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FIAS - ATS2022 - PSIR #1

ForumIAS
POLITICAL SCIENCE & IR (OPTIONAL)

Name Of Candidate: Anisudh Jain.

Roll No. _____ Date: 25/7/22

Time Allowed: Three Hours Maximum Marks: 250

INDEX TABLE		
Q. No.	Max. Marks	Marks Obtained
1		
2		
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4		
5		
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8		
Total:	250	

INSTRUCTION

1. Do furnish the appropriate details in the answer sheet (viz. Name, Email, Roll No, Mobile).
2. There are EIGHT questions divided in two Sections in the question paper. Question 1 and 5 are compulsory. You can attempt any THREE out of the remaining. Choosing at least ONE Question from each section.
3. The number of marks carried by a question/part is indicated against it.
4. 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.
5. Word limit in questions, if specified, should be adhered to.
6. Content is more important than content length.
7. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the Question-Cum Answer Booklet must be clearly Struck off.

Any specific messages for ForumIAS Mentors/ Evaluators with respect to your copy? Write it here.

Evaluator's Discretion:

For Student Only

Start Time | 9:00 am. | End Time | 12:25

Total Marks:

Mode Of Examination: Online Offline

Evaluator's Discretion: This is the marks awarded at the discretion of the evaluator based on your overall impression, on the basis of (but not limited to) your handwriting, presentation, use of diagrams, flowcharts, facts and figures or absolutely anything that he/she liked in your copy.

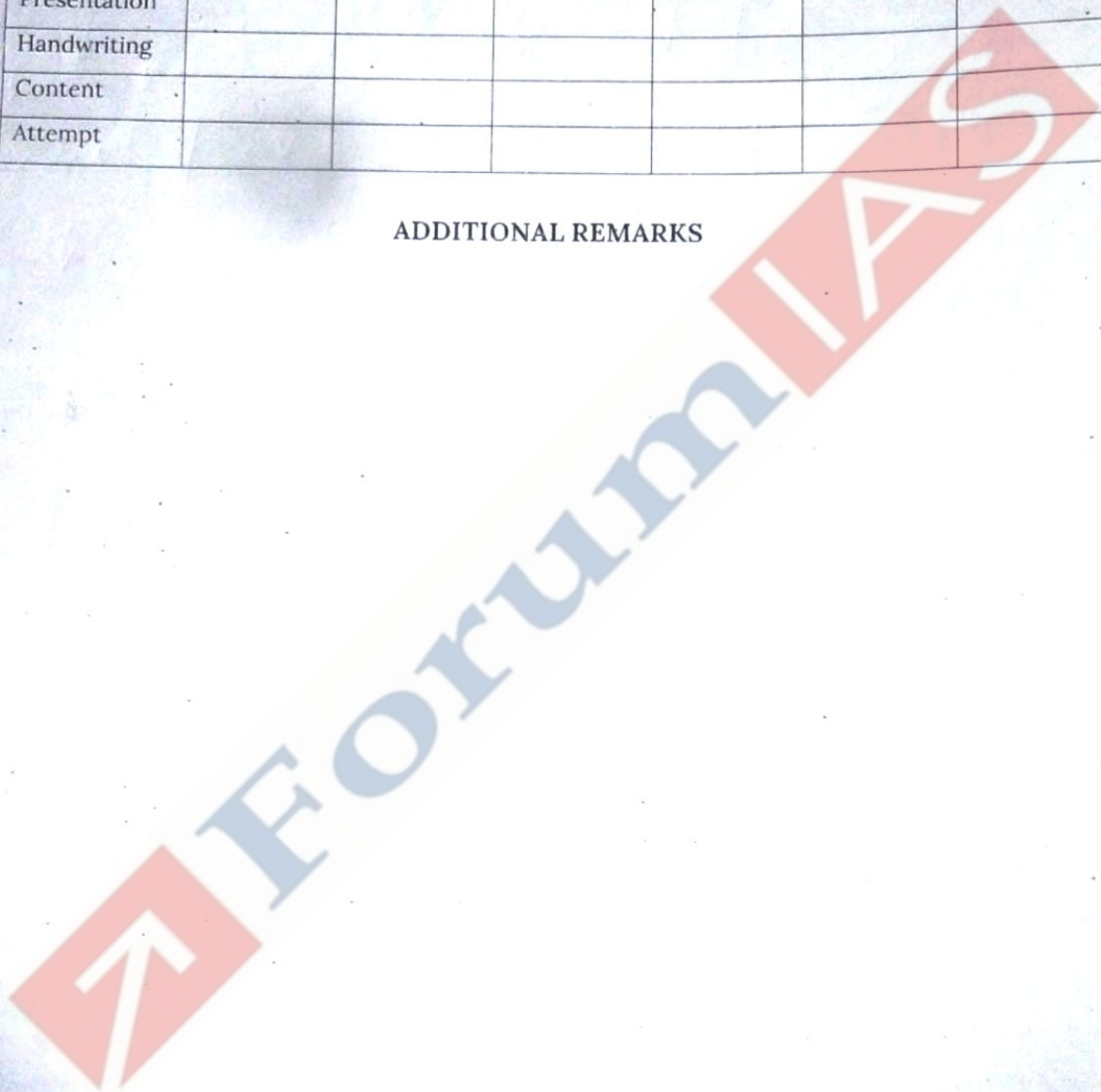
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ECN CODE: _____ EG: _____ Evaluation Date: _____

