

NEXT IAS

(To be filled by candidate)

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Roll No. : MT24PSIL1009 Date of Exam : 16-08-2024

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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)

Equality is a sovereign virtue (Dworkin).
A state is virtuous which treats every
citizen with Equality.

Affirmative action calls for
substantive equality. It is an end
state where everyone focuses on
fair equality of opportunity.

Affirmative action does not
believe in Neo-liberal or classical
liberal view of negative liberty.
According to them "Drunkard in the
gutter is where he ought to be"

Positive liberal or Modern
liberal focuses on affirmative
actions to bring true equality.

John Rawls (difference principle) tries to minimise the inequality and make inequality appears just.

Doorman (Resource equality) and compensation of brute luck through endowment insensitive auction (insurance scheme) tries to balance between equality and liberty.

Affirmative actions are necessary to promote Equity (Equality with justice). eg: Indian constitution in Article 15(3), 15(4) and 16(4) provides reservations to tackle to historical injustice.

Amartya Sen capability approach should be followed in the longer term to promote Equity.

Q.1 (b)

Idea of natural rights in western political thoughts.

(10 marks, 150 words)

John Locke is considered as the father of Natural Rights.

According to Locke, 'Reason is man's guide, which not to harm others in life, liberty and property'.

These rights are natural rights, as it existed in the state of nature through Reason.

Before the advent of state, people were enjoying Natural Rights (Natural law of reason) which are universal, inalienable rights. Even after state come into existence, state cannot take away these rights (idea of minimal state).

This resulted into idea of absolute right over property eg: Nozick entitlement theory and Locke as scholar of positive individualism

These natural rights act as check against the power of state
subject to political obligation)

However, forbes do not believe in natural rights. He proposed legal rights and called natural rights as counsel of prudence

Conservatives like Edmund Burke called natural rights as 'metaphysical abstractions' and called customary rights as true source of rights.

However, natural rights has proved effective to prevent authoritarianism.

Q.1 (c)

Explain Gramsci's Distinction Between Hegemony and Domination.

(10 marks, 150 words)

Gramsci is known as the father of Neo-Marxism. The most famous theory of Gramsci is his theory of hegemony.

Hegemony is a soft power, power of attraction which acts on the mind of people. It is not the power of common sense.

Hegemony is not natural, it is constructed or manufactured by the civil society intellectuals.

The continuance of the capitalist state is not because of force hegemony which is creating legitimacy in favour of the state and the ruling class.

Domination is a type of hard power.
It acts on ~~our~~ physical body, it is
a power of coercion.

It brings hatred over whom
domination is exercised. example -
the capitalist class (bourgeoisie) exercise
domination over the proletariats. This
cause resentments among
proletariats and arises the fear of
revolution.

To prevent such revolution
where contradictions are clearly visible,
they resort to hegemony (which
common sense of workers) and
generate false consciousness.
Idea of interpellation (Althusser)

The solution is building counter-
hegemony by building consciousness of
subaltern class.

Q.1 (d)

Examine the postmodernist theory of power in the contemporary world
(10 marks, 150 words)

"Postmodernism is incredulity towards metanarratives" - Lyotard

Postmodernist reject any ~~meta~~ meta theory
like liberal view of power or
elite view of power.

Foucault gives the postmodernist
view of power. According to him,
'power is knowledge'. There is
no fixed power in any state
apparatus but power exist
everywhere in network of
capillaries. (complex network of
social relations).

Foucault provided the
sociological view of power.

Power is everywhere, it comes from everywhere and it goes everywhere.

Power is not coercion, rather exercise on mind (disciplinary power). The disciplinary institutions exercise powers by creating knowledge.

Knowledge is discourse (narratives created) and there is no absolute knowledge.

Through these knowledge they create identity of the subject.

There is no free will as society exerts power everytime which is creating our identity and shaping our choices.

Thus postmodernist able to shift the view of power from State to society.

Q.1 (e)

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

Candidates
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"Rawls is always the starting point
in contemporary political philosophy"
— NOZICK

Rawls was critique of utilitarianism.
utilitarianism based on concept
of utility. It focuses on creating
general welfare (greatest happiness
for greatest number)

however, by promoting
common good, utilitarianism may
compromise with individual
liberty. It may violate human
dignity (majority over minority).

Thus, according to Rawls,
equality has to be democratised -
he gave concept of democratic

equality over utilitarianism equality
of welfare. The theory of justice
is based on inviolability of
human dignity.

