

# 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.

Content & understanding are good

Some structuring was brilliant

But your IBT is not very strong

Performance is better than last time

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Invigilator's Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Name Abhishek Yadav

Mobile No. \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature Abhishek

## SECTION-A

Attempt all questions:

1. Answer the following questions in about 100 words each:

(10 × 5 = 50)

- "State is a natural and organic compound." (Aristotle)
- "Karl Marx found Communism a chaos and left it a movement."
- "Will not force is the basis of the State." (T.H. Green)
- "It is better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied" (J.S. Mill)
- Features of ancient Indian Political Thought.

1a) According to Garnier, political science begins and ends with state. State has been central concept in Aristotle's Politics.

For Aristotle, who belongs to idealist tradition, state is a natural institution. 'state is the highest of all associations'. Man can fulfill basic needs through family. Family can't satisfy all needs and hence man needs village - association of families. But even village is not self-sufficient and hence man needs state. In his words, 'states exists for the sake of life but continues to exist for the sake of good life'

It is neither family nor village, but state which is self-sufficient. 'One who doesn't need state is either beast or god, but he is not a human'.

'Aristotle's state is one in which there is no extreme poverty nor wealth' (Mellwain).

For Aristotle, state is prior to man, like whole is prior to part. Though man exists prior to state but logically, state is prior to man. Without state, a man can have no meaningful existence like a 'part' has no significance without 'whole'.

Aristotle also justifies organic character of state by mentioning 'man is a political animal'. It's in the nature of man to form state.

Contrary to idealist tradition, many other schools of thought differ with organic nature of state. Hobbes and Locke consider state as a result of social contract.

It is because of Aristotle's emphasis on state and core issues concerning state, he is rightly called 'Father of Political science'.

good elaboration

Also explain

for Aristotle's polity

why

choose to

state as natural

(organic)

(6)



6) Karl Marx was not the first to delve into concept of socialism. Before him also, there were socialists. There were revolutionaries in France like Louis Blanc. There were socialists in Britain like Robert Owen who proposed peaceful methods.

- Marx believed that ~~early~~ socialists were not scientific.
- revolutionaries had no understanding. ?
- Peaceful British socialists lacked understanding as well as action.

Marx called them 'utopian', and himself scientific. He called his theory praxis. Every action should be based on proper understanding and every theory should lead to action.

- Marx did analysis of history and provided historical materialism to show movement of history.
- He believed Hegel was ~~standing~~ on his head for having faith in dialectic idealism.
- He provided critique to capitalism through his theory of alienation.

• He gave 'class struggle', 'surplus labor' and theory of revolution.

• His aim was to establish communism - end of history, a stateless society with no classes, no class struggle and no exploitation.

Thus, Marx provided basic understanding, method to attain communism and his social pretext of stateless society.

• It was only after Marx, Lenin tried to achieve communism. He later inspired Mao. Both of these adopted Marxist principles.

• An entire school of philosophy emerged in academic Marxism and neo-Marxism.

It would be right to call Marxism movement. It continues to haunt capitalism till date. After global financial crisis, Das Kapital became best-selling book.

