

SECTION-A

(10 × 5 = 50)

Attempt all questions:

1. Answer the following questions in about 150 words each:

- Discuss Mill's conception of Happiness.
- The state of nature is a state of war. Discuss.
- Hobbes on limits of political obligation. Elaborate.
- Main features of Contemporary Political Theory. Elaborate.
- Discuss the major critique of Elitist theory of democracy.

a) J. S. Mill modified Benthamite and utilitarian notion of pleasure. Bentham said that qualitative differences between pleasures don't matter; Pushpin is as good as poetry and they can also be quantitatively measured via a felicific calculus.

But Mill ascertained that - "it is better to be a man dissatisfied than a pig satisfied; better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied." Thus there exists qualitative differences between pleasures depending upon the use of higher/lower faculties.

Mill also discarded the notion of quantitative assessment. Instead, he added

Remarks

Character
more or less
role played by
acts of
or of less
community in
determination of
Happiness

(5)

an element of spirituality to pleasure to make it happiness. He said that pleasure lies in gaining utilities whereas happiness resonates with sacrifice. Thus an enlightened version of pleasure makes it compatible with societal needs & aspirations. Thus Mill is credited for blending Idealism with liberalism or individualism.

- b) The state of nature is a hypothetical state before the signing of social contract among men to create the institution of state. The social contract theorists have variously described it depending upon their conceptions of human nature and the grounds and limits of political obligation.

Thomas Hobbes: describes state of nature as a state of war, ^{where} every man is at

Remarks

with purpose is served by such a portrayal of state of nature in justifying Hobbesian state

GS SCORE

4

war against other. Hence this state is characterised by anarchy, perpetual threat and insecurity to life. The man's life becomes solitary, short, brutish, poor and nasty. This is because human actions aren't driven by reason, morality but by appetites, desires, passions to dominate others and exert power of over them. Hence this urge for self preservation results in formation of Leviathan like state.

c) Hobbes as an advocate of absolutism and monistic theory of sovereignty wherein law is defined as command of the sovereign, talks about complete subordination of individual to state's authority.

He condemns civil war (1642) and cautions against disobedience to the

Remarks

state as it may result in reverting back to the state of nature characterised by anarchy, chaos, perpetual struggle for survival and insecurity. Since state and civil society are created by the same contract, state's refusal ~~while~~ will destroy the society as well.

Hence he entrusts inalienable, inseparable and absolute power to Leviathan-state. This means that the grounds of political obligation are complete surrender of all rights except the R. to self preservation. Hence This means, though there would be unlimited political obligation the only case for resistance would be failure of state to discharge the function of R. to life and security of its citizens.

6

good content & elaboration

Remarks

d) The contemporary political theory is a healthy balance of elements of positivism in political science and those of normativism in political philosophy. The main features of contemporary P.T are :-

1. multi-dimensionality → it draws from a no. of disciplines like ~~ethics, philosophy, history, law, economics, sociology & psychology~~ (the last two emphasised upon during Behaviouralism).
2. blend of 'what is' and 'what ought to be' due to equal emphasis upon descriptive and prescriptive functions. The present condition (reality) is empirically studied and then ideal is projected.
3. elements of both science and art instead of transforming into pure natural science (as advocated by Behaviouralists like David Easton), it

Remarks

(It is also about restoring the debate on political concepts specifically in their historical context)



has firmly established itself as an applied science like any other social science. This was enabled via post-behavioural revolution which accepted that ends were being sacrificed for means, and excessive positivism led to support to status quo.

4. revival of normative philosophy - as evident from writings of John Rawls, L.T. Hobhouse, Michael Walzer, E.B. Macpherson; which increasingly focus upon concepts of justice, equality etc.
5. emphasis on study of concepts and institutions and processes to ensure linkage between real & ideal.

Thus modern political theory represents all prominent themes and viewpoints

6
Remarks

c) The theories of democracy are broadly classified into classical and empirical or behavioural theories. The latter contains elitist & pluralist theories.

The elitist theory of democracy considers the natural division of society into elites and masses on the basis of capability, leadership and acceptance of responsibility. Hence elites are always in a position to acquire politically dominant positions.

Scholars advocating this are Vilfredo Pareto (circulation of elites - change of power between lions and foxes), Gaetano Mosca and Robert Michels. (Iron law of Oligarchy - i.e. irrespective of any factor every organisation including political parties and democracy gets reduced to oligarchy / rule of few). Besides Anthony Downs, Joseph

Remarks

Schumpeter have given economic / market model of democracy.

criticisms :-

- ① emphasis only on democracy as procedure
- ② only empirical considerations are taken without enumerating normative aspects.
- ③ violates the essence of democracy and republicanism i.e. any one can acquire the highest office of country
- ④ it perpetuates and normalises inequalities
- ⑤ it undermines the capacity of masses.