Note: You can discuss your evaluated copy with the Mentor. Raise a ticket from your portal to schedule a mentor call or visit the offline centre to meet mentor. (all 7 days, Timings - 11 AM to 6 PM). Further if you are unsatisfied with the evaluation, you can seek re-evaluation of the copy.

Parameters	Excellent	Very Good	Good	Average	Poor	Very Poor
Language						
Structure						
Presentation						
Handwriting						
Content						
Attempt						

ADDITIONAL REMARKS



Section- A

Q.1) Discuss the following in not more than 150 words. (10*5 = 50 Marks)

a) Power, authority and legitimacy.

"All of mankind's inclination is towards perpetual & restless desire for power after power which ceases only in death"

- Thomas Hobbes

Power has always been a contest concept in political science, yet it is defined by Nivedita Menon as capacity to produce effect and secure political obligation.

It is Robert Dahl, who gave conventional view of power in his work - "WHO GOVERNS" where this relates to "power over" someone.

However it was Hannah Arendt, in her work - "On Violence" who radically reconceptualised this notion and propounded republican view of power i.e. "power to". It is when people come

together to act in concert, power emerges.

It is the quality of power that matter, hence, when it receives consent from governed group, it acquires legitimacy.

Whenever legitimacy is manufactured (Gramsci), it becomes hegemony.

To this Max Weber has given the concept of authority based on sources of legitimacy - Charismatic, Traditional and legal-rational. It is when legitimate power is instituted in a body politic/office, it acquires legal character i.e. Authority.

All the three concepts are the ~~nerve~~ nerve of political science which makes it one of the most comprehensive discipline.

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b) Multi-cultural perspective on human rights.

(10 Marks)

"Rights are those social conditions without which no one, in general, can seek his best self."

— H. Laske

Human Rights reflect the construction and re-invention of natural rights tradition in a new avatar in 20th century through United Nation Declaration on Human Rights (UNIDHR) 1948.

However they can be criticised by multiculturalists like Nell Kymlicka, Charley Taylor and Shibhu Parekh, on the grounds that they neglected cultural differences and strived for homogenisation.

According to Nell Kymlicka,

Human Rights are silent about minority rights and in this sense, they are difference blind.

Bhikhu Parekh also considers cultural rights as primary rights for individual dignity and self respect and Human Rights tend to neglect this side.

Moreover the argument is also put forward as Human Rights doesn't ~~reflect~~ conform to "ASIAN VALUES", in this sense, they are Eurocentric in their approach.

However, it shouldn't be ignored that, Human Rights tend to guard individual dignity despite of one's identity and in this sense they are applicable across cultures.

e) De-alienation and New Leftism.

(10)

Marks)

Alienation as a concept in political Science was first propounded by Hegel and later developed by Karl Marx in his "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts".

Marx defined ~~two~~ ~~two~~ ~~three~~ kinds of alienation - Alienation from nature; Alienation from product of labour; Alienation from self - which reflects comprehensive subjugation of individual under capitalism.

For this, Marx recommended Proletarian Revolution i.e. when "class in itself" will become "class for itself", then the communist society will be established where "one can hunt in the morning, fish in the

afternoon, year ends in 'In evening and criticise after dinner' which reflects a process of de-alienation i.e. realisation of whole self of a man.

Inspired from this, in 21st century, there is a rise of New Leftism in manifestation of Thomas Piketty (famously called as "Modern Marx") who in his book - "Capital in 21st century" warned of growing inequalities in society.