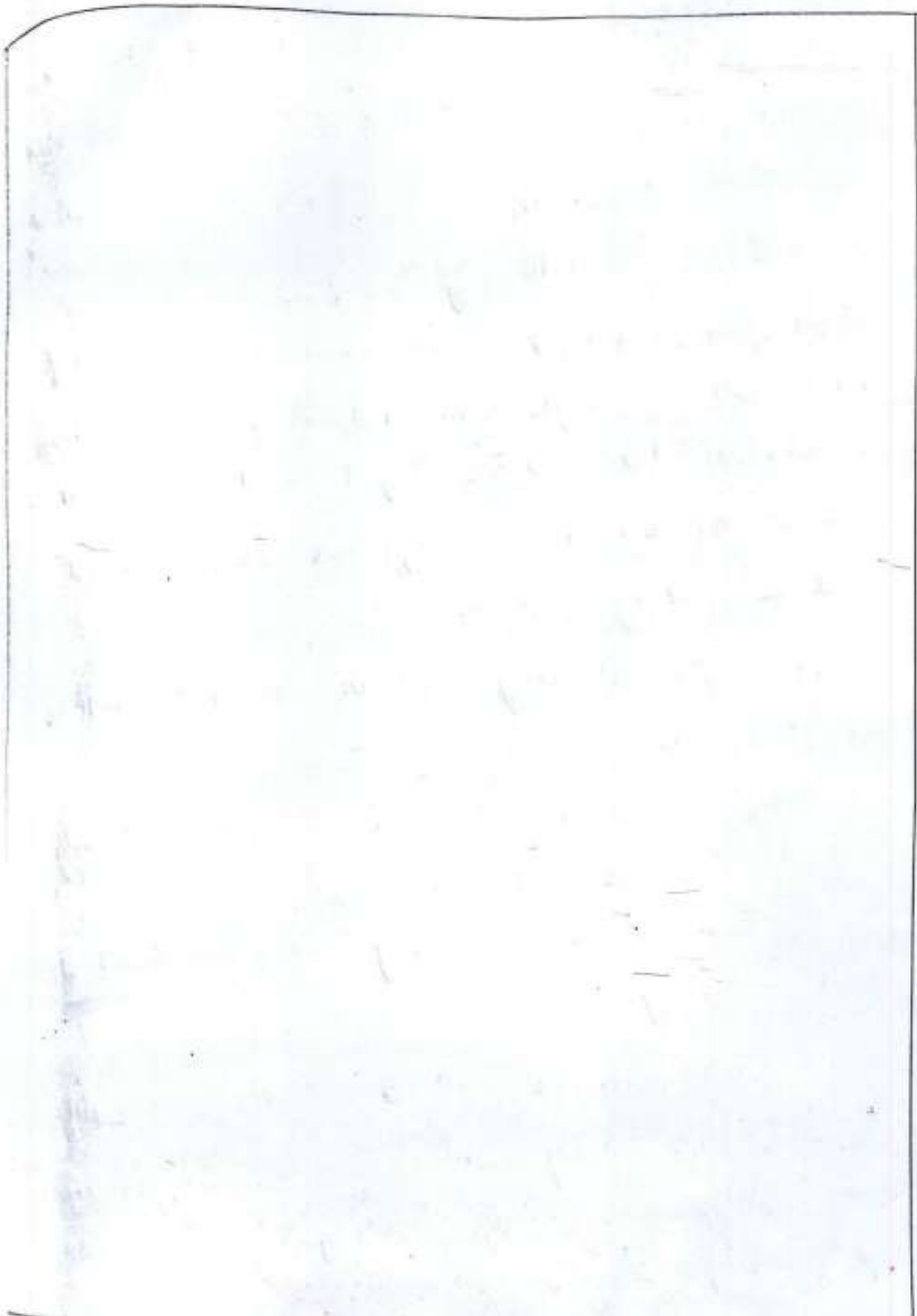
(C) TH Green belongs to positive liberalism

very well written

Analyze now on  
how it was his new  
concepts which  
transformed utopian

~~socialism~~ scientific  
socialism m/a

6





d) JS Mill belongs to utilitarian school of thought. He is credited with saving utilitarianism from criticism. Bentham's utilitarianism, once popular in 18<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century was called pig's philosophy (lanlyle).

According to Bentham, 'Nature has placed mankind under two sovereign - pain and pleasure. This is how we act, but also how we ought to ~~act~~'. For him, pleasure differed in quantity and there was no difference among persons.

Mill, while defending Bentham, separated pleasure and happiness.

o Happiness is for soul while pleasure is for body. We need to seek happiness.

o Pleasure differs in quality. 'Pushpin is not as good as poetry'.

o Not only pleasures, humans also differ in quality. Hence, for Mill, things which give pleasure to pig won't satisfy man. Similarly, things satisfying wise won't satisfy fool and vice-versa.

pleasure is only for one self but happiness has a component of sacrifice as well

Despite corrections, Mill maintained 'I still consider utility to be of highest appeal to all human actions. Utility is to be regarded in widest sense, grounded on assumption of human as a progressive being'.

For his changes, Mill is called as inconsistent thinker. He is petor who defied his master. Yet, his ideas remain useful till day. *Add: culture role goes society & community play in determination of happiness (Plato)*

e) According to western scholars, Indian political thought cannot be considered political. It has more of spiritual hues. However, this view shows euro-centrism and attempt to maintain hegemony. According to Maurice Jones, western academic should not ignore ancient Indian political thought.