In two way equity can be
promoted in society. This is in line
with his concept of basic structure
of society. Man is not ~~the~~ atomistic
individual who has rationality

to choose between right and
wrong (maxim's thinking).
Man is moral in Rawlsian sense,
He has the sense to develop
the right for himself. Thus it
is imperative to respect human
dignity (human choice). Utilitarianism
was respecting this choice and
human dignity.

Thus justice should be based on
inviolability of human dignity.

Q.2 (a)

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

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"Equality is sovereign virtue" — Dworkin

Equality is a modern concept. It is a new concept in discourse of political theory and philosophy and hence it is a debated concept.

Liberals mainly focus on equality of opportunity while Marxist and Socialist calls for equality of outcomes.

Though both focuses on equality, however their means is not the same. Equality of opportunity is a procedural theory or means theory, while Equality

of outcome is an end state theory or substantive theory.

According to liberals like Nozick, equality should not contradict with liberty. This can happen only when the initial distribution of the resources are distributed fairly. Hence every human should have a fair Equality of opportunity.

They should have a fair equality of opportunity to own private property, decide their end goals (secondary goods). They advocates for minimalist state i.e. they do not want any affirmative actions (drunkard in the gutter).

is where he ought to be). whatever inequality arises after giving fair equality of opportunity is justified. Equality of outcomes is not state concern.

However, Marxists want complete equality. They call for ending the inequalities existing in the society. Marx's idea of communism (classless and stateless society).

But Marxists approach is lacking individual liberty. Hence both the approaches were reduced by modern liberal theorists like John Rawls (justice as fairness - difference principle) and Dworkin (endowment insensitive auction); balancing liberty with equality.

Q.2 (b)

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

Candidates must not write on this margin

Democracy is not for the rule of majority but the protection of minority - Albert Camus.

There are different models of democracy like participative democracy, deliberative democracy and representative democracy.

Since Ancient times of Greece, political philosopher like Aristotle emphasised on 'participatory democracy' (or Republicanism). Only when man participates in politics he achieves Eudaimonia.

However, only participation would not lead to democracy. It

lack credibility without deliberation.
eg: In India, Gram Sabha people
participates but there is no
deliberation. Similarly, in Indian
parliament, MPs participates but
bills are passed without deliberation.

Thus, to make participative
democracy credible, deliberation is
required. According to Hannah Arendt,
only when man participate and
deliberate in public sphere they
exercise freedom (theory of action)
and legitimate power (theory of
power).

Deliberation is important as
it promotes thinking and prevents
the spectre of totalitarianism.
(Karl Popper - closed society).

Similarly, deliberative democracy is meaningless without participation.

Eg: in the 18th Lok Sabha, still women
accounts for just 14% of the
seat (PRS)

Thus, due to lack of
effective participation, there is
lack of effective deliberation, thus
making deliberative democracy
meaningless.

Thus, it is need of the time
to improve participation as well as
deliberation which can strengthen
democracy, which can make it
a tool of true empowerment of
people.

Q.2 (c)

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

"Rights are those conditions of life without which no man can seek in general to be at his best" - Laske

Human Rights are the basic, universal, natural rights that every human being possess by virtue of being human.

The intellectual basis of human rights can be traced back to John Locke theory of 'Natural rights', or Emmanuel Kant 'human dignity'.

Human rights became a global concern post 2nd world war after holocaust by Nazi. This

led to establishment of human rights regime eg: UDHR was formed in 1948, UN was founded in 1945 to protect human rights globally.

however, due to various reasons, there are contemporary human rights challenges. for example - refugee crisis because of the war in Gaza. civil war in many African countries, the issue of climate refugees.

This has led to an urgent need for global cooperation in addressing these human rights challenges.

Any single country is ineffective in protection of human rights. UN is a perfect platform to

impose multilateral sanctions
through UNSC resolution and
"principle of collective responsibility"

however due to the
national interest politics of different
countries, UNSC is defunct to
address such challenges.

Example - ICC has condemned
and found Israel guilty of
genocide in Gaza, but it
would require global cooperation
to enforce the decision of ICC.

The recent crisis in
Bangladesh and attack on
political party members and the
religious minorities has called

for global cooperation to protect the rights of those people.

There is a rift between global North and Global South with respect to transfer of funds and technology. (common but differentiated responsibility). The vulnerable sections of the developing countries are at the forefront of climate change (violating their human rights).

Such contemporary challenges demand quick action and global cooperation which starts from UN reforms.

As injustice anywhere is threat to justice everywhere.

