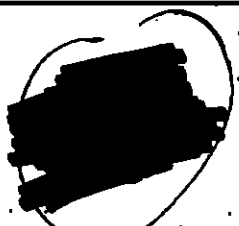


9 mod content, articulation & multi imp structure  
keep it up

**POLITICAL SCIENCE**

Time Allowed: 3 hr.

Max. Marks: 250



**Instructions to Candidate**

- There are EIGHT questions. Candidate has to attempt FIVE questions in all.
- Question no. 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, THREE are to be attempted.
- 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 medium other than the authorized one.
- Word limit in questions, wherever specified, should be adhered to.
- Attempts of questions shall be counted in chronological 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 answer book must be clearly struck off.

1. Invigilator Signature

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2. Invigilator Signature

Name SUMPET PANDA

Mobile No. [Redacted]

Date 19/07/17

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21/7/2017.

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REMARKS

GS SCORE

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## SECTION A

1. Answer the following questions: (150 Words Each)

(10 × 5 = 50)

- Gandhian Views on Parliamentary Swaraj
- Contributions of M. N. Roy to Modern Indian Politics
- Historic Materialism by Marx
- Communitarian perspective of justice
- How 'contentious pluralism' does help a democracy to reinvent itself?

Ans (a) Mahatma Gandhi reckoned that gaining independence from the British is not enough until Indians get Swaraj.

Swaraj of Gandhi was in 2 stages -  
 1) Self-rule which meant that no dominion status but complete independence from the British.

2) Democratic decentralization which meant that instead of representative democracy, there shall be 'party-less democracy' and at the same time village self-republics.

Gandhiji reckoned that "India resides in her villages" there is absolutely no point in emulating the British Westminster model of Parliament. He reckoned India should opt for an indigenous model which would start from the grassroots. He professed a bottom-up approach to democracy.

Remarks

Contrary to criticism that Gandhi was against modernity and scientific advancement; industrialization, etc. Gandhi only opted for village-level growth but was completely in favor of scientific advancement. He insisted that over-centralization would lead to dependency and would also imperil the traditional way of self-sufficiency.

Therefore, Gandhi was a fore-runner of Panchayat raj institutions and articulation of their interests at the parliamentary level. Gandhian views found place in DPSP of the Constitution and since the 73<sup>rd</sup> & 74<sup>th</sup> Amendment, India has a 3-tier government structure.

What were the functions of his idea of Parliamentary Sovereignty? (S)

(b)

M. N. Roy was initially shaped by the Marxist-Leninist school of thinking. He was part of the Second Comintern in Tashkent and instrumental in the formation of Communist Party of India in 1925. This party was mostly dedicated to the urban working classes in India. Later he joined the

Remarks

Congress in 1936 and formed a faction named Radical Congress. Due to his differences with the Congress Party over India's participation in the ~~second~~ WW II, he quit congress and started his own party Radical Humanist Party in 1940.

Later M.N. Roy became a philosopher and developed the idea of Radical / New Humanism.

As well as Radical humanism was a Direct ~~way~~ Marxist philosophy from both participatory democracy as well as parliamentary democracy.

For the first time, M.N. Roy propounded that human must be kept at the centre.

Marxism sacrificed human for class interests.  
Fascism sacrificed human for state.

Parliamentary democracy put focus on representatives human.

Therefore, he suggested a few processes in his radical humanist approach to politics:

- 1) Party-less democracy
- 2) Direct democracy

Remarks

You need to analyze his overall significance & his limitations.

4

- 3) Abundance of resources and satisfaction of all wants.
- 4) Ultimate freedom to people.
- 5) Adhering Chanvaka philosophy of materialism.

In this way, M.N. Roy put forward a revolutionary approach to politics.

(C) Karl Marx had said that -  
 "Human history" is a history of class struggle.  
 Historical materialism is a scientific analysis of human history by the method of dialectic materialism.

In that, Marx suggested that throughout history there have been divisions between the 'haves' and 'have nots' in society. The various historical stages -

- (1) Primitive Communism
- Nobody owned property. Rulers were laid out by tribal leaders and others followed accordingly. There is no element of subjugation.

Remarks

With the advent of tools, man started owning agricultural land and therefore property and this led to subjugation of fellow beings.

(2) Master - slave

This is the 1st level of subjugation where slavery began. There were few masters

(3) F<sup>and</sup> Lord - serf (Feudalism)

This is the 2nd stage where f<sup>and</sup> lords owned lands and exploited peasants/serfs.

(4) Bourgeoisie - Proletariat (Capitalism)

Capitalism is the final stage of exploitation where bourgeois class subjugates the proletariat class. This according to Marx, is the final stage of exploitation and with result in revolutionary consciousness of the masses which would lead to overthrow of capitalism and advent of Socialism

In his analysis, Marx explained that property has been the source of class division. His historic materialism is on the basis of economic determinism. Structural Marxists

like Gramsci refuted Marxian notion by pointing out that class struggle did not take place in capitalist societies but in semi-feudal Russia.

Remarks

good  
You also need to elaborate on his use of dialectical method & how he reversed the view of Hegel

6

(d) Communitarians were primarily critiques of the liberal notion of justice. The biggest criticism was of John Rawls' Theory of Justice. They criticized Rawls for having a universal conception of justice. In this analysis, Rawls missed the fact that human beings are not unencumbered self but part of a community and have multiple affiliations. Human beings are not isolated selves but situated selves.

The prominent thinkers of communitarian perspective of justice were Alastair MacIntyre, Michael Sandel, Michael Walzer. Michael Sandel commented against the liberal notion of atomistic individuals. This notion alienates a man from his surroundings which is incorrect.

MacIntyre criticized Rawls for putting people in the 'original position' behind the veil of ignorance. He commented that sense of justice cannot come from not knowing where one is placed.

Remarks




in society. Only a situated self and full awareness can deliver justice optimally.