For Bhiku Parekh, Ancient Indian political thought is more of continuity than change. Hence, features have remained consistent.

### Features:

- Origin of state - Quasi-contractual between man and god



◦ Focus on Dharma and Danda - Manusmriti and Arthashastra differ in degree of both.

Dharma is defined for ~~all~~ King as well public has to follow dharma. Dharma means one which holds together

◦ Indian political thought is communitarian and pluralist.

◦ Approach is ~~always~~ cosmopolitan. According to Sant Tukaram : Entire world is a family.

◦ It is non-critical.

◦ It is somewhat not optimistic and regressive in nature.

◦ Ancient Indian political thought is comprehensive. It incorporates physical, mental, sensual and spiritual aspects, as is seen in 'purusharth'.

According to Max Muller, nowhere have the questions of life analysed so deep as in Indian thought. Anand Mohan Ghosh, Tagore continued the legacy of ancient thought.

*This answer will not be complete unless you include the critical appraisal. - R. Paul*

*Also for limitations & shortcomings*

7

2. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Examine the notion of Vita Activa by Arendt? Why does she emphasize so much on "Acting in concert"? (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Comment on the overall nature of Foreign policy as advocated by Kautilya. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Analyze how Gramsci's observation of Superstructure is not only an extension of Marxist viewpoint but also an improvement of the same. (250 Words) (20)

a) The concept of vita activa is from theory of action in book 'Human conditions'. The concept has its origin in experiences of Hannah Arendt in Germany. She was Jew who faced brutalities of Hitler.

• For Hannah Arendt, human actions are of two types

↙  
vita contemplativa  
Contemplation

↘  
vita Activa  
Action

• She believes Action is more important than thinking unlike Plato.

• Actions are of three kinds:

- Labor : It is equivalent to fulfillment of basic needs. It is performed by animals. Here, man has no freedom. She calls a man performing labor 'Animal laborans'



- Work: It corresponds to economic activities that sustain labor. For her, man is builder of world. Thus, man has partial freedom and 'Animal labor' is term, she uses for this.

- Action: It is human condition. Only humans perform this. She uses the word 'Zoon politikon' for people participating in politics. For her action comprises of freedom and plurality. Freedom is natality i.e. capacity to do something new. plurality means equality and diversity. Since we all are humans, we are equal but since all are unique, we differ.

◦ She believes only when we do 'action', we can stop totalitarianism. It arises when people stop utilizing 'public sphere'.

◦ Freedom is natality and we need ~~plurality~~ plurality to exercise freedom.

◦ She relates power to freedom and plurality.

◦ For her, power differs from violence, strength and the



power is when people act in concert. It does not lie with state or economic means. It is sui-generis. Only when we act in concert, we enjoy freedom and we can stop totalitarianism.

Hannah Arendt, through *vita activa*, becomes proponent of participative and deliberative democracy. With rise of right wings around the world and decline in democracy, she becomes more relevant.

§

D. Kautilya's Arthashastra belongs to dandashastra tradition. It is a masterpiece on statecraft i.e. of running state. As per Indian tradition, a man has to attain: 4 purusharthas - dharma, artha, kama and moksha. Kautilya believes 'material well being is supreme for other well beings depend on material well being'. Material well being comes from land, hence, land is central player in Arthashastra.

You need to elaborate a lot more on how idea of acting in concert

How will it serve as a check against the risk of totalitarian tendencies

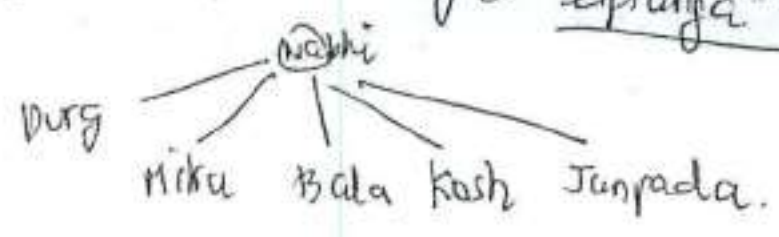
- He is first Indian to talk about geopolitics. Land can be acquired first from neighbour hence neighbour is enemy. He believes, foreign relations are relations of war where strength of lion prevails. Thus, he belongs to realist tradition.