Moreover it is COVID19 and prospects of global recession which is hinting towards rise of New Leftism which aimed to fight against new forms of alienations of 21st century.

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d) Overdeveloped state.

(10 Marks)

It was in the studies of post colonial states, that neo marxist scholar Mamza Alvi gave the concept of Overdeveloped state.

Mamza Alvi was inspired from Marx's "18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" and the conception of "Asiatic Mode of Production" in which he held that it was Executive who is strongest in Asian societies.

Mamza Alvi developed this thesis by arguing that it is the executive that mediated between Metropolitan Bourgeois, Indigenous Bourgeois and landed Aristocracy.

The reasons for emergence of overdeveloped state is that it

is an imported institution because of colonial legacy of colonialism.

More over it shows that state has relatively strong character vis-a-vis social structures when compared with their counterparts in the west.

However this analysis tend to neglect other conceptions of post-colonial states, especially liberal perspective which shows that in post colonial societies too, state performs role of equilibrium maker and neutral arbitrator.

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e) Participative and deliberative democracy.

(10 Marks)

"Democracy is the least worst form of government"
— Winston Churchill

It is in the context of failure of representative democracy where it turns into elitest democracy new concepts of Participative and Deliberative democracy comes into picture.

Participative democracy strived to secure participation of common people into policy making with the belief in rational faculty of each individual.

In this sense participative democracy strived for quantitative enrichment of democracy advocated by Mahatma Gandhi, Mannah Arendt

and Habermas.

On the other hand Deliberative democracy stood for making qualitative enrichment where Josiah Cohen held that deliberation is the only source of legitimacy for political institutions.

On the other hand Neo-Marxists such as Habermas talked about "ideal speech situation" and "communicative action" to make democracy deliberative.

Both participative and Deliberative Democracy are necessary to make Representative democracy truly egalitarian and functional.

Q.2) a) Discuss the reasons behind the importance of distinction between sex and gender in feminist conception. of reality. Are differences within feminism more pronounced than similarities. (20 Marks)

"one is not born women, but one becomes woman"

- Simone De Beauvoir

Feminism has evolved in waves and it was in second and third wave that conceptualisation of sex and gender took place.

Betty Friedan ("The feminine mystic") and Simone De Beauvoir ("The second sex") have conceptualised the difference between sex and gender.

According to them (known as Radical feminists), sex is natural and biological where as gender is a social construction based upon the

roles played by male and female in society.

Such distinction between sex and gender is important because it aims to overcome essentialism around gender roles. More specifically it aimed to challenge domestication and motherhood being the sole domain of a female.

As apart from radical feminists it was essential feminists like Carol Gilligan who argued that even sex is socially constructed and the difference between male and female needs to be there as former is inferior to the latter.