Michael Walzer is the only communitarian thinker to come up with an original theory of justice. His theory stemmed from his notion of

Complex Equality. He proposed that social goods are equally important and not just

economic determinism. Justice can not only be dispensed by monetary compensation but other measures like reputation, recognition, status, education, healthcare, other benefits are equally important.

Notion of Difference  


Neo-Marxist Critics

also points out that all other social goods need an economic basis. What is concept of 'Sphere of Justice' in this context?

(2) Plural conception of democracy comes from a critique of the elitist theorists like Mosca, Pareto, C. Wright Mills who consider that democracy refers to the rule of a few elites. Robert Michels also called it the 'Iron Law of Oligarchy'.

Remarks

Plural theorists like Robert Dahl, Charles Lindbloom consider that democracy has plurality of power centres and many are in the form of interest groups and pressure groups

Concurrent pluralism refers to multiple interest groups with overlapping interests. For eg. for building hydro-electric projects, environmental ~~for industries~~ clearances are required. There is overlap of interests between industrial lobby and environmental activists.

Such friction makes a democracy more robust and makes sure that different groups can articulate their interests. Robert Dahl later conceded that some groups might be more influential than the other groups which is why he called USA as a deformed polyarchy.

Contentious Pluralism is not exactly same as pluralistic conception of state

Remarks

Read more books

(2)

2. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Provide justification as to how the Welfare State actually enhances individual liberty on the basis of views of eminent scholars who support the notion of such a state?  
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Explain the statement by Robert Nozick, "The minimal state is inspiring as well as right".  
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Analyse the reasons behind Ambedkar's call for complete transformation of Indian social structure and destruction of Brahmanical supremacy as the only path for emancipation of the deprived.  
(250 Words) (20 Marks)

*Remarks*

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*Remarks*

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*Remarks*

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*Remarks*

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*Remarks*

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*Remarks*



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*Remarks*

**GS SCORE**

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*Remarks*

3. Attempt all questions;

(a) According to Vaughan, in the state advocated by Hobbes, the only cement that binds the individuals together is the sheer terror of the tyrant "Leviathan" that stands above them all. How justified is this statement in your views?

(200 Words) (15 Marks)

(b) Discuss the relationship between Ethics and politics as per views of Aristotle.

(200 Words) (15 Marks)

(c) What compelling conditions are behind creation of State as per John Lock and what are its basic features?

(250 Words) (20 Marks)

3(a) Vaughan was a critique of the Hobbesian notion of Leviathan because Hobbes made Leviathan all-powerful and individuals had to surrender their rights to the Leviathan.

But we must see that Hobbes was a child of his time. He had said, "My mother gave birth to twins, myself and fear". Because of Spanish Armada and Civil war in England, the security of individuals was not guaranteed. Hobbes had a pessimistic view of the state of nature. He said, "Life in the state of nature is poor, solitary, nasty, brutish and short".

Remarks

Considering those times, Hobbes actually wanted the Leviathan to be a guarantor of peace and security.

Good → Prof. C.E. Wray says, "Leviathan is not merely a forceful enunciation of the doctrine of sovereignty, it is also a powerful statement of individualism". For Hobbes, absolutism of the state was for the self-preservation of individuals.

Good → The reason why Hobbes wanted an all-powerful ~~state~~ sovereign is because he felt, "Sting of despotism is better than scorpion of anarchy". At the same time, Hobbes concedes that the Leviathan is an artefact, a machine, a contrivance of man.

Therefore, a Leviathan would be justified in that free, solitary and intellectual and moral isolation, where a man is born limitations of sovereignty voluntarily accepts something else, i.e. security to achieve

Remarks

10

good approach

Always defend your arguments with views of eminent scholars

Therefore, Hobbes said, "Will not to will" which was to submit to the diktat of the sovereign Leviathan.

3(b) Aristotle is considered as a political realist. But being influenced by the Socratic and Platonic line of thinking, Aristotle did not divorce politics from ethics. His emphasis of ethical approach can be seen in his

- 1) Theory of slavery.
  - 2) Theory of justice & equality.
  - 3) Theory of citizenship.
  - 4) Theory of property.
- In his theory of slavery, although he admits that slaves are necessary in the society because of division of labour and better allocation of responsibilities, he appealed for compassionate treatment of slaves. He considers that slaves can pick up virtues from the master. If a slave has developed

Remarks

reason over appetite than he must be released by the master.

In his theory of justice, Aristotle calls for both compensatory justice as well as reformatory justice. Aristotle applies the ~~teleological~~ teleological principle in his distribution of resources according to merit. The compensation must be proportionate. It would be unjust to treat unequal equally.

In his theory of citizenship, he calls for active citizenship. This means that people deliberate for the common good of the society. Individual interests would come after the common good. He called for active civic republicanism.

In his theory of property, although ownership was based on individuals but the principle of collective use ensured that

Remarks

there was equitable distribution of resources in society. Not all are fortunate to own property. But all must be in a position to enjoy the goods from common use.

At the same time, Aristotle was criticized by John Rawls for considering merit alone in distribution of resources and not taking into account lottery factor.

Inaccurate - you simply need to elaborate with examples how links participation in politics with an ethical life

3(c) Locke, although trudged the same path as Hobbes, his conclusions were widely divergent from that of Hobbes.

'State of Nature' in Lockian view is a state in which men are equal and free to act as they think fit within the bounds of natural law.

Natural rights, which are inalienable, are derived from the laws of nature -

- Right to life
- Right to liberty
- Right to property

Remarks

The state of nature where man has rights and acknowledges duties is moral and social in character.

Consequently, it is wrong to think of it as a state of war as Hobbes did.

Nevertheless, it has its inconveniences.

If it is not a state of war, it is not a state where peace is scarce. It is

constant jeopardy of corruption and

state of continued dangers. It is a

state of continued dangers. It is a state of nature -

- 1) Legislative - known law
- 2) Judiciary - known and impartial judge
- 3) Executive - To enforce just decisions.

Therefore, an arbitrator or state is needed to live amicably together.