- His realist paradigm is also evident from mandal theory. He divides nations into 12 players.

- Machiavelli asks prince to be clever like fox and brave like lion, Kautilya suggests shadgunya niti and 4 upayas - sama, dama, danda, bheda



- His foreign policy revolves around national interest (he asks nabhi king) to take care of 5 other elements of power through saptanga theory.





- He suggests to take care of 84 elements of power of his own and neighbouring states.
- He also specifies at least 10 types of spies to be used against states eg. gnahpalika, vausthitana.
- He mentions 3 types of wars - dharma yudha, kootyudha, asur yudha. and corresponding victories.

Though, Machiavelli is called father of realism, Urvashi Kaur believes Machiavelli should be called Italy's Kautilya in her book 'Political violence in Ancient India'.

For Max Weber, Machiavelli's prince seems harmless in comparison to Kautilya's king.

Kautilya's foreign policy and geopolitical strategies have not been utilised by Indian policymakers only in 21st century, with Hindu right-wing party in power, Kautilya's ideas have started gaining traction. Avoid this

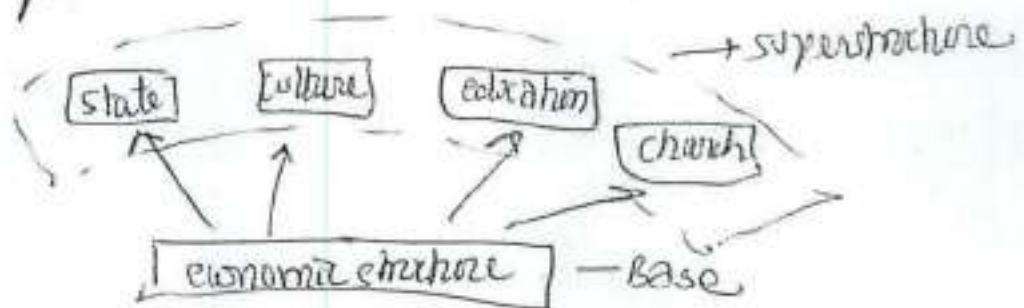
Kautilya provides a counter to those who believe India lacks strategic culture.

(8) Talk about the realistic, oppositionist, nationalistic yet righteous policy



③ Gramsci wanted to know why Marx's predictions were not occurring in advanced capitalist countries. He realised Marx had ignored superstructure. Inspired by Benedetto Croce, Gramsci held that culture and ideologies play part in shaping history.

According to Marx,



Culture was just reflection of Base.

But, for Gramsci, superstructure is itself a structure. Hence, he is called theoretician of superstructure.

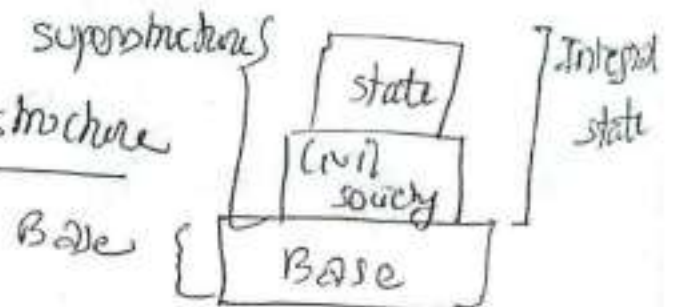
He classified superstructure into two parts -

state and civil society.

Base was still economic structure

state not only used

coercion to maintain rule of Bourgeoisie, but civil society also plays role.



Common sense

- Civil society helps in maintaining hegemony.
- Civil society is closer to Base and a first line of defense. Only when civil society fails, state uses coercion.
- He calls both state and civil society as integral state. This is because both act as instrument of bourgeoisie class - help in perpetuating capitalism.
- Marxism has been called 'economic determinism' by many scholars. Karl Popper called Marx enemy of open society and Marxism, on ground of historicism and falsification, unscientific.
- Gramsci has saved Marxism from such criticism. Marxism has given rise to neo-Marxism because of his efforts.
- Althusser further divided <sup>super</sup> structure into multiple structures.