Thus C.B. Macpherson advocates a comprehensive analysis of democracy as developmental aspect under the notion of human freedom.

Also elaborate
on criticism by
Robert Dahl,
liberal
meritism
democracy

Remarks

2. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Discuss M N Roy's criticism of Gandhian Swaraj. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) T.H. Green on the principles of State action. Elaborate. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Social arrangements often fail to respect women's personal autonomy and other elements of women's flourishing. Discuss the given statement with giving reference to liberal feminism? (250 Words) (20)

a) Both M.N. Roy and Mahatma Gandhi believed in community participation and involvement in democracy (and supported party-less democracy). Also both had similar notions about human freedom as self-control and self-discipline.

This was the Gandhian notion of swaraj as self-rule not only in political terms (i.e. independence from foreign rule) but also as augmentation of capacity of masses to check the tyranny of authority in economic, political, social & cultural spheres.

Most importantly it meant - 'rule over self' i.e. controlling one's harmful, useless, trivial desires & to overpower them.

Remarks

with the help of rationality, morality and humanity.

But M.N. Roy being contemporary critic of Gandhi criticised Gandhian notion of Swaraj on two grounds:-

① disdain towards mechanistic advancement (i.e. reliance over machines). Gandhi advocated production by masses rather than mass production whereas Roy was in favour of leveraging technological & scientific advancement to further human welfare.

② materialism vs spiritualism → Roy was a materialist and Gandhi a spiritualist. The latter wanted minimisation of desires whereas the former thought freedom in terms of ability to fulfill all desires.

Thus despite agreeing on basic humanistic considerations, Roy & Gandhi had significant differences.

Remarks

Why does he portray Gandhi & Congress as

representatives of Bourgeoisie

what were his complaints against Congress program?

b)

T. H. Green is hailed as one of the greatest positive liberals and he is credited with blending Greek & German Idealism (of Plato, Aristotle, Hegel) with liberalism to give rise to new notion of moral individualism (equally inspired by Kant & Rousseau):

Green envisaged a positive role of state with the guiding principle of hindering the hindrances to full realisation of true human potential. Thus state has to help in unfolding of human capabilities. i.e. realisation of freedom (not as licence or absolute liberty to do what one wants but as moral and spiritual freedom).

Thus the state action must be guided, determined by the principle of state as a facilitator of opportunities & capabilities and this will automatically result in

Remarks

flow of obedience and duties by individual.

Thus Rights in such a state as understood as duties towards fellow citizens and removal of authoritarian tendencies in state apparatus not only as matter of right but as duty towards self, others & state itself. Thus Green hailed that "will, not force is the basis of state". This will resonates with Rousseau's General will which is an enlightened desire will to further not one's narrow self-interest which is short term but long term self interest inherent in community welfare.

Thus states' actions must be directed towards making citizens realise this notion of freedom and rights as duties.

Remarks

what criteria does state make interventional
 he ~~is~~ set for community
 what is the role of
 Role of national govts?

8

c) Mary Wollstonecraft is hailed as the mother of liberal feminism as she, after the French revolution in her 'Vindication of Rights of Women', advocated equality to women at par with men with respect to equal rights (mainly civil-political like R. to exercise franchise) and opportunities.

She advocated equal right, dignity and respect for women on grounds of individualism i.e. every individual has got a silver lining and is suited to perform task of one's interests and capacity.

Thus she was against the patriarchal notion of biology being destiny and the consequent pre-determination of jobs like doctor, lawyer, officer suited to males and activities like cooking, caring for children, looking after household etc as women's sphere of influence. This kind of social arrangement is

Remarks

rather confinement of women to private spheres was detrimental to a woman's autonomy and capabilities & also deprived society of talent, competition & hence efficiency.

Moreover ^{such} the social arrangements also perpetuate stereotypes of masculinity & femininity characterised by courage, rationality, self-discipline of men as against grace, soft-spoken-ness, shyness, foolishness, childish behaviour and emotiveness of women. This has given rise to ladies first culture wherein there is only formal respect but no substantial ~~sex~~ dignity for women.

This is why women are relegated to secondary status and scholars like Betty Friedan & Carole Pateman have studied the phenomenon of social arrangements (for ex among elite upper class American women)

(9)

Remarks

very good & elaborate

write more on what exact role does

liberal feminism envisage for

to eliminate such perception

limiting women's agencies and choices.
Even today, especially in 3rd world,
customary morality wherein issues
of menstruation are considered a taboo
and something unclean — is violating
women's constitutional rights to equality
and dignity.