This gave birth to the idea of social contract. This contract was to escape the vicissitudes of the state of nature. Social contract is

what exactly this leads to peaceful & natural state

Remarks



a political contract since it establishes a political society.  
 John Locke pointed out "Contract of all with all" It means that all must consent to submit their will to the determination of the majority. If men do not consent then state cannot function. Once the contract is made, it is irrevocable.

At the same time, each generation must give their consent to the contract.  
 Unlike Hobbes, Locke did not want all the rights submitted to the state. There are natural rights which predate any social contract and therefore cannot be impinged upon. This view coincides with Rousseau's view of "inalienable sovereignty" of the people.

Locke advocated for strict separation of powers which is similar to the views of Montesquieu. Locke admitted that if those who administer/execute laws will also have the

Remarks

power to make laws then they'll be a temptation towards human frailties.

Locke recognized a 3rd power in the form of Federative. Federative would be separate from the executive and would be responsible for state's external relations, in the negotiation of treaties.

Locke maintained that the form of state, i.e., democracy, oligarchy, monarchy, etc. is a secondary matter. What is more important is the characteristics of the state.

Also talk about  
his right to Revolution  
and how he differentiates  
b/w state & government

(12)

## 4. Attempt all questions:

- (a) 'Mill's defence of rights of women was in tune with his general views on equality and liberty.' Discuss. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) What are the social and ideological foundations of Fascism? In what aspects does it show similarity to Communism? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) While classical Marxism can hardly replace liberalism as the dominant ideology due to its own faults but it will continue to serve as a check on excesses of the Capitalist system. Discuss. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

*Remarks*

**GS SCORE**

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*Remarks*

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*Remarks*

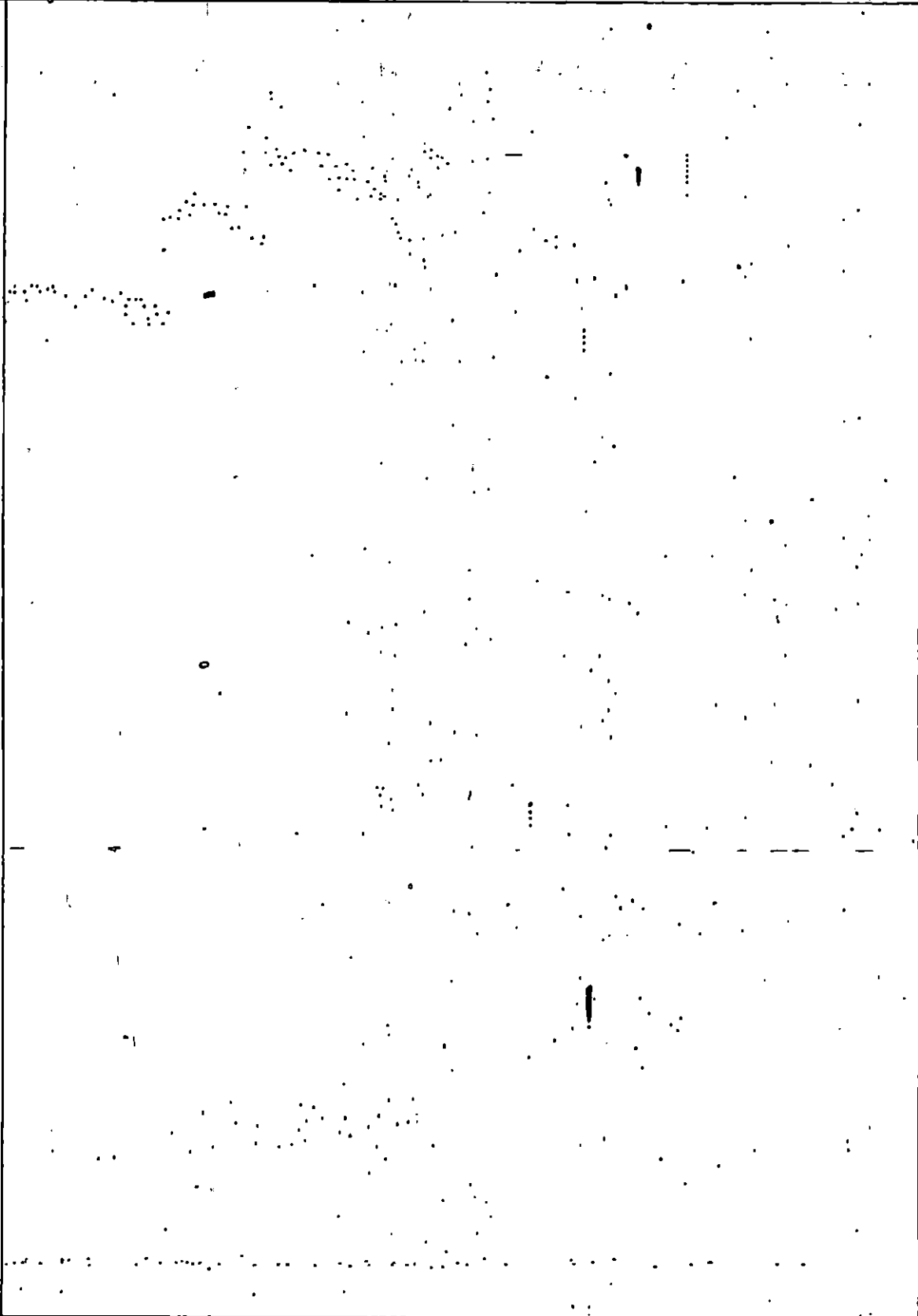
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*Remarks*