Civil Society acts as an additional defense mechanism for the state

9/11  
12/1

Elaborate on the role played by both kinds of intellectuals & also write a lot more on the idea of Counter Hegemony



Gramsci not only improved historical materialism but has also changed theory of revolution. According to him, capitalists rule by developing hegemony. First, counter-hegemony needs to be developed and then violent overthrow of state can occur. He talks of

- War of position - ~~counter-hegemony~~ - protracted
- War of manoeuvre - ~~overthrow~~ of state

He also talks of role of organic and traditional intellectuals. Workers should utilise them and adopt same strategy as 'historic bloc'.

According to Bipin chandra, Indian national movement was example of Gramsci's protracted struggle. British created civil society for hegemony and also used violence. Gandhi fought war at two levels.



3. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Examine the modifications made by J.S. Mill on Bentham's Utilitarianism. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) "A wise prince then seeks advice continually but when it suits him and not when it suits somebody else." (Machiavelli) (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Provide a detailed scholarly and critical examination of Leviathan and its ideas. (250 Words) (20)

(a) Utilitarianism is modern philosophy, once popular in Britain during 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century. Though utilitarianism can be traced to sophists, Bentham was first to establish it as a school of thought.

Bentham's utilitarianism started facing criticism because of following reasons:

- 1) It reduced human to animal. Carlyle called it pig's philosophy. *How & why?*
- 2) It justified exploitation of workers by capitalists, ignoring categorised human dignity.

J.S. Mill, wanted to defend Bentham. He suggested modification. He was inspired by Nato, Aristotle and Kant and hence, added idealism to utilitarianism. He still considered 'utility to be highest appeal to all human actions but utility to be considered in widest scope.

## Bentham

- 'Nature has placed mankind under two sovereigns - pleasure and pain'.
- Pleasure is quantitative. It does not differ in quality.
- Humans do not differ in quality.
- He gave felicific calculus to measure pleasure from all kinds of activities.
- He considers utility as value for ethics.

Very good content  
& framework

Keep it up

## JS Mill

- He preferred happiness over pleasure. Happiness is to lead good life while pleasure makes man animal.
- Pleasure is qualitative. 'Pain is not as good as poetry'. Humans are different from animals.
- Just like pleasure, humans also differ in quality. 'It's better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied'.
- His modifications render felicific calculus useless.
- He also considers utility to be of highest appeal.

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JS Mill, in order to modify utilitarianism, has destroyed utilitarianism. It is said JS Mill is a Peter who denied his master. However, he has made utilitarianism humane. He saved utilitarianism from being 'pig's philosophy'.

[b] 'The Prince' is the best book written on statecraft. Machiavelli has given advices to political entrepreneur a set of advices on running state. In this statement, he advises prince to be wary of others and be willing to perform best for nation.

◦ According to Machiavelli, human is selfish, ungrateful, fickle-minded, fearful, avaricious and greedy. He will remain only with ~~prince~~ as long as his interests are met. Since he is selfish, he will give primacy to his interests rather than king's.



Since he is coward, prince can use fear to keep him on his side.

o 'Prince should be clever like a fox and brave like a lion'. Machiavelli believes that because of such human nature, he has to be wary of traps every time. He cannot believe anyone anytime. He can't be sure of others ends, he has to be vigilant and be clever like a fox. Machiavelli held 'one who tries to find goodness in everything must ultimately come to grief as we were not surrounded by so many good people.

o Primacy of national interests: For Machiavelli, there is nothing superior to nation. Prince can't let nation suffer because of ethics or religion, he has to ensure that his nation prosper and hence act accordingly.

Dunning calls Machiavelli unfortunate to be criticized as 'all are machiavellian in politics but none wants to be called Machiavellian'.

Sabine is a critic of Machiavelli. He held 'Machiavelli is narrowly dated and narrowly

located'. His such advice to prince is because of corrupt atmosphere in Italy during his times.

However, a ruler/prince has to be aware of even ugly side of human being. Nothing can trump national interest.

Certainly, Machiavelli's Ideas do not lack universalism and transcendentalism as even today rulers have to act exactly how Machiavelli advised.



Your general analysis of armed is good, just keep argument - it is missing as to why a prince will seek advice which a prince will seek will always be substantially different from the nature of advice sought by a common man.