Remarks

3. Answer the following questions:

- (a) The main connection between Pluralism and liberalism is the Centrality of Choice. Discuss by giving reference to Berlin. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Discuss the theory of reaction with reference to Fascism. (250 Words) (20)
- (c) Discuss the main tenants of Democratic Socialism. Also mention its conception of State. (200 Words) (15)

a) Isaiah Berlin - a Russian-British philosopher has emphasised upon the close connection between pluralism and liberalism as they are both based upon centrality of choice.

Liberalism, as elaborated upon in two notions of liberty i.e. negative liberty as laissez faire individualism & positive liberty as moral individualism or ability to modify oneself or self-improvement via complete realisation of one's true potential; involves making a choice to improve one's prospects.

This choice can best be realised in a pluralistic society characterised by

Remarks

presence of numerous groups, ideologies and hence opportunities. The absence of domination by one group i.e. situation of polyarchy or pluralistic division of sovereignty, enables equality of opportunity w.r.t any profession or activity.

For ex: in a society where due to strong predominance of lawyers the profession in law is valued disproportionately compared with the positive liberty of an individual wishing to become a teacher.

Thus pluralism reinforces liberalism and the successful operation of liberal ideals would inadvertently result in diversity & plurality. - thus widening the choice.

Your answer needs to be
 lot more specific
 to the requirements given
 by mention in
 support of multiple values

Remarks

8

b) The theory of reaction in Fascism wishes to explain the reasons for widespread acceptability of such hodge-podge of ideologies i.e. large-scale acceptability of militant & dictatorial tendencies amidst the pool of democracy and socialism.

This is explained in terms of rise of fascism as a reaction to democracy, socialism and communism. It resulted in an estrangement of democracy from capitalism.

Fascism as reaction against democracy :-

- ① against equality → as it advocated supremacy of a leader based on hierarchical division of society
- ② against liberty → liberty was equated with subordination to authority of state
- ③ against fraternity → as it sought unification via homogenisation and destruction of diversity.

Remarks

④ against global governance Institution like League of nation and international law.

Fascism as reaction against socialism or communism :-

① Communism compromised with national interest and unity as it advocated false divisions within nation on the basis of class.

② Thus fascism advocated that workers' and capitalists must unite to further national economic advancement and consolidate national security and refuse the false notions of proletarian internationalism.

This gained popularity due to economic disenchantment and unemployment during inter-war years, besides the aspirations of comparatively new German & Italian nationalism.

Remarks

very good content
& elaboration

10

c) Democratic socialism advocates democracy in political sphere and socialism in economic sphere. It hails the blend of these two ideologies to be most desirable because both work for mass welfare.

Main tenants of democratic socialism:-

① partial socialisation of the means of production and distribution i.e. only essential means and resources would be controlled by govt. and rest would be relegated to private sphere. Thus it advocates mixed economy model with co-existence of private & public sectors.

② advancement of not just material, but moral, political, cultural and social interests of workers. It widens the scope of needs to mean not mere economic subsistence but a wide range of requirements needed for full

Remarks

realisation of human personality. Thus it attempts to impart multi-dimensionality to ^{its} human resources.

③ full support to democratic and constitutional means (as against any dictatorship of proletariat) and also it strongly favours freedom of speech & expression and multi-party democracy (against communist party rule in socialist countries).

Thus it advocates balance between political and socio-economic democracy.

Conception of State → as a welfare state (and not just police or nightwatchman state i.e. solely concerned with safety and security of population in physical terms) but economic security, food security, cultural security, identity security among others. It advocates

Remarks

positive conception of liberty i.e. commitment by state to ensure equality of opportunity and holistic development of and realisation of potential.

Scholars → Edward Bernstein, Fabian socialists like Annie Besant, Beatrice & Sydney Webb, G.B. Shaw, J.L. Nehru etc.

good content & elaboration

Also elaborate on viewpoints of major scholars who support like Loski

13

Remarks

4. Answer the following questions:

(200 Words) (15)

(a) Foucault on Modern Sexuality. Discuss.

Plato?

(200 Words) (15)

(b) Find out 'The Law's' Relation to 'The Republic' with reference to Plato?

(c) It is no longer believed that superstructure is wholly dependent on the base. New forms of domination and conflicts are emerging in present day society. Discuss the given statement in light of Neo-Marxism.