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*Remarks*

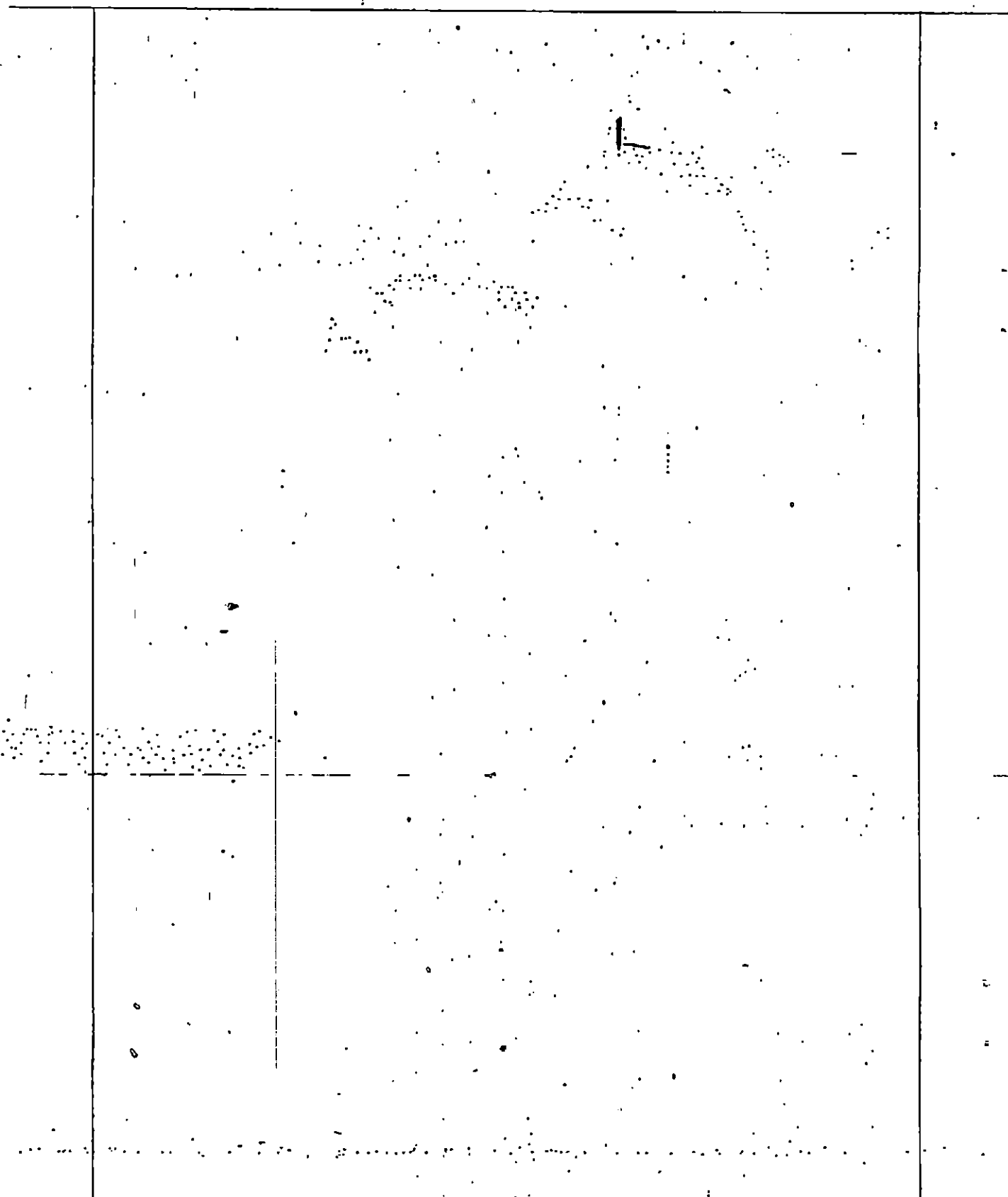


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*Remarks*



*Remarks*

## SECTION B

5. Answer the following questions: (150 Words (10 × 5 = 50))

- Basic Features of Critical theory.
- The Public-Private Divide as per Feminist Theory.
- Laski's theory of Rights: Main arguments.
- The Post-Colonial state is a product of circumstances created by Colonialism. Comment.
- Pluralist perspective on Power.

ans (a) Critical theory belongs to the FRANKFURT School of neo-marxists. Some of the major proponents of critical theory are Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse and Jürgen Habermas. This school of thought developed in the post world war phase when instead of the collapse of Capitalists as prophesized by Marx, it consolidated across the world and post democracy became the lingua franca of governance political system in most parts of the world. Structural Marxists like Gramsci justified the continuance of Capitalism on the basis of Consent and hegemony. Critical theorists considered this as a manufactured Consent. They felt that human beings have been emptied because of lack of ethical evaluation.

Remarks

David McClellan talks about the facticity of science and how positivism has led to scientific facts have led to numbing down of human faculties for critical analysis.

Marxism talks about the One-Dimensional Man which means that people no longer know what they need. False needs are created by markets and by advertisements.

Instrumental reasoning has taken precedence over critical reasoning. For eg. a nuclear bomb is first developed and then its use, stockpile, etc. is justified.

Therefore, they decry the technological determinism of modern world. They call for ethical evaluation and value judgement of scientific facts.

(b) Feminist theorists were critical of traditional thinkers like Aristotle who suggested that person public sphere should be separated from the private sphere. In fact, Aristotle also denied citizenship to women due to their lack of active political public life.

How do they view the failures of classical Marxism & structures of domination in modern society?

Remarks

Radical feminists like Susan Moller Okin, Kate  
 Millet, S. Firestone, etc. insist that "politics  
 begins in the family"

Okun said that "Personal is political" this is  
 because subjugation of women happens in the  
 private sphere which has a reflection in  
 the public life. The male differentiation of  
 men and women is responsible for the lack  
 of participation of women in public life.

In her book Gender, Justice & Family, Okin says  
 that family life should be subject to  
 normative scrutiny. Kate Millet, in her

book ~~Sexual~~ Sexual Politics, suggests that politics  
 is not limited to public sphere. It is  
 also understood as violence and domination  
 at home.

Firestone, in Dialectics of Sex, talks about  
 how sex is older than class differentiation.  
 Radical feminists insist on intervention of  
 the state in private sphere even in  
 areas like child-rearing, etc. so that  
 there is no gendered division of labor.

role  
 of  
 family  
 in  
 this  
 divide

Remarks

Acc to  
 Radical  
 feminists,  
 what  
 role can the  
 state play in  
 elimination of  
 the public  
 private  
 divide?