©. Hobbes is called as first modern thinker. It is said 'Bodin was standing at the gate of modernity' but Hobbes was the first to jump inside the gate. Hobbes has given the detailed analysis of sovereignty - essential feature of modern state. Hobbes Leviathan is influenced by circumstances of Britain. There was puritan revolution (1641). Hence, main aim of Hobbes was to secure life.

### Main ideas in Leviathan :

#### 1. Human nature

Human nature is selfish, individualist and utilitarian. Hobbes used resolutive compositive method to establish this.

#### 2. State of nature

state of nature was 'war of every man against every man' and life was 'solitary, nasty, poor, brutish and short' with no 'art, literature, science and letters'.

No need to describe the whole story

Start right away with your

critical examination

51 sovereign

To save life, everyone decided to enter into a contract. They authorized sovereign to rule. Sovereign has power to punish as well. It is absolutist. It is sovereign, even above church.

4) Rights and liberty

In state of nature, man had absolute liberty but he could not enjoy any rights. There 'might is right' prevailed.

Hence in contract, liberty is where law is silent

As Laski held, every thinker is a child of his times. This applies well to Hobbes. Since, he saw violent revolution and his birth occurred during Spanish armada, his ideas reflect pessimist view of human nature.

His book 'Leviathan' was banned by church for putting church under authority of state.

CE Vaughan calls Leviathan ~~contrived~~ <sup>why</sup> 'without influence and without fruit'. According to him, it is neither useful to understand history though state of nature

Remarks



nor proscribes any useful thing on politics.

o However, Vaughan's criticism is not justified. Hobbes is not anthropologist to give correct origin of state. His ideas have defined modern state. Hence, Leviathan is definitely continuing 'with influence and with fruit'.

o CB McPherson calls Hobbes of Bourgeois mentality, self aggrandizement and witheract competition. Hence, he gives such human nature.

o Hobbes is called greatest absolutist. He is also called greatest individualist. His absolutism is also a derivative of individualism.

o Oakeshott calls Leviathan the sole, perhaps the greatest 'masterpiece written in English language.'

good content but dont mention the part comment of scholars  
write one sentence on why they are criticizing the Hobbesian state in this manner  
refer him

(10)

## SECTION-B

Attempt all questions:

3. Comment on the following into 150 words:

(10 × 5 = 50)

- Political Obligation as per Hobbes
- Nature and Scope of Political Science.
- Machiavelli's views on human nature.
- "Law of nature is the dictate to right reason." (Hobbes)
- "Plato's republic is a university, a family and a church."

a) Hobbes' Leviathan is a result of his circumstances. Since he witnessed puritan revolution (1641), his aim was to secure life.

Hobbes, using reductive comparative method, showed human nature is selfish, individualist, utilitarian, materialist and power seeking. Hence, state of nature was 'war of every man against every man'. Life was 'solitary, nasty, poor, brutish and short'. Everyone decided to enter into contract to create sovereign.

• sovereign is absolute

There is nothing above sovereign. Law is command of sovereign. Everyone is supposed to follow law.



o Power to punish

According to Hobbes, 'covenants without swords are nothing but words'. Hence, sovereign has power to punish. If someone breaks law, he considers himself sovereign and there can't be two sovereigns.

o Rights and Liberty

In state of nature, man has all liberty but no rights. Hence, under sovereign, 'liberty is where law is silent'. Person can't do anything he want, he has to obey the sovereign.

o Right to resist

He provides right to resist if state is unable to protect life.

CE Vaughan criticized Hobbes Leviathan as a book 'without influence and without fruit'. However,

Oakeshott believes Hobbes absolutism is similar to liberalism of 20th century.

Very good  
Citizens are obligated towards the state to the extent the state directs them no further

b) Pol  
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Political science as a discipline has been evolving throughout history. Aristotle is called father of political science because he dealt with state and processes of state explicitly.

Political science as a philosophy is the oldest tradition. It has contributed for a long time. According to Strauss, political science as a philosophy not only helps understand nature of state but also good nature of state or political order.

Political science as history started with Machiavelli. He held history, not philosophy, is better guide to prince. Sabine held political science without history is structure without base.

Political science as empiricism, also started with Machiavelli. It is associated with observations.