Q.3 (a)

Discuss how the capability approach reshapes our understanding of equality.
(15 marks, 200 words)

Candidates
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Dworkin in his book "Sovereign virtue" calls equality as sovereign virtue. That state is virtuous which treats its people with Equality.

There are different approaches to Equality. Since it is debatable concept in Normative political philosophy. While liberals focus on legal, moral and equality of opportunity, marxist focus on Equality of outcomes.

Amartya Sen Capability approach was given in the context of Dworkin's Resource equality (equality is distribution of critical resources).

According to Dworkin, if initial resources are distributed equally through ambition sensitive auction and brute luck is compensated through endowment insensitive auction, then it leads to Equality in Society. (Resource equality)

However, according to Amartya Sen capability approach, just equal distribution of initial resources would not $\rightarrow$ equality. He focuses on Equality of Capability. It means, people should be empowered, to use those resources equally.

(eg:) just giving reservation to women in local bodies does not lead to equality in true sense rather led to phenomena

of Sarpanchpati. Because women
are not empowered equally to
women through training and
sensitization.

Amartya Sen calls for substantive
equality and not just procedural
equality. He shifted the focus
from just distribution of resources
to equal development of capability.

Capability approach help everyone
to take better utilization of
the resources and fight inequality
and injustice.

This is also seen in TM Green
who says "liberty is the capacity
to do something worth doing"
(positive liberty)

Q.3 (b)

Examine Robert Dahl's views on democracy.

(15 marks, 200 words)

Candidates
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"Democracy is a government for the people, of the people and by the people" - Abraham Lincoln.

Robert Dahl has given pluralistic view of power. His theory came in the context of critic of US democracy. C Wright Mills who says, US is a power elite. which means power is concentrated in few elite groups.

Robert Dahl gave the concept of polyarchies. He was proponent of pluralistic view of power.

According to Dahl, Democracy ~~is a myth~~ where power lies with the people is a myth. In, a

democracy power lies in groups like pressure groups, interest groups. People mobilize themselves in these groups and exercise power.

He also said that Wright argues it is wrong to say that power lies with elites. Actually power lies with these groups. Hence people exercise power indirectly through these groups.

He gave procedural view of democracy. Democracy is a procedure to participate in such interest groups and pressure groups.

(CB Macpherson has criticised him and called Schumpeter-Dahl axis as both focused on procedural theory)

His idea on Neo pluralism came closer to Marx where he says ~~that~~ all groups do not enjoy power equally - Corporate groups are more closer to state.

CB Macpherson has given comprehensive theory of democracy by combining Normative and modern theories. He calls us democracy as far from egalitarianism thus criticizing Dahl's polyarchies where he says all groups enjoy equal powers and thus there is egalitarian democracy in USA.

Dahl's view on democracy also ignores the substantive part (developmental aspect of democracy) (J.S. Mill, T.H. Green etc).

Q.3 (c)

Critically comment on underlying assumptions of Rawls' theory justice.

(20 marks, 250 words)

"Justice is the first virtue of any society" - Rawls.

Since the times of Ancient Greece, philosophers like Plato talks about Justice in his book 'Republic'. Plato gave Architectonic idea of justice based on quality of soul.

In modern times, the position of Rawls is equivalent to that of Plato, because of his theory of justice. Rawls is credited for reviving normative theory, social contract tradition and liberal tradition to give his theory of justice.

Rawls in his book "Theory of justice" and "justice as fairness" talks about his theory of justice.

He has revived social contract traditions. Hence he gives ~~for~~ theory on human nature, original position to give his theory of justice.

This is based on assumptions which Rawls took.

Rawls assumption on human Nature

According to Rawls, humans are moral in Kantian sense. It means

man has intuitive feelings of justice.

man does reason (rational in nature). He has maximin thinking. They maximise their advantages.

and minimise their disadvantages.

Rawls assumption on ~~human~~ Original position

when man enters behind veil of ignorance they can think rationally as an abstract individual to decide the principles of justice.

however, these assumptions by Rawls on human nature and original position have been questioned and challenged specially by the Communitarians (Michael Walzer, Michael Sandel)

The basic premise of Rawls abstract man is not correct. As man is a situated self and not abstract. man's notion of right and wrong is shaped by the

society. Similarly, communitarians feel that original position can never be attained as man cannot detach his reason out of social culture, beliefs, traditions. According to them, not only good is prior to right, but good shapes right.

Similarly, Ananya Sen went for social choice rather than rational choice. Man do not make choice in an ideal case scenario, but in real situation where society influences his choice.

