houses where democratic culture is shaped •

Similarly, we can take example of Parliamentary committees and Parliament, where Woodrow Wilson held that 'Congress in Committee is actually where Congress is at work', this means that although Deliberation takes in Parliament, but is only in Committees where one can freely participate and Deliberate •

Similarly, Participatory Democracy lacks credibility without Deliberation because Democracy in totality means Debates, Discussion, Dialogue where Peter J. Hall stated that Deliberation is never a stumbling block

This means 'Popular Sovereignty'² of Rousseau is Actualised only when people form General will or Democracy truly results into participation when people form Overlapping Consensus on different opinions.

For this reason, Lorato, father of Idealism called for 'Art of Questioning' and held that 'Unexamined life is not worth living'² which means a combination of both Participation and Deliberation where Public Sphere respects the Freedom of speech and Expression in totality.

We can also see Hannah Arendt concept of 'Political Action' being the logical result of applying Deliberation and Participation where 'Vita Activa' results in Freedom in true sense.

Q.2 (c)

Discuss the Need for Global Cooperation in Addressing Contemporary Human Rights Challenges. (20 marks, 250 words)

Human Rights is the most powerful idea of our times where Quentin calls rights as trump².

Taking cue from lessons learnt after Hitler's atrocities on Jews, came the idea of Universal Declaration of Human Rights on 10th December 1948. but today we face various challenges to this very idea of Human Rights.

Jack Donnelly believes in contemporary world reason should form basis of rights taking cue from John Locke's idea, but we see long arm of the state getting longer (eg) preventive Detentions like in India, Cultural Emergency like murder of Jamal Khashoggi denying

Freedom of Speech (highest right according to John Locke).

The violation of rights in times of war, Women's rights as a weapon of war (eg) Nadia Murad's 'The Last Girl' book narrates how Sexual Violence is used as a weapon of war.

Today, we can see that even right to participate is being denied in public sphere (eg) Hannah Arendt's philosophy which calls Fascism as pathology where Totalitarian regimes have taken over through Bureaucratically centralised violence.

For instance, #EndBadGovernance protests in Nigeria recently, #KokoMustGo (Protests against Kogi's Bureaucracy) are being brutally curbed through state's

Violence.

The rights of refugees (eg) 23 million refugees worldwide, rights compromised because of climate crisis etc.

All this demands, GLOBAL COOPERATION in addressing the above Contemporary Human Rights challenges where 3 Generation of Rights by Karol Vasch needs to be strictly adhered to, and there is a need to Depoliticize the Idea of Human Rights.

This is so because, Terrorism being used as a State Policy (eg) by Iran, Pakistan through proxies such as Hamas, Hezbollah can result into the loss of idea of Human Dignity by Immanuel Kant, in

Today's ~~see~~ time Allen Genseth is the largest advocate of it.

This necessitates the seeing of the world as a whole by bringing into focus the idea of liberal Institutionalism of Woodrow Wilson of to convert Jungle into Zoo, along with sociological liberalism of Karl Deutsch to bring a Global consensus on Human Rights.

This is so because what Mother Teresa resonates strongly that
'Human rights are not a privilege conferred by Government, but every human being's entitlement by virtue of HUMANITY'.

Hence Human Rights are Universal, and Inalienable and Global consensus through cooperation can be achieved.

Q.3 (a)

Discuss how the capability approach reshapes our understanding of equality.

(15 marks, 200 words)

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Q.3 (b)

Examine Robert Dahal's views on democracy.

(15 marks, 200 words)

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Q.3 (c)

Critically comment on underlying assumptions of Rawls' theory justice.

(20 marks, 250 words)

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Q.4 (a)

Multiculturalism rejects the liberal ideal of universal citizenship, giving an alternative framework of differentiated citizenship. Discuss. (15 marks, 200 words)



Q.4 (b)

Political ideology as the base of power. Comment.