Political science as science includes positivists, behaviourists, post-behaviourists etc. It considers

It would be better if you mention the nature, methods & features of domain.



political science as science in terms of its methods and value-free character. Collin and David Easton called this science.

Behaviouralists wanted political science to become pure science. They promoted integration with different disciplines like sociology, psychology etc.

Contemporary political science, as David Held puts, is study of thoughts of history and philosophy, with modest experiments and system-building (4)

*In Europe you should talk about the traditional & new areas, it is wrong*

c) Machiavelli's 'prince' is best book written on statecraft. It contains advices to political entrepreneur on running state.

Human nature:

① selfish

Man is selfish. He gives primacy to his interests than prince's. Since he is selfish, he is materialist and he is ungrateful. He will forget favors done

by prince.

He advises prince to be aware of human nature and be clever like fox to avoid traps.

② Lward

Man is lward and fearful of his life and property. Machiavelli advises to use this characteristic. A prince should make people feel that they are secure only with him.

③ Avaricious

According to Machiavelli, man is extremely greedy.

Prince should create conditions for people to make money and earn property. Prince should execute rather than forfeiting property because man forgets death of father but not patrimony.

Sabine calls Machiavelli 'narrowly dated and narrowly located'. But, prince should be aware of even dark side of human nature.

good elaboration

Also mention the factors due to which he formed his opinion of human nature

Can we accept his opinion as absolutely true?

6



d) Hobbes belongs to social contract tradition. Social contract includes following features:

- o Human nature
- o State of nature
- o Natural rights
- o Natural law

Hobbes concern was to secure life. In state of nature, there was 'war of every man against every man'. Life was 'solitary, nasty, poor, brutish and short'. It was because of selfish, utilitarian and power-seeking human nature. Law of nature was reason.

Reason should decide how humans should act. However, for Hobbes, under reason, 'might is right' prevailed. It was due to passion dominating reason. Hence, he believed reason was not able to save humans from anarchy.

He says 'law is command of sovereign' and sovereign will have power to punish for 'obedience'.

are nothing but words, without sword.

As Laski held, every thinker is a child of his time  
we see influence of jurian revolution 1640 over  
Hobbes. Locke who witnessed glorious revolution

held that reason only helped man to enjoy a  
state of nature of peace, cooperation and goodwill.

He held 'No law, no liberty!'

*These are 19 natural laws which are created by Hobbes out of the 3 most important ones responsible for creation of state need to be mentioned*

It's said Plato's Republic is encyclopaedia because it  
deals with different matters and subjects. In order  
to make Athens great again, Plato proposes a  
new state.

• He proposes state based on ultimate principles of  
justice. Justice is performing work best suited to  
one's natural abilities and not interfering with  
others. Just state is ruled by philosopher king.

Role of philosopher king is absolute as 'No law'

is mightier than knowledge'.



Plato's theory of education is logical corollary to theory of justice. In his scheme, he identifies natural characteristics of soul - reason, courage and appetite. His detailed scheme includes education for all, with no discrimination to females, includes subjects like logic, dialectic, mathematics and military training as well.

Education was primary method for justice, but still Plato wanted to be sure of no corruption by guardian class. He gave theory of communism of property and family. Guardian class will have no private property. Under communism of family, state will regulate marriages and take custody of children. Since no one will know about family, no corruption will occur.

state will be family  
total

subine calls Plato's state as ideal and one to achieve Plato's ideals of justice. Karl Popper called Plato enemy of open society.

Add  
Since the primary function of state is to promote virtue among its citizens, it is also acting as a church.

6. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Elaborate on the detailed arguments given by Marx and Engels in support of the abolition of Private property? (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Provide a scholarly and critical analysis of Rawlsian scheme of justice. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Discuss the various dimensions of freedom as advocated by Shri Aurobindo? How does he link India's struggle for Independence with the overall spiritual evolution of whole humanity? (250 Words) (20)

① Marx and Engels were critical of capitalism.

At that time, Liberalism was dominant. Its proponents called for possessive individualism (Locke). It led to severe exploitation of workers. According to Marx, it was private property which led to this exploitation.

Argument for abolition of private property:

① Private property encouraged capitalists to make more profits. It led to exploitation and alienation.