4

Liberal feminists, on the other hand, feel that public & private sphere should ~~not~~ be separate. Any state intervention would lead to invasion of privacy and deter individual freedom.

(c) Herold J. Laski belonged to the school of Fabian socialism prevalent in England at the time. While some scholars regard him as a neo-Marxist others regard him as a social liberal.

Laski's theory of rights -

- i) Rights are ~~not absolute~~. They are malleable and change according to time, place, conditions.
- ii) Rights are social in nature. They are conferred upon the individual by the society.
- iii) There is no conception of natural rights. - People have come together to give each other rights such that it limits within social boundaries.

Remarks

what is the logic behind this order of preference

iv) Rights are correlative to duties. In fact, duties come prior to rights.

v) Economic rights are more important than social and political rights.

6

Because of such views on rights, scholars debated whether he stands on the left or right side of the political spectrum.

(d) Post-colonial states in Africa, Asia and Latin America were the newly independent states post WW II. In such states, a bearing of Divergent models of post-colonial states - the British Westminster

- ① India followed style of parliamentary democracy.
- ② But democracy in many other countries like Myanmar could not sustain which fell back to military junta rule. Pakistan had a military bureaucratic oligarchy as explained by Mansur Alawi.

Remarks

- ③ Semi-feudal states like China, Vietnam, Cambodia followed communist model.
- ④ Whereas middle-eastern countries fell back to monarchies. Eg. Saudi Arabia, UAE.
- ⑤ Many Latin American countries like Venezuela, Ecuador, etc, went from democracy to communist model.

Therefore, we can see either an acceptance of the model of colonialists or a recidivism to traditional structure.

Haimin Alami calls this phenomenon of 'overdeveloped state' where the society is not as developed as the state institutions.

A.G. Frank & Samir Amin put forward the concept of 'dependency theory' wherein the postcolonial states became the clients states or peripheral states for the developed countries. Neocolonialism was in the form of economic dependency of the peripheral states on the core states.

Remarks

4

talk more the about overdeveloped state & include views of other post colonial thinkers as well



(c) Pluralist conception of power comes as a critique to the elitist notion of power. Elite theorists like Mosca, Pareto, C. Wright Mills advocated that power in a democracy is concentrated only in the hands of a few elites. It prevents common masses to aggregate to the power.

Plural theorists like Robert Dahl and Charles Lindblom contended that power is not necessarily concentrated but is exercised by many independent groups working for their own interests for the interests of their communities. This is the reason why government in the USA does not interfere in spheres of religion, minority rights, etc. In fact lobbies for LGBT community influence government policies to favour them. Therefore, pressure groups also have power in a democracy.

Steven Lukes criticized the plural conception

Remarks

of power in pressure groups on grounds that inner-democracy in the groups is missing and many a times individual interests are sacrificed for class interests.

To this criticism, pluralist thinkers conceded that pressure groups may not always be in the best interests of individuals. But they objected to Robert Michels' notion of 'Iron Law of Oligarchy'.

And contended that American is a polyarchy instead of oligarchy. Earlier they criticized C. Wright Mills' argument that military and business groups hold sway over government. Later they conceded that some groups have pre-eminence over others and therefore called it a deformed polyarchy.

Elaborate now on this

Also what kind of relation is there between groups enjoying with full autonomous

Remarks



6. Attempt all questions:

- (a) What is participatory and deliberative democracy? Examine the methods of participatory and deliberative democracy. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Provide arguments to support the statement "Liberty and equality are inherently opposed to each other". (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Although they bear several resemblances, the views of Machiavelli and Kautilya originate from radically different sources and reflect opposite spirit and ideology. Explain. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

Ans 6(c) In his famous book 'Discovery of India', J.L. Nehru equated Kautilya with Machiavelli as he found many resemblances. On close analysis, it is seen that, although Kautilya & Machiavelli belonged to different ages they belong to the same school of political realism. However, there are stark differences in each of their approach towards power aggrandisement.

The resemblances are -

- 1) Both were realists.
- 2) Both advocated for a strong Princes who'd rule with an iron fist.
- 3) Both put national interest as primary objective.
- 4) Both separated politics from ethics.

Remarks

5) Both put state before individual freedom.

However, owing to the times and circumstances, both Kautilya's and Machiavelli's methods were starkly different -

1) While Machiavelli put the king above ordinary law, Kautilya's king was guided by Raj dharma and was himself subject to it.

2) Machiavelli was reluctant in the use of force. He professed the use of force only if it's absolutely necessary. Kautilya advocated unlimited use of force. Anyone antithetical to the empire must be punished.

3) Machiavelli refrained from the use of spies. Kautilya, on the other hand, maintained that spies are required not just against enemy king but also against ministers. To check any plots against the king, women, children, deaf & dumb, almost anyone could be used as spies.

Remarks

- 4) Machiavelli wanted consolidation of the nation-state rather than expansion. Kautilya's king is Vijigishu or empire-builder. ~~Arbata~~ The king was called Chakravartin Suroat having an expansive kingdom.
- 5) Machiavelli considered women akin to misfortune. He wanted the Prince to refrain from worldly desires. Kautilya advocated marital alliances so as to expand the influence of the empire.
- 6) Kautilya's Arthashastra is a detailed treatise on statecraft which deals with economics, politics, society, etc. Machiavelli's 'Prince' is a conception of how the king should be and not a detailed analysis of statecraft.
- 7) While Kautilya belongs to the age of monarchies, Machiavelli belongs to the age of transition between feudal states to nation-states. These circumstances and opposing ideologies can be clearly seen in this context.

15

or  
gosh

Remarks

They also differ on the question of virtuous king (The or just in appearance) & objective of public welfare.

6(b) The contention that liberty and equality are antithetical to each other is the grounds for liberal thinkers like Alexis de Tocqueville, Lord Acton, Isaiah Berlin as well as neo-liberal thinkers like F.A. Hayek.