Thus Rawls assumption of man as Rational creature and original position came into question. However his theory of justice is relevant as "difference principle" to treat justice as fairness.

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)

Authority is a legitimate power. State has authority to use power because it has legitimacy.

But when there is crisis of legitimacy, this indicates potential issues within a political system.

Habermas while studying the nature of welfare state, concluded that modern welfare state cannot escape the legitimation crisis.

This is because there is fundamental issue within the political system of welfare state.

According to Habermas, welfare state is based on contradictory principles - In economy it is based on capitalism and in polity it is based on socialism.

There is a point beyond which the capitalist will not be able to support the welfare aspects of the state. This contradiction will ultimately lead workers to go for revolution (legitimation crisis). eg: Rise of neo-liberalism in Europe after 1980s. Margaret Thatcher called it as Nanny state.

Thus a systemic approach need to be taken (David Easton) to understand the political system and to equally allocate the values and keep interests of different communities to prevent legitimation crisis.

Q.5 (b)

Short note - Asian Value Debate.

(10 marks, 150 words)

Candidates
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"Every state is known by the right it maintain" - Laski

Asian Value debate came in the context of Human rights.

Since human rights are universal and based on the concept of UDHR and propagated all over, this came in attack with Asian value thinkers like Mahatma Mohammad & Lee Kuan Yew

They reject the atomistic notion of man. They propagate cultural relativism (Franz Boas). Different culture shapes the idea of rights. (Good over right).

The human rights are based on the western cultures and not suitable for Asian culture. They emphasize on good, discipline, community interest etc. They also criticize human rights as a tool for coloured revolution and regime change.
eg: US invasion in Iraq.

According to them, human rights not suitable for Asian countries and rights should be based on their unique culture.

This criticised by Ananta Desai.
There are no universal Asian values. In the name of Asian values they are propagating Authoritarianism.

Human rights should be protected globally, which require international collaboration.

Q.5 (c)

Significance of deliberation in making democracies successful. (10 marks, 150 words)Candidates
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"Democracy is not the rule of majority
but the protection of minority"
- Albert Camus

There is no need of hyphenation i.e.
deliberative democracy. Democracy
is inherently deliberative.

TS Mills said ~~represents~~ direct
democracy is the ideal form of
government. Because it allows
freedom of speech and expression.

Speech and expression is the
most important liberty (both common
good and human potential),
which can only be exercised
when democracy which is
deliberative.

Hannah Arendt, theory of Action says
best highest action is when
people participate in communicative
action in civic sphere. This can
happen in deliberative democracy.

Rousseau general will is based
on Real will when men deliberate
in direct democracy they have
true freedom & happiness.

Deliberation will prevent rise
of authoritarianism and it will
lead to substantive democracy
(developmental model by JS Mill),
where everyone has equal
developmental power and
none have coercive power.
(as Macpherson)

Q.5 (d)

Discuss the significance of the veil of ignorance and original position in Rawls's theory of justice.

(10 marks, 150 words)

Candidates
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Rawls position in contemporary political philosophy is equivalent to that of Plato.

Rawls in his book 'Theory of Justice' has given the most comprehensive theory of justice covering

He has revived the social contract tradition. Where every other social contractarian he also gave the concept of original position (which is hypothetical concept like state of nature)

original position is a position where man is completely rational and who is not

influenced by beliefs, customs, traditions to arrive at the principles of justice which should be acceptable by all.

Veil of ignorance is the heuristic tool through which man comes to the original position. Behind this veil of ignorance, man knows nothing about the society, his position etc. He arrives at the maximum thinking. However, he has intuition of justice in Kantian sense (intuitive morality), using which ~~the~~ man comes to the theory of justice.

though criticised by communitarians, the concept of veil of ignorance and original position helped Rawls to give the overarching theory of Justice.

Q.5 (e)

Weberian view of Power.

(10 marks, 150 words)

Candidates
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Power is the capacity to get things done either willingly or unwillingly
- Robert Dahl.

There are different views of power given by different scholars. The most famous view of power one is Powancut



Max Weber also has given view of power. According to Max Weber there are three types of power -

- ① traditional power - power which is exercised by the traditional norms of customs, social norms etc.

② charismatic power - power which is exercised by the charismatic leaders eg: Hitler's Germany was charismatic power

③ legal constitutional power - power through laws of the state.

Weber has also given the theory of legitimacy. He said that state is a legitimate authority. State obeys command because it is legitimate. State only has the power to use force or violence.