(250 Words) (20)

a) Michel Foucault is best known for his non-traditional view pertaining to power where it is understood in context of knowledge, Derrida's method of deconstruction and as diffused entity spread like networks of capillaries.

In this context only, he tried to analyse the notion of modern sexuality in his History of sexuality. He attempts to burst the myth that modern sexuality is more expressive and expansive and that homosexuality was subdued during ancient times particularly the Victorian Era.

Rather he points towards justification of

Remarks

Status quo by such scholars who says that sexuality issues have become more open. This is to suppress any deviant behaviour like homosexuality or queerness because it doesn't fit into the frame of 'natural' sexuality.

He also negates the notion that capitalism suppresses any discussion on sexuality on grounds of work ethics & that advent of capitalism in 17th c. also masks the beginning of suppression of sexuality.

Rather he says that discussions on sexuality were a part of normal discourse & the over-emphasis on speciality of this topic endangers those with non-normal orientations.

Thus he says that power & knowledge dominate every sphere of human's life including sexuality.

Remarks

How exactly does state regulate behaviour in deviant sexuality?

Analyse how Normativity in sexuality is defined

8

b) The Plato of 'Republic' is the one who is known to ^{us} as the philosopher, the idealist and the radical. He conceives his ideal state here only ruled by a philosopher / King / queen governed by rationality and reluctance to rule.

It is here where his disciple Aristotle disagrees with Plato as the former advocate Rule of Law rather than Rule of men. Aristotle advocates the middle path or the realisation of 2nd best or best possible. He also criticises Plato's idealism in conceiving communism of property and mines.

It seems that Plato modified his opinions and ivory tower philosophy in his 'The Laws' where he himself accepts the fallibility of men and hence advocates Rule of Law. Thus Plato balances

Remarks

his opinions in 'The Laws'. Because this work deals more with what is real, practical and feasible rather than the desirable and ideal.

However certain best known ideas of Plato like that of Justice, scheme of education, equal capability of women to become philosopher queens, etc are found in 'The Republic' which is not only a political work but a treatise on diverse subjects.

Actually go through hints on this. There is no evidence that Plato had ever actually talked idea
Read more - from link

Remarks

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c) The traditional or orthodox marxist discourse is built upon the notion of base-superstructure wherein the economic base (characterised by ownership over means of production, relations of production, techniques of production etc) determines the political, social, cultural aspects of superstructure.

But in the neo-marxist discourse - dominated by structuralists like Antonio Gramsci, Nicole Polountaz and critical school theorists like Herbert Marcuse, Jurgen Habermas, Theodore Adorno's views; the superstructure is ~~relatively~~ relatively autonomous and new forms of domination and conflicts are emerging.

For Gramsci, hegemony (i.e. culture, ideas and ideologies) play an important role in determining state / political power. The dominant ideas are advocated by civil

Remarks

society (in the form of consent rather than coercion of state machinery). This is called as legitimization by 'manufacturing consent.' Similarly for Nicole as well state acts as a arbiter of conflicting claims in normal situations and in crisis, it certainly favours the Capitalists.

The Frankfurt school / critical theorists talk about technological domination i.e. the falsification generated by science & modernity. These have produced false needs or ~~has~~ given undue advertisement to trivial, material needs of materialism & Consumerism. Thus worker, as a consumer has become an important factor for perpetuation of capitalist system. Herbert Marcuse calls it as one-dimensional man i.e. man as consumer. The

Remarks

media and advertisement industry works hand in glove with capitalists to further the myth of fulfillment & acquiring a materially contented life.

For critical theorists it results in real alienation (as talked about by Young Marx in 18th Beumaire of Louis Bonaparte) and thus the so-called modernity has led to enslavement instead of emancipation of mankind. Hence this school is also a pioneer of post-modernism.

Good content & elaboration. I need to view of Lenin, Althusser & Luxemburg as well

13

Remarks

SECTION-B

Attempt all questions:

5. Answer the following questions in about 150 words each:

(10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) Utility of Doctrine of Non-Violence
- (b) Satyagraha versus Passive Resistance.
- (c) Judicial review and basic Structure doctrine.
- (d) Impacts of LPG reforms on Federalism.
- (e) Ambedkar's criticism of Marxism in Indian Context.

a) The Doctrine of non-violence as advocated and described by M. Gandhi stands as an article of faith, a weapon of strong (morally strong) and not the resort of cowards, a pure means based on love and sacrifice to the end of truth.

The utility of non-violence lies in its ability to bring transformation based on appeals to true conscience and soul at the same time advocating tolerance and hate not towards the sinner but sin.