(15 marks, 200 words)

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Q.4 (c)

Laski's theory of rights manages to achieve both- individual liberty and social justice.
Analyse the statement.
(20 marks, 250 words)

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SECTION-B

Write the following question in about 150 words.

Q.5 (a)

Write a short note on- "Legitimation Crisis" as an indicator of potential issues within a political system.

(10 marks, 150 words)

Habermas, neo marxist scholar gave the idea of Legitimation crisis in a welfare state which a state is bound to face because of application of Capitalism in Economics and Socialism in Politics.

It is an indicator of potential issues within the system because no longer can the state sustain the Populist approach in Welfare Economics. This is also Evident because the state in 3rd world countries are more of Bonapartist states and Economically backward as explained by Hamza Alavi too (Structuralist).

Legitimation crisis thus exposes the fault line in the state and poor Economic management o thus Habermas calls for Ideal speech, Public sphere and Communicative Action and to overcome such Legitimation crisis where people can give legitimacy to through Debates in the 'Coffee houses' rather than being mere beneficiaries of Freebies.

Political system thus never operates in a vacuum as is taught by systems approach of David Easton and there is need of a critical perspective, we can see such crisis in Bangladesh today, even campaigns in Kenya against the President (Eg) #RutoMustGo, so shows such crisis o

Thus, Information in Political, legal, Judiciary is a continuation process to overcome it.

Q.5 (b)

Short note - Asian Value Debate.

(10 marks, 150 words)

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Cultural Relativism calls for the dissent against Universal Western value obsession, where they call Western Discourse of Democracy and Human Rights as Cultural Imperialism and a WESTERN OBSESSION.

Thus Lee Kuan Yew calls for Asian Values based on Asian Content where Asian solidarity and diversity is respected as giving an Alternative perspective.

Similarly Larry Diamond called about the Paradoxes of Democracy as Democracy is not suited for Asian countries and Asian situation which demands Authority, Solidarity rather than Individualism of the West.

Other examples and proponents of Asian Values are Mahatir Mohammad of Malaysia, where he often said about need to overcome the Western Submissiveness which has ruled in the name of 'Whitman's burden since Ages'.

Thus, Multiculturalists like Wille Kymlicka in book 'Multicultural Citizenship' also talks about the need for recognition of diversity, and Bhikhu Parekh however gives a Post-colonial Multicultural View in book Rethinking Multiculturalism (optimistic approach) calling for ^{Dialogue} Debate between civilisations².

However, Ananya Sen counters Lee Kuan Yew arguments by arguing that he gives a Unidirectional perspective and instead calls for a Helistic Approach².

Q.5 (c)

Significance of deliberation in making democracies successful. (10 marks, 150 words)

Pericles, the Athenian Statesman held that 'Deliberation is never a Stumbling Block', and means Dialogues, Debates and Discussion.

It has a huge significance in making democracy successful because as CJI Dy Chandrachud also held that 'Dissent is the safety valve of Democracy, otherwise the pressure cooker may Burst'.

Deliberation, hence is required through Public sphere, Ideal speech situation and Communicative Action in the words of Habermas; or forming a Counter Public says Nancy Fraser's Radical Democracy concepts.

It brings the different perspectives in open as explained as by Joshua Cohen who held that Participation leads to Informed Deliberation where Debates over choices and Dialogues over Voting is what makes Democracy Successful.

India is an ideal example, where Democracy has been successful because we have also decentralized democracy bringing into effect the Dynamic Circle of Power of Mahatma Gandhi, whereas the neighbouring countries of Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka tried to curb dissent and are in tatters today.

Soviet Union also collapsed when it did not listen to its people, thus Deliberation forms the Overlapping consensus and General will of Rousseau and ~~not~~ makes Democracy Successful.

Q.5 (d)

Discuss the significance of the veil of ignorance and original position in Rawls's theory of justice. (10 marks, 150 words)

John Rawls in his theory of Justice (1971) called Moral Individuals (in Kantian sense) to form a social contract and come out with theory of Justice as Fairness through his concept of Veil of Ignorance and Original Position.