Tocqueville observed that the principle of equality encouraged the individual submission to public opinion and the centralization of state power. Democracy in the social sphere means the tyranny of majority. Conformity to the popularly held attitudes and standards would ultimately result in curtailment of individual autonomy and loss of liberty.

Central  
part of

Tocqueville was not against equality as such. He only contended that equality should not be pressed to such an extent that there is suppression of freedom.

Lord Acton believed that liberty was endangered by the liberal doctrine of equality as individual centres of power may be eroded to promote the authority of the state.

Remarks

NOT exactly appropriate have

J.S. Mill posited that even if a single individual has a different opinion he must be heard. Principles of individual liberty are required for advancement of society.

Walter Bagehot said, "If one cannot fly like an eagle or swim like a whale, one is by no means deprived of political liberty on that count." He meant that the social-economic inequalities are because of individual capabilities. Liberty cannot be sacrificed at the altar of equality.

Hayek wanted the society to strive for higher excellence in a chosen few that marginal improvement in the majority of members. He declared social justice to be a mirage.

However, these thinkers fail to view the complementarity of liberty and equality in society which was posited by positive liberals like Laski, Greene, Macpherson. If there is no equal opportunity to do what people want in their lives, freedom as it is jeopardized.

Trade of views of more liberal thinkers like Nozick will

Remarks

8

## 6(a) Participative democracy

Participative democracy indicated towards a direct democracy or a party less democracy.

Rousseau said that Englishmen are free only once in 5 years. In order to protect the freedom of citizens, direct participation of people in the democratic process, especially decision-making is required.

In India, M.N. Roy, Gandhi and J.P. Narayan were major proponents of partyless democracy. Gandhi, in fact, called for democratic decentralisation and institution of village self-republics. So, first democracy is at the grass roots.

The methods of direct democracy/participative democracy -

- 1) Initiative: People bringing in their own legislation.
- 2) Referendum: Bill becomes an Act only with the consent of the governed.
- 3) Recall: It has an element of accountability. The representatives can be called back in case of malfeasance or

Remarks



Non performance

4) Plebisite : Gives the right to people for self-determination

Deliberative democracy values open and public deliberation on issues of common concern. It starts from the assumption that individuals are autonomous persons as well as rational beings. They are capable of reasoned arguments to work for the betterment of each other.

Aristotle, in his theory of citizenship, talks about the active involvement of citizens in public sphere and their contribution to the society.

Amartya Sen in his book 'Uncertain Glory', mentions that health issues persist because they have not become a matter of public debate. Sound policies can be framed only by due deliberation.

Rousseau said that democracy should not be a balancing of contending interests but an active deliberation for collective good rather than individual good.

Remarks

Hannah Arendt gives the concept of VITA ACTIVA where she means empowerment of citizens can only happen in the 'Action' sphere where they actively take part in policy-making.

Abernethy gives the concept of 'communicative action' where the citizens communicate with each other to overcome obstacles that may come in the process of public policy making.

John Rawls advocates active deliberation amongst citizens in his precondition of 'Original position'.

Process of deliberation reflects mutual respect. It also indicates that democracy is not run by elites by common citizens.

Some of the methods of deliberative democracy -

- 1) Deliberative panel
- 2) Citizens' jury
- 3) Consensus conference
- 4) Deliberative focus groups

And more approaches  
what is the linkage  
b/w the linkage & the functional challenges

quod theoretica  
elaboratione  
finitur  
mentionem  
the functional  
character by

Remarks

7/11 = 8

7. Attempt all questions:

(a) What are the general features of the Dharmashastras Tradition of Indian Political thought and how does Bhikhu Parekh bring out its various shortcomings?

(200 Words) (15 Marks)

(b) What do you understand by 'spiritual nationalism' by Aurobindo Ghosh? Why was the Congress according to him not able to gain Swaraj? (200 Words) (15 Marks)

(c) Equality of Resources as advocated by Dworkin consists of redistribution being done as continuous process rather than being a one time phenomena. Also bring out the salient features of "Equality of Capabilities" approach by Dr. Amartya Sen.

(250 Words) (20 Marks)