This can be understood from the success of khudai and Gramdan movements in

Remarks

land reforms based on appeals to logic of trusteeship. The notion of not-nativ The sinner reminds us of corrective & not punitive aspect of punishment. Its reformatory approach eradicates the evil without corrupting the reformer.

The notion of non-violence in thoughts, words and action helps to reduce crimes, intolerance, environmental degradation & unsustainable development (as it includes non-violence towards animals and ecology).

Thus the notion of non-violence can easily be applied to all spheres of human endeavours.

3

b)

Satyagraha or insistence on truth; for truth as a tool of mass mobilisation against evil practices or unjust laws,

Remarks

you need to specify elaborate on the political utility of non violence during struggle for freedom

was popularised by M. Gandhi. He distinguished it from passive resistance in the following ways :-

- ① passive resistance abstains violence because it may not be a suitable option whereas satyagrahi avows to abjure violence as a matter of faith.
- ② P.R. is resisting the evil doer whereas satyagraha is appealing to the conscience of perpetrator without an intention to cause harm to him/her.
- ③ satyagraha involves self-suffering because evil doer is considered a part of oneself. (my enemy is part of myself) whereas P.R. involves no such suffering.

Thus Satyagraha as a tool to fight injustice requires great self-restraint and moral power on the part of the satyagrahi.

Remarks

Also elaborate how, unlike passive resistance, satyagraha can also be used against oneself.

5

- ① Judicial review isn't directly mentioned in the constitution but Art 13 talks about power of judiciary to declare laws violating FRs as null and void. This power of judiciary to scrutinize legislative and executive enactments, was declared a part of Basic structure in Kesavananda Bharti case 1973 which formulated the Basic structure doctrine.

According to it, some fundamental aspects of the constitution (like secularism, equality, parliamentary democracy etc) are sacrosanct and can't be altered even by an amendment of the constitution. In this context the Art 50 (separation of executive and judiciary), original jurisdiction of judiciary etc were interpreted in light of Judicial review (Art. 13)

The power of judicial review has further widened the scope of Basic structure

Remarks

Also elaborate on its positive consequences & emerging concerns

9

as time and again the court via its decisions & announcements has included secularism (in S.R. Bommai case), socialism (Nakara v. State of UP) etc into fold of basic structure.

Moreover judicial review ^{is helped in} has also widened the scope of Art 21 to include R. to privacy, R. to human dignity, clean & pollution free environment etc.

d) The LPG reforms of 1990s had far-reaching consequences for the polity, economy and society of India. It also impacted the centre-state relations and federalism in the following ways :-

① competitive federalism → the desire and competition among states to attract FDI for infrastructural development, connectivity, economic development etc has given rise to competitive

Remarks

federalism.

- (2) strengthened the asymmetry in federalism - with earlier govt. focus on balanced regional development getting replaced by market dominance and search by market forces for profitable ventures & revenues.
- (3) clash among states & rise to regionalism or sons-of-soil ideology → the opening up of industries in few regions resulted in migrant population influx & consequently the notions of natives vs. outsiders were exploited which generated tensions among units of federalism. Besides competition for resources (like water resources) has also grown up.
- (4) The international financial & monetary conditions (incl. its influence on domestic Balance of payments account) has affected fiscal federalism and led to considerations wrt. funds transfer, Debt to GDP ratio, among others.

Thus LPG reforms had significant impact on federalism.

Remarks

good content
& elaboration

6

e) Dr. B.R. Ambedkar criticised marxist ideology in Indian context and also questioned the difficulty of its application in vastly different Indian society.

Major points of criticism:-

① a sole emphasis on class factor for determining the extent of exploitation & solution thereof would be incomplete as the base-superstructure dichotomy stands inverted in India where caste (or social status) of an individual determines his/her livelihood & hence economic condition

② Religion not as opium of masses - rather religion as way of life - has to be understood in India where religion-customs etc are inseparable from society. He also criticised the fact that no other religion (besides Christianity) was looked into before making this statement. He

Remarks

talked about the rationality of Buddhism and its power to end alienation and advance humanity towards liberation

③ disdain for democracy and advocacy for proletarian dictatorship was criticised by Ambedkar as unconstitutional and he also questioned the efficacy of violent means for revolution.

④ Ambedkar didn't view state as an evil institution rather he saw it as a liberating force with state institutions and machinery capable of rectifying historical injustice via reservations, public employment, educational opportunities etc.

Thus Dr. Ambedkar wanted Indian marxists to modify tenets of communism to suit Indian needs & aspirations.

Remarks

9

Also elaborate on how they played a key or role in achieving social justice by ~~the~~ violence