Original position is a thought Experiment of John Rawls similar to the state of nature of John Locke, Thomas Hobbes where people are behind 'Veil of Ignorance' and are unaware of the social biases and thus can debate in the open and come out with logical conclusions.

People thus have basic knowledge of Economics and sociology where

they can distribute the goods, which are normative values like Justice, liberty, equality through the principles of Desert, Merit, Need .

thus Veil of Ignorance in original position helps people form 'rational opinions' through 'Reflexive Equilibrium' based on maximin principle where the least desired option is kept at the last .

thus people come out with 'A theory of Justice' free of biasness and benial order through which people even out the differences as society makes the outcomes Just . Although later criticised by communitarians like Michael Walzer than Man can never be isolated and is Situated Self, but Rawls intention was to Give a Justice based Society .

Q.5 (e)

Weberian view of Power.

(10 marks, 150 words)

Max Weber, gave an Authoritative view of Power where Power is the ability of getting things done by others.

A Sociological Liberalist, he gave the concept of Authority through Political - Sociological approach by saying that Authority is Power plus Legitimacy.

This meant that without Legitimacy, one cannot convert Power as consent of Governed, based on what Rousseau said 'A powerful man is not powerful until he converts his strength into rights and power into legitimacy'.

Thus, he gave various modes through which power could be established, it included through Charismatic personality, Coercive State or Institutional values.

He also gave the concept of Bureaucracy through which power is exercised and criticised Karl Marx communism and Revolution concepts.

Thus, later Steuin dukes in his 3 dimensional view of power called websterian model as a mere domination in which 'A' coerces 'B' to follow rules and not as an Agenda setting concept and Hegemony formation, which Gramsci often talked about.

Q.6 (a)

Discuss the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

(15 marks, 200 words)

Taking lessons from Hitler's Atrocities
on Jews and World War II [1939-1949]
 the idea of UDHR took shape on
10th December 1948 .

UDHR describe Human Rights
 as Universal, Inalienable, Equitable,
Permanent, Indivisible with
Article 1 saying: " All Human Beings are
born Equal in Dignity and Respect " .

Thus Karel Vasak concept of
3 Generation of Human Rights took
logical shape in the form of

- ① International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. [ICCPR]
- ② International Covenants on Social and Economic Rights [ICESCR]

This together with UDHR, these are called as International Bill of Rights. While Karel Vasak adds 3rd dimension to it as Political Development Rights.

However, the ~~International~~ United Nations Human Rights Commission which consists of 48 members and International Criminal Court (Rome Statute) are the Institutional Avenues or the logical concept of Rights Enforcement.

However, what is needed today is a Global dialogue on rights because of the recent Ukraine conflict [32,000 people dead], Israel Palestine conflict since 7th October 2023 [more than 40,000 dead] has put question mark

on the UDHR regime as a whole.

The need to Depoliticize the Human Rights Issue is needed because irresponsible state actors like Iran use proxies like Hamas, Hezbollah to put a mockery on Human Rights Concept.

Thus, until the separate between Good terrorism and bad terrorism, until we recognize that when a human life begins, whether in womb or after Birth; the Human Rights concept till then appears a farce.

Thus, liberalists like John Locke, Thomas Paine in medieval 19th century did called for natural rights but today what is needed is to take lessons from such Intellectuals as it is Reason which is the source of Human Rights.

Q.6 (b)

Explain how deliberative democracy reflects both- collective will as well personal freedom.
(15 marks, 200 words)

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Deliberative Democracy means Informed Participation and meaningful debates based on Dialogues, Discussions and Debates similar to Socratic's 'Art of Questioning'.

It represents 'Collective ^{Will} Freedom' because of the concept of Popular Sovereignty is rooted in the Deliberative Democracy which Rousseau's 'General Will' represents through the idea of Deliberation and Participation (Invisible, Collective and Always right) (eg) Constituent Assembly.