Remarks



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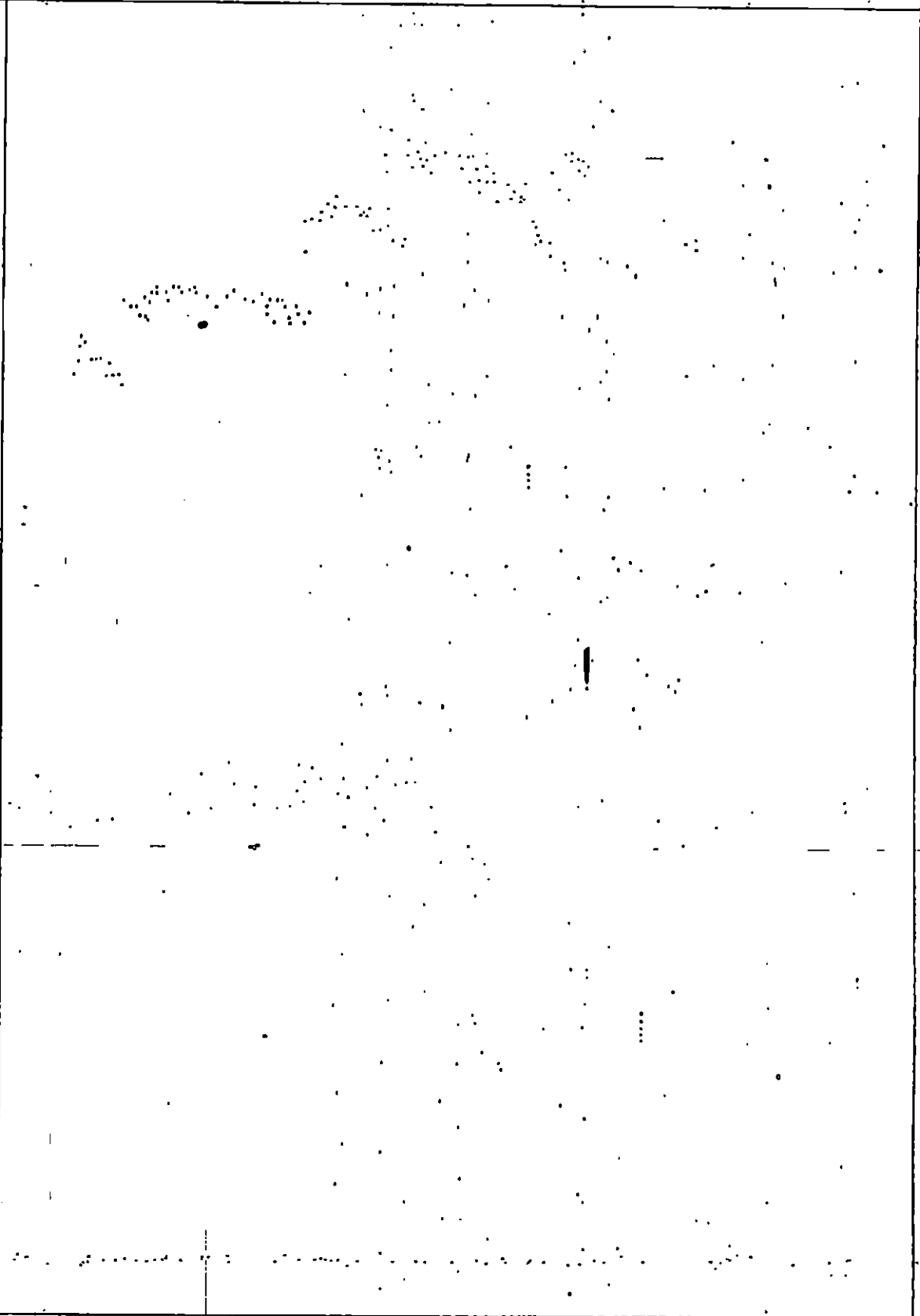
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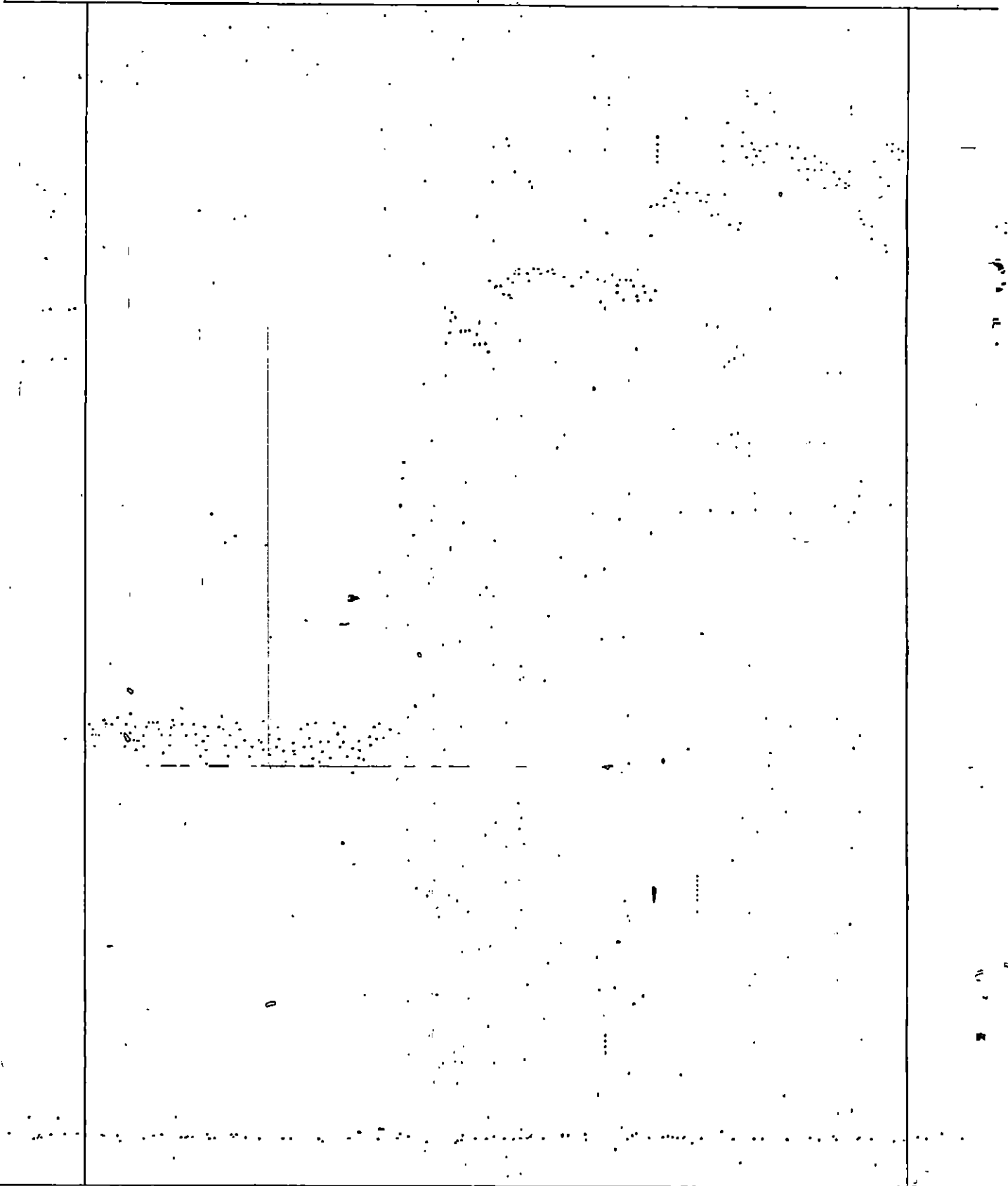
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*Remarks*



*Remarks*



*Remarks*

8. Attempt all questions:

- (a) "Gender is one of the many identities of an individual" and acceptance of the fact is actually a prerequisite for the feminist perspective to be effective. Discuss and also analyse how the modern state is viewed by Feminist. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Hobbes starts with 'Individualism' and 'Liberalism' but ended with 'Totalitarianism'. Discuss. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Describe in detail the features of 'Theory of Justice given by John Rawls' with special reference to the "Difference Principle". (250 Words) (20 Marks)

Q. 8(a) The main argument of feminist thinkers was that while sex is a biological determinant, gender is a social determinant. Susan Moller Okin contended that there was a "gendered division of labour" in society.