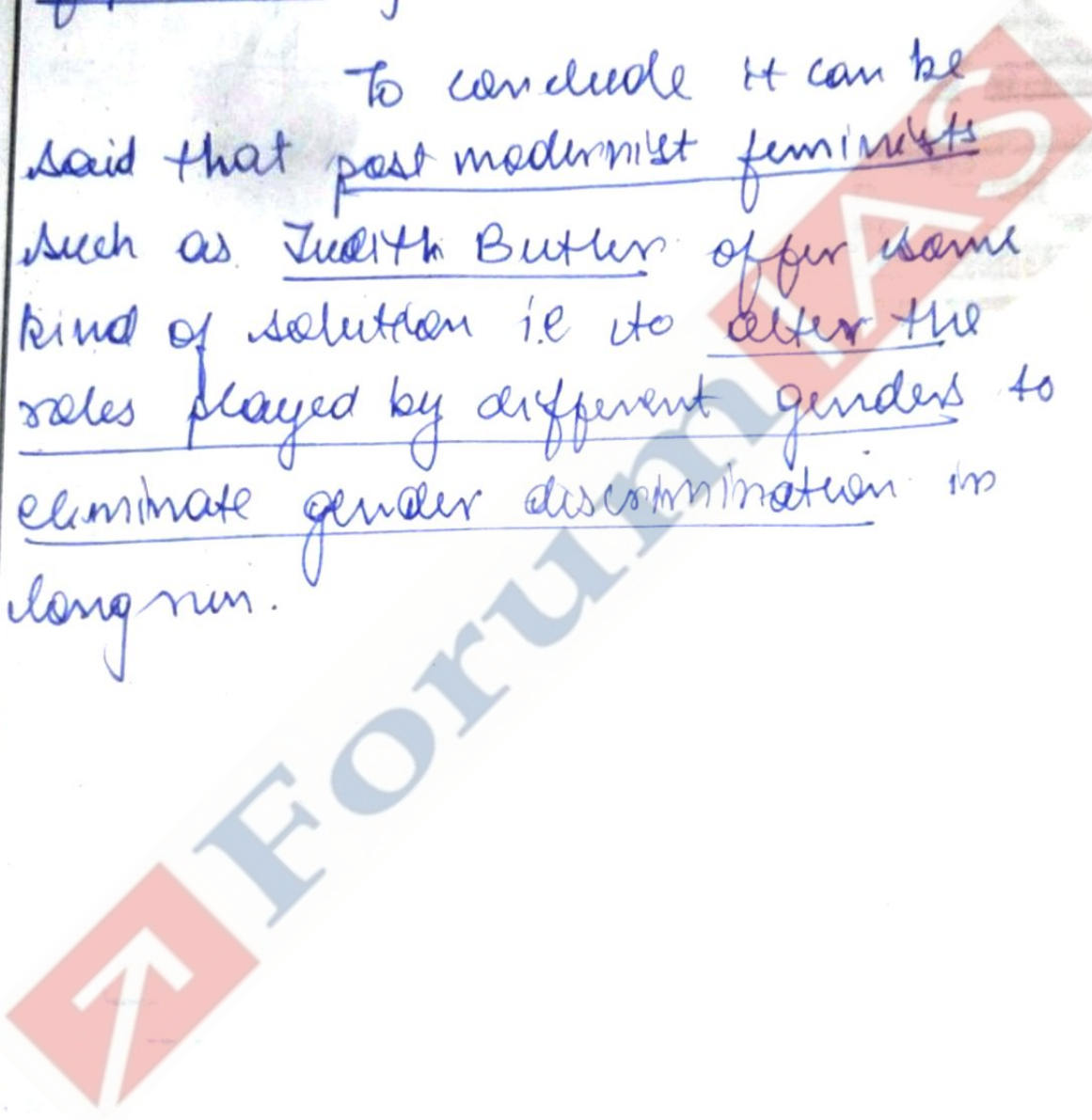
Apart from them, it was socialist feminists such as Alison Mary Jagger who argued that gendered division of labour under capitalism is done due to "Biological foundation alism" i.e. determining the occupation based on biological differences of sex.

Therefore it seems that differences within feminism with respect to sex-gender conceptualisation are more pronounced than their similar aims of emancipation of women.

It can be seen as feminists have more criticism from their fellows than other. This is one of

the reasons that feminism has not able to alter the systemic structure of patriarchy.

To conclude it can be said that post modernist feminists such as Judith Butler offer some kind of solution i.e. to alter the roles played by different genders to eliminate gender discrimination in long run.



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b) Examine the nature of post-colonial states with reference to different analytical perspectives. (15 Marks)

Post-Colonial states have always been at the centre stage of debates in political science which gave rise to diverse perspectives.

To begin with, it was Bhupinder Brar who advocated to differentiate "THIRD WORLD" from "POST-COLONIAL" world to show that it is the colonial legacy which provided them this identity.

According to liberal tradition which is also called as modernist perspective, Post-colonial states are "PRISMATIC SOCIETIES" (F.W Riggs).

In his ecological approach, Riggs gave "prismatic-sala" model

to explain political-economy of post colonial states. According to him, chief characteristics of such states are poly-normativism, poly-communism, overlapping authorities and Bazaar-Cartel economic system.

Apart from this banwar Myrdal explained it as a "SOFT-STATE" i.e. incapable of enforcing law and order in society as colonial legacy motivates people to disobey the authority very often.

In contrast, marxist perspective offered variety of explanation. According to instrumentalist scholars such as AG Frank, Samir Amin and Wallerstein, post colonial states constitute periphery.

of the world system from which Bourgeois at Metropolitan ~~seeks~~ out wealth and resources.

Moreover from structuralist perspective of Manza Awi, post colonial states are argued to be "OVERDEVELOPED STATES" i.e. differences between political and social structures

such multiple approaches reflects towards the understanding that post colonial states are not monochromatic rather they are a group of heterodox states which needs explanation based on their historical, social and cultural context.

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c) How liberalism accommodates Diversity. Also compare the liberal and multi-cultural perspectives on toleration. (15 Marks)

Liberalism emerged as a meta-ideology, in context of mercantilism, feudalism and landlordism, as a revolutionary idea to give primacy to reason in individual.