It represent the collective will also when the people form 'Overlapping Consensus' on Political concepts of Justice

(John Rawls book Political Liberalism)

Thus, People when participate through Ideal or Speech Situation, communicative action in Public, it thus forms what Habermas describes as Radical Democracy and true Deliberation.

Nancy Fraser thus calls for 'Counter Public' to form 'Coalition of Classes' to attain Personal Freedom.

Thus, Personal Freedom is attained in Deliberative Democracy through Hannah Arendt's 'Human Condition' in which through Political Action (Vita et Activa) and participation in Public Sphere (Polis), one can truly find oneself and attain freedom.

She explains it as a victory of Zoon Politikon over Homo Faber and Animal Laboron because people under Authoritarian leaders become 'Superfluous Masses' and lose capacity to even think.

thus, Political Participation gives them Personal Freedom to rediscover themselves.

Here, 'Deliberation is never a stumbling block' says Pericles which Joshua Cohen calls as victory of Debates over Choices and Discussion over Voting and results into Collective Will & Personal Freedom.

Q.6 (c)

Power is resorted when the authority fails to get legitimacy in society. In light of this statement, discuss the relation among Power, authority and legitimacy.

(20 marks, 250 words)

Max Weber gives a Political - Sociological approach to Power

by saying that Authority is the combination of Power plus Legitimacy.

Learning from mathematics and Empirical observational method

we can balance L.H.S and R.H.S (eg)

Authority = Power + Legitimacy [Weber]

$\therefore$ Power = Authority - Legitimacy Taking it to L.H.S we get

Thus, it is true when
Rousseau held that "Even the
Strongest Man is never strong
until he converts his ~~rights~~ to
Strength into rights and Power into
Authority"

Thus, legitimacy is extremely important concept here because it reflects the consent of the governed. Power can even be $\neq$ with the military rule, but they never have the legitimacy of people.

This could be seen in recent Bangladesh crisis, where as per Global analysis that the 2024 elections in Bangladesh were not free and fair, thus there occurred a legitimation crisis few months later $\neq$ and Authority collapsed.

Several other Global examples include where totalitarian regimes try to conquer power like Hitler and Mussolini, but that only reflected

Power and not Legitimacy

Legitimacy thus reflects the Consent of people (eg) through Free and Fair Elections and Fair Application of Law, Due Process, Giving Equality of opportunity etc.

Aristotle held that people's Legitimacy is evident through Law Abiding behaviour, Payment of taxes etc.

Thus Power is Unidirectional whereas Authority is Bidirectional where people and State both interact. Steven Lukes in his book 'Power: A radical view' gives 3D view of

Power where power needs to be a combination of Domination, Hegemony and Agenda Setting .

Thus as described by Elitist scholars like Pareto, Mosca, Robert Michels that Power is Circulation of Elites, but Pluralists advocate for Alternate Centers of power, we can see that any model could result into Lack of Legitimacy because power ultimately resides with the people who man the Institutions and not the Institutions alone .

Hence, the need of the hour is 'Dynamic Circles of Power' rather than 'Circulation of Elites' to Gain Legitimacy.

Q.7 (a)

Examine the C.B.Machpersons's critique of democracy. Discuss his concept of Radical Democracy. (15 marks, 200 words)



Q.7 (b) Discuss the entitlement theory of justice.

(15 marks, 200 words)

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Q.7 (c) Equality is the foundation of liberty . Analyse the statement. (20 marks, 250 words)

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Q.8 (a)

Discuss the features of representative democracy. What challenges are facing contemporary democracies? (15 marks, 200 words)

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J.S Mill (described as Reluctant Democrat by C.B Macpherson) called Representative Democracy as the 2nd Best form of Government after Direct Democracy.

Features include people electing their representatives through the System of Elections & the Delegate model of representativeness argued by Thomas Hobbes calls for narrow representativeness where only delegated powers are to be given to representatives.

However, Enlightened model of J.S Mill argues for 'wider powers' of

Representative.