Feminist theorists claim that the instrument of patriarchy manifests in all walks of life by making gender as the first point of differentiation. S. Firestone in her 'Dialectics of Sex' claims that sex difference precludes class difference.

Feminists understood that gender may not be the only driving force for emancipation of women. This is because, primordial identities like ethnicity, caste, religion, nationality are deep-rooted and should be taken onboard. For eg. women's

Remarks

movements in case of entry into Sabarwalah temple and Haji Ali dargah wherein religion becomes the binding force.

Ecofeminism is another example of combining women's needs with preservation of nature. Chipko movement is an example of women identifying with the trees in the region.

Feminist perspective on Modern State

Liberal feminists like Mary Wollstone believe that state is necessary as it will provide affirmative action for the upliftment of women. They consider state to be universal emancipator of women by the virtue of codified laws. At the same time, it is within the framework of state that women will get both voting rights and other legal rights.

Marxist feminists consider state as an instrument of the capitalist class. Engels in his book 'Origin of family, private property and state' mentions that the subjugation of women was because of

Remarks

Have  
seen  
these  
views  
of  
feminist  
scholars

accumulation of private property. Women were considered alien to possession and so that she could take care of the sexual needs of the male member. There is no need for a separate feminist movement as with the withering away of state women will get their place in society.

Radical feminists, on the other hand, considered state as an instrument of patriarchy. Kate Millet in 'Sexual Politics' mentioned that the power structures in society are meant for the subjugation of the weaker sex.

Catharine McKinnen in her book 'Towards a feminist theory of state' At the same time, radical feminists believe state mechanisms in the households and state laws in women domestic sphere are required to protect

Post-colonial feminists look at the differences in societal structure of 3rd world countries. They disagree with the universal conception of women's freedom as given by the western feminists who disregard the challenges faced by them.

More examples

good effort

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Remarks

8 (b)

Hobbes had a pessimistic view of the 'State of Nature'. Life in this state of nature, according to Hobbes, was poor, solitary, nasty, brutish and short. This is why he wanted the sovereign in Leviathan to be all powerful. While Bodin had limitations upon the state, Hobbes sought complete surrender of one's sovereignty under the Leviathan.

But it would be mis-reading of Hobbesian absolutist to consider him as an absolutist. C. L. Wayer says, "Hobbes so frequently portrayed as the great absolutist is perhaps the greatest individualist in the history of political thought".

This stems from the fact that Hobbes considers the Leviathan as an artifice, a machine, a contrivance of man. He submits that once men view the state as something made by themselves, they can build something better than Leviathan.

Remarks

C. L. Wayer says, "Leviathan is not merely a forceful enunciation of the doctrine of sovereignty and the machine view of the state, it is also a powerful statement of individualism". Hobbes does not believe in the sanctity of individual men, but he does believe that world is made up of individuals. For Hobbes, there is no such thing as common with, common good. Nor does Leviathan feed upon individuals. On the contrary, it is an instrument for self-preservation of individuals.

"State is a means for the end which is individual"

The criticism of totalitarianism comes from a contextual understanding that all-sovereign power will ultimately lead to a totalitarian state. Moreover, because of the absolutism of the monarchy, gave credence to Hobbes' absolutism.

But Sabine rightly pointed, "The absolute power of sovereign was really the complement of Hobbes' individualism".

Remarks

H-TS his concern for the life & liberty in his pessimistic world which compelled him to create an all-powerful state.

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8C)

John Rawls in his book 'A Theory of Justice' describes justice as the first virtue of a society. His conception of justice is a universal notion of justice that encompasses people from all strata in society.

Rawls was making an attempt to rescue the liberal line of thinking from the utilitarians which was coming under heavy criticism for being hedonistic and self-aggrandisement.

Rawls argued that his conception of justice would require each and every human being to go to an 'original position' behind the veil of ignorance. This original position is a hypothetical situation where the individual is unaware of a few basics like-

- 1) Substantive conception of good.
- 2) Status, position, class, etc.
- 3) Race, religion, sex, nationality, etc.

Remarks



But at the same time, the individual is aware of elementary knowledge of economy, psychology. In such a scenario, if individuals congregate as logical actors, they will ultimately provide the maximum benefit to the least advantaged, known as the MAXIMIN principle.

Rawls gave a lexical order in which justice has to be surveyed -

- 1) Principle of equal liberty: It means individuals have liberty to pursue social primary goods like rights, opportunities, etc.
- 2) Principle of equality of opportunity: ~~Carbon~~
- 3) Difference principle: After the first two conditions are satisfied, there must be redistribution in society so that maximum benefit accrue to the least advantaged. Rawls is not against inequality as he feels inequality provides competition and provides an incentive for excellence. At the same time such inequality must be prevented.

Remarks

so that there is sufficient redistribution of resources.

Norman Barry points that Rawls is a "redistributionist".

To each according to his ability, can be applied only if higher efficiency of the concerned results in ameliorating the condition of the least privileged.

However, there have been many criticisms of the Rawlsian conception of justice.

Marxists argue that 'veil of ignorance' and hypothetical situation with novel remedy the awareness unless there is socio-economic

Collectivists argue that it further justifies the Capitalist system and mode of production.

Libertarians like Nozick claim that Rawls has sacrificed liberty for the sake of equality.

Communitarians like Sandel, Walzer claim that Rawls puts 'right before good' instead of vice versa.

Although, on closer analysis, Rawls theory of justice is a convergence of libertarianism, egalitarianism and communitarianism.

Remarks:

good balanced answer  
why does he express his system of justice as fairness?  
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