But traditional and charismatic power is essential to understand the power dynamics in 3rd world countries.

Q.8 (a)

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

"Democracy is not the rule of majority but the protection of minority" — Albert Camus.

John Locke in his book "2nd treatise of government", talks about representative democracy. He said that members from civil society will choose representatives who will perform the action of legislation, adjudication and execution.

Similarly, JS Mill calls representative democracy as the best form of democracy.

The success of representative democracy depends on the electoral system. Since, it is

important that all the sections of the society gets their due representation, free and fair elections is a must.

It can be based on majoritarian model or consociational model. Majoritarian model may lead to tyranny of majority (JS rule). Consociational model is best (proportional representation).

Similarly, power of the representatives should be such that to empower people. John Locke gave the protective model or delegated model where representative have minimal rights. JS Mill gave enlightened representation (they have power to promote development). Only exception is Harm principle.

Challenges in contemporary democracy

- ① There is lack of effective representation. eg: 14% women in 18th Lok Sabha (PRS)
- ② Lack of deliberation, debate, discussion. eg: only 16% bills were sent to parliamentary committees in 17th Lok Sabha (PRS)
- ③ Rise of authoritarianism, populist leaders eg: Rise of right parties in Europe (Italy).
- ④ criminalisation of politics. eg: 46% MPs having criminal backgrounds (ADR) in 18th LS.

Thus course correction is required to prevent democracy from turning to tyranny of majority and 2nd reverse wave (Samuel Huntington)

Q.8 (b)

For Rawls, to what extent democratic equality is crucial for justice? Analyze.
(15 marks, 200 words)

Candidates
must not write
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John Rawls belong to modern liberal school. He in his book 'Theory of justice' has given comprehensive idea of justice (as fairness)

Rawls idea of justice is based on the invulnerability of the dignity of human being (Kantian notion)

Rawls was critic of utilitarianism & notion of utility. According to Bentham equality means equality of welfare. This focuses on greatest happiness for greatest number (overall ~~equity~~ welfare).

However, this compromises with human dignity. (Right is compromised for good). Thus

he focused on 'democratic equality', where the role of minority or interest of minority is also taken care of.

This is in line with Kantian idea of human dignity.

Rawls idea of democratic equality based on his three principles of justice in lexical order

The first principle is maximum equal liberty to all and the first principle in difference principle is fair equality of opportunity.

Hence, Justice will only take place when there is democratic equality. when

every individual has maximum
equal liberty to maximise his
advantages and talent.

Inequality in the society
will only be allowed when there
is "maximum advantage to
the least advantage" and which
resulted to  fair equality of
opportunity.

Thus from the above analysis,
it seems Democratic equality is
the premise for Rawls theory of
Justice - Both are inseparable.
only when there is democratic
equality, there is justice.

Q.8 (c)

Comment on: "Power flows throughout the system like blood in the capillaries of our body." (Foucault)
(20 marks, 250 words)

Candidates
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"Power is the capacity to do things either willingly or unwillingly"
— Robert Dahl

Michael Foucault was a post modernist scholar, who has given post modern / post structural ~~and~~ or view of power.

Foucault has rejected liberal and Marxist view of power as meta-narrative. He goes beyond the structures of the state to give micro-view of power.

Foucault has given sociological view of power. According to him, power is not just located within

state, but exists and being exercised in the society in the network of social relations.

"Power flows throughout the system like blood in the capillaries of our body". Power is everywhere, it goes everywhere. It is in constant state of being exercised.

For Foucault, power is knowledge.

Knowledge of discourse. Thus power is exercised through knowledge.

He has given the concept of "disciplinary institutions" in modern

society like school, asylum, hospital,

church work discipline man in

a certain way by building discourses

(through knowledge).

Society as Discipline Panopticon, where we are always being watched. The disciplinary institutions are exercising power in our mind which leading to Governmentality. There is no juridico-legal view of power as in medieval society.

This new view of power came closer to neo-Marxist view of ideology (soft power). Althusser has given concept of "ideological state apparatus" which is creating ideology in favour of state (concept of interpellation)

Foucault says power is not just coercive rather power is creating identity. Doctors creating ~~state~~ sexual identity.

Thus there is loss of subject.
Identity of people is given by
others. Everyone is influencing
power to everyone.

Thus power flows like blood
~~flow~~ in capillaries of our body
suggests Foucault, sociological
view of power, disciplinary
power, power as discourse etc.

He provides thoroughly sound
meta narratives of power and
forces to look power from
alternative point of view.