Other features include Representative debating at the will of people through political parties or under pressure tactics through Pressure Groups (Pluralist model) where there is more Transparency and Accountability achieved (eg) USA & India.

Challenges faced in contemporary democracies include the fear of J-S Mill which is representative democracy becoming Tyranny of Majority where Democracy gets reduced to the Game of numbers (eg) recent collapse in Bangladesh.

Other challenges include the

Emergence of Power Elites where
Circulation of Elites happens and
democracy reduced to Popul Demagogic
leaders emergence to woo voters
to gain power (Eg) Facebook.

It is for this reason Rousseau
held that 'English men are free only
once in 5 years' (at the time of
Voting.) •

Today, we can see the
Parliament becoming Anarchy (Hamid
Ansari described it) where Debates
are ~~scarce~~ rare and Informed
debates rarer •

Thus what is needed is
Enlightened model where there is
victory of Power of Argument in Democracy

Q.8 (b)

For Rawls, to what extent democratic equality is crucial for justice? Analyze.

(15 marks, 200 words)

Candidates must not write on this margin

John Rawls is book 'Theory of Justice' (1971) called for Normative Values of Equality, Liberty being the basis for Justice.

As a social and Egalitarian liberal, he tried to attain a balance between Equality and Liberty (hitherto considered as Antithetical by Classical liberals like Hayek, Robert Nozick).

He formed it as basis of his idea of Distributive Justice to achieve Substantive theory of Justice where the Unfair Advantage to few could be tackled through Progressive Taxation for the disadvantaged.

The Democratic Equality he talked about could be achieved through fair distribution of resources in original position where people are behind Veil of Ignorance and are Moral Individuals with rationality.

They come to the idea of Justice as Fairness through the principles of Desert, merit, need through the lexical order:-

- ① Liberty principle
- ② Equality of opportunity
- ③ Difference principle.

Thus, he says that the idea of Justice would be fair

to all because it has been done
through Democratic Equality.

However, it was criticised by
Structural Justice exponents like
Robert Nozick who called Progressive
Taxation as a bonded Labour.

Similarly, Communitarians
like Michael Sandel, Michael Walzer
held that Man is never isolated and
'Situational Self' and asks for the
Cultural Relative aspect of Justice.

Even Amartya Sen calls
for Superiority of Nyay over Niti and
thus goes for moral choice over rational
choice and Capability approach to
Make people Equal in Capability.

Q.8 (c)

Comment on: "Power flows throughout the system like blood in the capillaries of our body." (Foucault)

(20 marks, 250 words)

Michael Foucault in book

'Discipline and Punish' gave the
post modernist and post Structural
view of power .

He held that power is
everywhere and flows like blood
in capillaries means it goes and
comes from anywhere , and criticised
Thomas Hobbes' Unidirectional theory
of sovereignty based power .

Hence called for Power being
multidirectional and Micro view
taking inspiration from Nietzsche's
'Genealogy of morals' , applying the

Archaeological and Genealogical approach
to concept of power is book

6 Madness and Civilisation 2

He held that in modern times,
~~power is~~ a Discourse, where Science
has become the dominant way of
telling the reality, rather than
the Realist Reality being seen simply
at face value 0

Earlier Christianity was the
dominant discourse, but today it
is science, it is similar to
Thomas Kuhn's Paradigms of Truth 0

This shows that power
not just resides in State alone,
but in State, people, Civil Society 0

Through the concepts of Governmentality, Biopower, Disciplinary Action, he shows how 'Criminality' has been made a discourse.

There has been the 'Panopticon Design'² or the '3rd eye' to keep people in the State of fear of authority and describes Governmentality as the conduct of the conduct.

This shows that Power is not concentrated in a single ball but in the Body Politic, ~~the~~ where people accept the Power of someone because Power represents Knowledge.

Thus he shows knowledge-power connection as doctor represents the knowledge of medicine, the reason why people accept the power of doctor.

Hence, Post modernism believes in the power diffused in the Body politic where it can enter and exit from anywhere like the blood in capillaries.