It holds assumption of supremacy of reason in individual, therefore in words of John Locke held that "all the ~~are~~ are the workmanship of one omnipotent".

Liberalism advocates limiting the state's primacy to individual freedom which automatically translates into diversity i.e. it provides fertile ground for different opinions to thrive upon.

It emphasized upon self-help and individual responsibility which provided ample scope for others to articulate the diverse viewpoints.

Liberalism in this sense established political/moral equality among all which translates into difference blindness.

However it was multiculturalism which criticised liberalism for being difference blind. It argued that some cultures are at disadvantageous position in cultural market place, therefore, they require special representation rights to participate in public life with dignity.

On the one hand liberalism advocates toleration by state for diverse viewpoints and culture, while on other hand multiculturalism advocates toleration between cultures.

It was post-colonial multiculturalists Bhikhu Parekh who held that inter cultural toleration is more important than state-culture toleration.

To conclude it can be held that both liberalism and multiculturalism emphasized on individual dignity, where the difference lies in their methodology to arrive at the similar ends.

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Q.4) a) Discuss the intellectual roots and elements of fascism. Do you agree with the view that "Fascism is not a coherent ideology"

(20 Marks)

Fascism is considered as an aberration in study of states and has been at one of the most criticised ideology in political science.

Fascism, in general ^{is} considered as hotchpotch of ideologies but first explicit mention of fascist ideology was witnessed in Mussolini's essay on fascism published in 1932.

Intellectual roots of fascism can be accounted as anti-reason, anti-liberalism, totalitarianism, militarism, autarchy and imperialism.

To substantiate this Karl Popper has highlighted traces of fascism in Plato's Philosopher King

That is why he called him the "Enemy of open society".

Moreover, Hannah Arendt in her work - "On Totalitarianism", highlighted role of ideology and modern day technology which made this fascism a practical reality in 20th century.

Apart from these, other roots of fascism can be traced to Nietzsche's Superman, Gobiner's Blue eye Nordic Aryan theory, Bergson's idea of power, etc.

Moreover H. Laski has explained fascism as a counter revolution of capitalist against socialist consciousness.

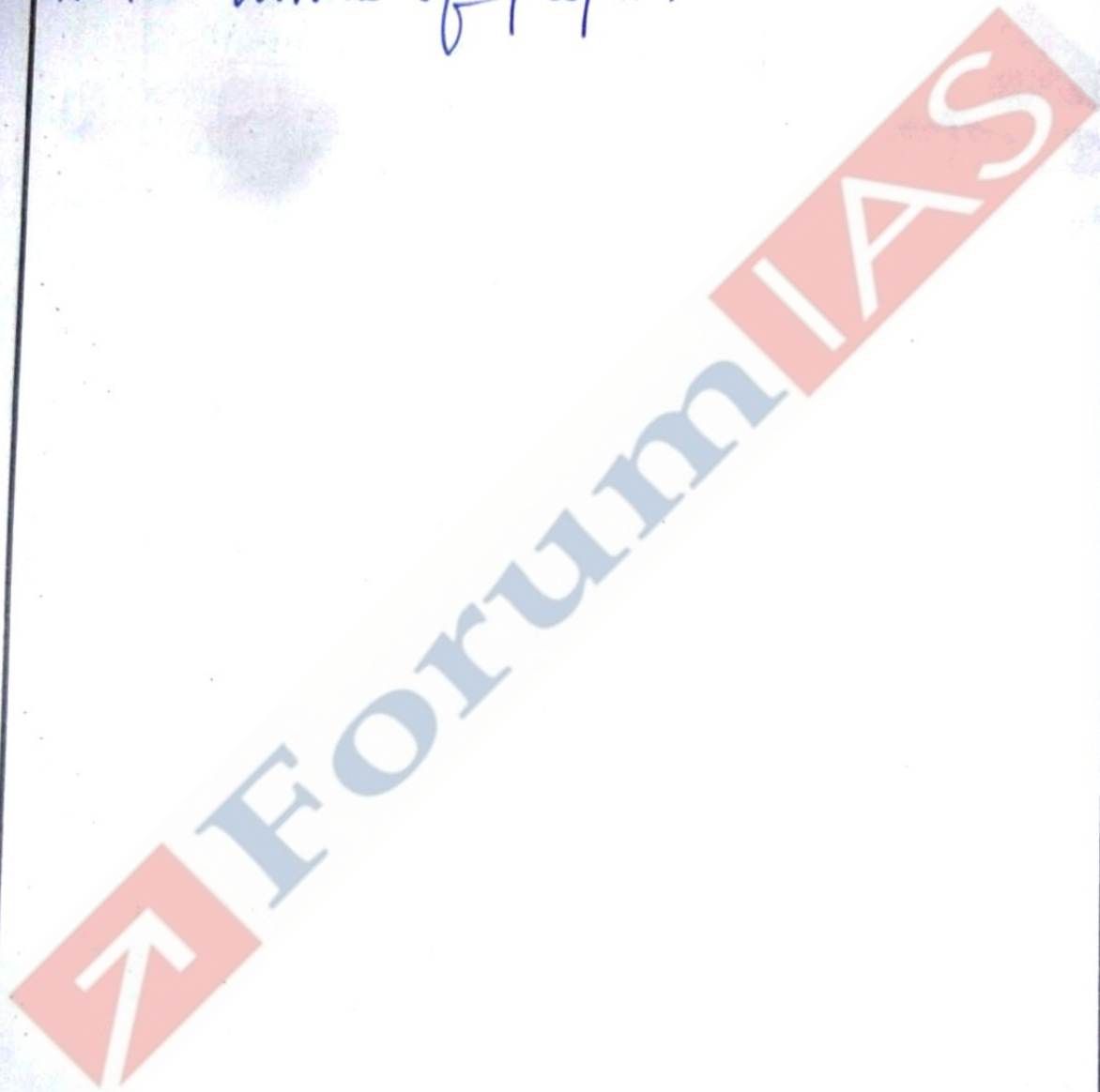
Therefore it seems that Fascism is collection of ideas taken to suit its needs. In this sense, it is not a coherent idea rather it is opportunism.