In book 'economic and philosophical manuscripts', they talk of:

- Alienation from process
- Alienation from product.

Since man was more eng in process, he got alienated from process and functional specialization alienated him from product.



- Alienation from nature - since he didn't have enough time to enjoy nature, he got alienated from nature and fellow beings.
- Because of all above reasons, man got alienated from oneself.

② Contradictions in capitalism

- Urge for more profits led capitalists to reduce workers to the level of animals.
- Labor's own efforts were contributing to his exploitation.
- Private property created contradictions between man and society. Fellow human being was seen as competitor.

Marx held 'capitalists dig their own graves'.

③ Historical materialism

Initially, history was primitive communism and there was no private property. Hence, man can live without private property.

~~No limit to accumulation  
The urge for no exploitation~~

② The  
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## ④ Theory of class struggle

private property created classes, class struggle and the need for state. Through Base-superstructure model, Marx showed state is reflection of base. He held that. 'state is nothing but executive committee for Bourgeoisie class'. It was instrument of exploitation

*It was an instrument intended to protect the private property of capitalist*  
According to Marx, ending private property will result into stateless, classless society where real freedom will be realised.

Marx is considered god but he is a god that has failed. Liberalism and private property has become 'end of history' (Francis Fukuyama)

*Analyse how it would be a critical issue/question for the whole marxism approach*

9  
b) In 1960s, there was unrest in USA. Black rights movements, Feminist movements, environmental and disarmament movements gripped USA. Behaviouralism had nothing to offer hence Rawls gave theory of justice as fairness to establish ultimate principle of justice.



## Rawls theory of justice

- Every man should have ~~most~~ equal right to ~~most~~ extensive liberty that is similarly compatible with liberty of others.
- All social and economic inequalities are to be arranged in a manner such that: both are at advantage to most disadvantaged and attached to offices and positions open to all.

His justice has been criticized by almost all schools of thought.

### Communitarians

Michael Sandel in 'Liberalism and limits to justice' challenged 'atomistic man'. Man is never independent of community. Even Rawls could not separate himself hence he called liberalism as ~~rational way of life~~.

Michael Walzer in 'Spheres of justice' believes 'different goods ought to be distributed differently for different reasons'.

② Amartya Sen

He prefers social choice rather than rational choice, real persons in real situation than abstract persons in abstract situations, teleological rather than deontological and 'nyaya'-realisation focused approach than 'rule-procedure based approach' Capability approach

③ Socialists:

Rawls justice is vulgar justification of inequalities.

④ Libertarians

Robert Nozick believes that Rawls sacrificed liberty for equality and is an attack on human dignity. In his theory of entitlement, he calls for minimal state which is inspiring and right.

9

As Emerson held all western political philosophy is footnotes to Plato and Aristotle, similarly, it would not be wrong to say modern philosophy is Rawls. He has revived political theory and political philosophy.

What about dominant view of justice? Even within liberalism, there is a death of capital with singular idea of justice



Aurobindo belongs to extremist nationalist tradition.  
Rabindranath Tagore held world will come to know  
essence of India through his writings.

### Aurobindo on freedom

• Freedom is supreme virtue. It is most essential  
for a person's development. He held 'Craving for  
freedom is lodged so deep in human heart that  
even thousands of arguments are powerless to  
disapprove it.

• He analysed existing notions of freedom:

#### Liberal:

According to Aurobindo, liberal conception of  
freedom sacrifices society for individual

#### socialist

It sacrifices individual for sake of society.  
• He wanted freedom to be such which  
creates balance between individual and society.

- Freedom is not only physical or mental. It is spiritual. It is divine-flowering of soul.
- Freedom is the law of spiritual society.

According to Mahatma Gandhi, swaraj should also include individual self-control. He was inspired by Aurobindo.

We see transition in Aurobindo. He started from political freedom and ended in spiritual freedom.

### Aurobindo on Indian freedom

- Inspired by Herder, every nation has a spirit, Aurobindo spiritualised nationalism. Every nation represents one or other feature of universal spirit for e.g. England represents materialism, Greece represent beauty and Rome represent ethics.

Vogue  
 You need to elaborate a lot more on how spiritualism was a national pride choice of Aurobindo.   
 negative consequences of choosing religion as motto for NS movement