It was seen in case of Hitler's Nazi Germany, Mussolini's Italy, Peron's rule in Portugal, etc that hypocrisy & conflicting ideas were common place.

In this sense it can be said that main aim of Fascism is to depoliticise the society, establish comprehensive surveillance and control through ideology and terror.

To tackle the problems of Fascism in 21st century, it is argued

to spread up area of Participatory
democracy so that power remains
in the hands of people.



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b) Critically examine the claim of critical school that behaviouralism is a justification of status quo. (15 Marks)

To arrest the decline of political theory due to traditionalists, it was DAVID EASTON who gave 'call for initiating Behavioural Revolution'.

Behaviouralism stands to transform political science into natural sciences by emphasizing on quantification, value neutrality and systematization to transform it from speculative to testable theories.

However, it soon came under criticism from critical school as being status quoist. It was argued that Behaviouralist, in an attempt to save political theories from arm chairism, themselves took refuge in

Ivory towers, disconnected with evolving ground situation.

Moreover it is also argued that Behaviouralists compromised substance and action for the sake of refining procedures.

This approach despite of improving the quality and of estimation and prediction compromised on core values of political science.

The concepts of justice, equality, freedom, etc were put at the back burner reflecting the second decline in the discipline.

Moreover to claim Behaviouralism as a status quoist tradition would amount to the neglect of its

contribution in political science.

It made the discipline scientific, logical and testable. It gave birth to chicago school which emphasized on surveying, questioning, observing, making the subject more democratic.

Therefore it can be said that Behaviouralism despite of some limitation contributed to qualitative enrichment of discipline which was carried forward by Post-Behaviouralism which unified both diverse perspective to revive political science as a holistic discipline.

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 e) Compare and contrast the Gandhian theory of state with liberal and Marxist theory. (15 Marks)

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"state is a focus where study of politics starts and where it ends".

- J.W Garner

Understanding of Gandhian theory of state comes from his work "HIND SWARAJ" where he criticised the ~~old~~ already established notions of state and propounded a new one.

According to Gandhi, "state is a useless machine" representing coercion over individual which is ~~of~~ against principle of non-violence.

Gandhi is considered as Moral Anarchist, drawing his inspiration from Henry David Thoreau where he believes in "swaraj" i.e. individual's capacity to govern himself and

doesn't require the state.

Gandhi conceptualised it as "Ram rajya" i.e. a political association of righteous people.

To compare it with liberal theory, it goes in complete ~~opposite~~ contrast with it. Liberal theory assumes centrality of state as it represents "General will" of the people.

Moreover state, according to liberal theory, is the embodiment of common good and one who thinks outside state could either be a Good or a Devil.

Apart from this Gandhian theory of state strikes some resemblance with Marxist theory

of state as both strives towards "State less society" i.e both conceives the negative outlook for state.

Major difference lies in methods and teleology. On one hand Grandhism favoured non-violence Marxism on other hand advocated violent overthrow of the state.

Grandhi's conception of state was idealistic whereas Marxian conception is grounded in historical materialism.

Reflecting ~~ab~~ upon this vapid debates on state and sovereignty, David Easton argued to expunge the concept of state out of political science for greater good of the discipline.

Section- B

Q.5) Answer the following questions in about 150 words each: (10 * 5 = 50 Marks)

a) Compare empirical and normative approach.

(10 Marks)

Political science as subject discipline consisted of various approaches, two of the prominent among them are Empirical and Normative approach.

On one hand, Empirical approach focused on "what is" whereas Normative approach emphasized upon "what ought to be".

Empirical approach was promoted by Behaviouralists such as Easton whereas Normative approach was advocated by philosophical theorists such as Leo Strauss and Van Dyke.

Empirical approach takes the

Situation as it is i.e. it focuses ~~primarily~~ primarily on descriptions and observation whereas Normative approach advocates prediction and prescription.

Lastly, former emphasized on methodology and facts whereas later emphasized on substance, action and values.

To conclude it can be said that both are not exclusive to each other rather both needs to be taken into account as post-behaviouralists such as Sante Gurmino, John Rands and Jacobson have advocated.

b) Comment on decline and resurgence of political theory debate. (10 Marks)

Political theory aims to explain political phenomena using different perspectives and ideologies.

According to David Easton, political theory suffered a decline due to traditionalists and historicists like Sabine and Dunning. They had become arm-chair theories, speculative in nature disconnected from ground realities.

To arrest this decline, Easton initiated Behavioural revolution to make political theories testable.

However it has resulted into second decline of political theory where scholars like Sahl and Easton even held the demise of the discipline.

Moreover it was the work of John Rawls - "A Theory of Justice" and Hannah Arendt which led to, what Santo Bermino called, Resurgence of political theory.

Moreover Jacobson also held that without facts, political theory may result in "ethical residue" and without values it may be left to just "methodology", therefore both are required in proportion.

To conclude, it can be argued that politics is a borderless and bottomless sea, therefore multiple approaches are required to keep political science as a lively discipline.

c) Relationship between liberty, equality and justice.

(10 Marks)

"Justice is the first virtue of social system just like truth is the first virtue of thought system"

- John Rawls.

Justice is an architectonic idea where various scholars and ideologies have argued since ancient times.

According to liberal perspective liberty is at the core of justice i.e. limited state and individual primary results in just society.

on the other hand, socialist and marxists and even feminists believe equality among groups with respect to resources, knowledge and power is the core of just society.

However it was Rawls, who combined all the three in his book - "Theory of Justice" where he gave three principles of Justice:-

1. Liberty principle - Maximum liberty to all subject to liberty of all others.
2. Equality principle - Equality of opportunity to all.
3. Difference principle - Inequalities to be adjusted to benefit most disadvantaged sections of society.

To conclude it can be said that Liberty, Equality and Justice are mutually reinforcing principles enabling a just and fair society.

d) Comment on the post-modernist critique of ideology.

(10 Marks)

"Post-Modernism stands for incredulity towards meta narratives"

- Lyotard

Post-modernists stands for subjectivity and relativism which shows that they are natural critique of the concept of ideology which stands for dogmatism and finality of its world view.

Post modernists like Foucault, Arendt, Nietzsche and Deleuze argued against objectivity proclaimed by diverse ideologies.

For example, it criticised marxian emphasis on proletarian

fixation; neoliberal emphasis on free market capitalism; feminists arguments on women's equality with men and so on.

Therefore tools provided two textual strategies "deconstruction" and "Double Reading" - in order to unearth power-knowledge relations - hips underlying every ideology.

To conclude it can be said that ideologies, according to post-modernists, are not just metanarratives therefore system which is able to deconstruct and detotalise it, is the best suitable.

e) Compare multi-culturalism and value pluralism.

(10 Marks)

In the context of challenges faced by liberalism i.e. difference blindness, Isaiah Berlin propounded his concept of value pluralism.

value pluralism stands for positive acknowledgement of diverse viewpoints.

On one hand where liberalism confined values to private sphere & showed neutrality, value pluralism argued that values come in conflict with each other in public sphere, that is why some objective values are incommensurable to each other (Berlin).

Being far beyond value pluralism, Multi-culturalism emphasized on recognition of not only values but

also cultures.

Scholars like Urvashi Kulkarni and Bhikhu Parekh argued for sights for minorities and respect for diverse cultures.

Both value pluralism and multiculturalism stand to protect individual dignity, yet they differ in their approach and scope of analysis.

To conclude it can be said that both these ideas led to overcoming of its limitations posed due to mechanistic attitude of liberalism.

Q.7) a) How has globalization affected the discourses on human rights? Discuss the main challenges to Human rights in the 21st century. (20 Marks)

Human Rights are said to be in connection of entire natural rights in form of United Nations Declaration on Human Rights (UNDHR).

Human rights available to all members of human family despite of one's identity, religion, country, etc. They are universal, individual, perpetual, inalienable and available equally.

They are impacted by globalisation in multiple ways. To begin with globalisation ushered in norm of promotion of human rights in form of "PARIS PRINCIPLES".

It was in this line of

globalisation after 1990s that
post-colonial isecutis started
accepting to implement these rights.
Most prominent among them was
India when it adopted National
Human Rights protection act (1992)

Moreover globalization has
also resulted in Human Rights becoming
a mechanism to promote liberal
democracy on lines of "Democratic
Peace Theory" (Michael Doyle) to establish
"Perpetual peace".

Nevertheless another discourse
started to emerge in form of "ASIAN
VALUES" especially by Lee Kuan Yu who
argued that Human Rights are not
suitable for Asian societies considering
their different historical, cultural and

civilizational settings.

Asian values emphasized not on individual but on collectivity, therefore human rights suffered from a challenge due to rival discourse of Asian values.

In this light Human rights face several challenges in 21st century. Firstly the challenge of promotion; secondly challenge of heterogeneity i.e. differential application by countries and lastly the challenge of norm termination by the authoritarian states like Russia and China.

To conclude it can be said that Human Rights should be complemented by multicultural perspective

ie to give primary to cultural
rights as well in order to protect
individual dignity in a
comprehensive and sustainable
manner



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b) Do you agree with the view that "Post Marxism rejects essentialism", Discuss the key ideas of Post - Marxism.

(15 Marks)

Marxism as an ideology developed afterwards into various ideological strands, which received criticism from various quarters including Post-Marxism.

Post-Marxism evolved in late 20th century as a part of greater critical tradition popularly organised a Frankfurt school scholars. Moreover post-marxism also represents post-modernist perspective which emerged in 1980s and 1990s.

Post Marxist scholars such as Laclau and Mouffe rejected essentialism in marx with respect to

his understanding of class. They were against proletarian fixation because it became an impossible adventure to relate proletariat in post modern societies.

Therefore, post marxism stands to include all suppressed and marginalised class and strive towards emancipation from human self alienation.

Post-Marxists such as Habermas and Lyotkin rejected historical materialism and argued against economic determinism.

They argued that there exists multiple structures of economics, religion, culture, race, history, etc.

which work for comprehensive
subjugation of the subaltern class.

However in rescuing marxism
from essentialism, post marxists
offered no real solution and
in a way 'threw the baby out
with bath water'.

To conclude it can be said
that post marxism did argued
against essentialism, ~~the~~ yet it is
not without its limitations.

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c) "State is both the guardian and child of law" (Maciver) Comment.

(15 Marks)

"State is a foi where forms the
study of politics starts and where
it ends"

- J.W Garner

It was the austrian theory
of state sovereignty i.e. monistic
theory of state which generated
various debates one of which is
Pluralistic theory of state given
by MacIver.

MacIver is considered as
an extreme pluralist who argued
that state is just an association
like any other association providing
service to people.

He opined that law is not

the command ~~by~~ of the state but
"state is the child as well as guardian of law" i.e. state originates from law itself and not vice versa.

Maclver devised a theory of service state and held that "state commands because it serves" i.e. legitimacy of state institutions lie in their functional utility.

However it is argued that, Maclver, being a sociologist, rejected centrality of state and which is of utmost importance in political science.

Therefore, Laski's approach to pluralistic state offers an

alternative as Laski also believes
in limited state, still he argues
that "state is the keystone of the
social architecture" as it performs
some central functions i.e. conflict
resolution.

To conclude it can be
said that though state is a child
as well as guardian of law, it
also manufactures the legal reality
in which all other functional
associations operate.