

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Time Allowed: 3 hrs.

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.

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canon content but
could have done
better - Try to grasp
essence

instead of question
demand
ideas about
the topic

Name MATTHEWS M.

Mobile No. _____

Date _____

Signature [Signature]

1. Invigilator Signature _____

2. Invigilator Signature _____

REMARKS

GS SCORE

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SECTION A

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

(10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) Mill's divergence from modern notion of democracy.
- (b) Multiculturalists' perspective on Human Rights.
- (c) Compare Marx and Aristotle on the nature of 'Revolution'.
- (d) Communitarian perspective of justice by Micheal Walzer.
- (e) Notion of Counter hegemony by Antonio Gramsci.

1. a) J.S Mill describes his view of democracy ~~in~~ mainly in his work Representative Government.

He championed the liberal Democracy because it is capable of providing maximum liberty to its citizens. He called for universal suffrage, including women, which was argued passionately in his works 'On liberty' and 'Subjection of women'.

However, he diverged significantly from the modern notions of democracy. He called for plural voting, with the number of votes proportional to

Remarks

one's educational attainment. He preferred 'Hare's system' of proportional representation, because FPTP system ignored the minorities. He did not argued against voting rights to the illiterate, those on parish relief and those who didn't pay taxes. He viewed voting as a civic duty, and called for open voting, to prevent arbitrary choices.

However his ~~view~~ training in Utilitarianism preferred specialisation, and hence considered Parliament to be only an arena for debate. legislation would be by codification commission.

For these reasons, Weyber called him a "Reluctant Democrat".

why is he not among these selections. from the normal notes? his views

Remarks

4

Also analyse on democracy colonies

b) Multiculturalist perspective on rights is an expression of dissatisfaction with the liberal ~~theor~~ conceptions, best seen in works of Kymlicka, Bhikhu Parekh and Communitarian like Charles Taylor.

It argues that the liberal system only calls for 'toleration' of differences. This is inadequate because of unconscious state support for some groups. The Multiculturalists argue that differences should be appreciated and publicly affirmed.

Will Kymlicka calls for three additional rights:

- ① ~~Self~~ Representation rights
- ② Poly ethnic Rights.
- ③ Self Determination Rights.

Only with these can they safeguard their unique heritage.

Remarks

Bhikhu Parekh argues that liberal model ~~is~~ does not provide an impartial framework, even in developed societies like US and UK.

However it has been criticised by scholars like Robert Putnam, who's research showed increased distrust with multiethnicity. Jeremy Waldron say indifference is the best solution because special consideration would ~~be~~ prevent societies from evolving into a cosmopolitan culture.

6

~~As~~ Prof. Maxey opined that Aristotle's ~~can~~ Theory of Revolution was unmatched for a thousand years, until the arrival of Marx. ~~Yet~~ Both are significantly unique perspectives.

govt
control
state
need
for
national
rights
to
of
community
along
rights
individual

Aristotle was mainly concerned with political problems. He considered revolutions as undesirable, because of instability. Any small change in polity was considered a revolution by him. In his 'Politics' he gives "Cycle of Classification", where society moves from different systems like Monarchy, Tyranny, Aristocracy, Oligarchy, Democracy and Polity. He also gives measures to prevent revolutions, like keeping up patriotism, constitutionalism, education, etc.

Marx had a positive view of revolutions, and considered it a political solution to an economic problem, i.e., capitalist exploitation. He considered them "Locomotives of History", and is a movement of oppressed class against the ~~state~~ dominant economic class. He considered it to be

Remarks

inevitably violent and will lead to a utopian communist society.

Thus, both theories were unique, and shaped by the political & social problems of the author's times.

while your content is good, it will be better if you write in a table format or point to point comparison

Walzer gives his communitarian perspective of Justice in his book "Spheres of Justice". It is an influential counter narrative to Rawlsian 'Theory of Justice'.

He considered the society to be composed of multiple spheres, like economic, social, political, etc. He disputed Rawls methodology of using Difference Principle for the ~~distributed~~ distribution of Primary Social Goods in order to eliminate inequality.

Remarks

Instead, he puts forward a ~~so~~ concept of "Complex equality", which he distinguishes from "Simple equality". It means that absolute equality in all spheres ~~is~~ is not possible. ~~The~~ The focus must be to prevent inequality in one sphere spilling over to others. For example, a rich man must not be able to buy political influence with economic power. (6)

This, ~~to~~ Walzer argues that this would lead to a better conception of Justice.

e) Gramsci gives his idea of counter hegemony in his works like Prison Notebooks, Modern Prince and other writings.

He argues disputes Marx's view that capitalist society is maintained through coercion. Instead, it is maintained partially

Qⁿ is analysed

with add

some of

the
concepts
in
implementing
this
idea

through consent of the people itself. This is achieved through 'Hegemony' or intellectual leadership. It is exercised through the Civil Society.

In order to counter this, he advocates building up 'Counter Hegemony'. Intellectuals will play a crucial role in it. Proletariat must create its own "organic intellectuals" who must penetrate the civil society institutions like church and education system, and awaken the masses. This will lead to a 'Historic Bloc', which is the combination of objective and subjective forces, to create a revolutionary situation.

~~This~~ Gramsci's ideas has inspired later ~~theoretical~~ scholars like Poulantzas and Foucault.

Remarks

6

good elaboration

Write more on
how civil society
will overcome the
challenge posed byCapitalist Civil
Society for
who the
state has
power

2. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Discuss how Hobbes's theory has elements of both Liberalism and absolutism?
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Lockean theory of property and industrial revolution. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Michael Sandal's notion of disembodied or unencumbered self vs encumbered self.
(250 Words) (20 Marks)

2.2) Hobbes has been interpreted diversely, with Wayper calling him "the greatest individualist of all time" and ~~so~~ Vaughan criticising him of being a clear absolutist.

Hobbes' works like Leviathan and De Cive have several elements of liberalism. 'Individual' is at the centre of 'State of Nature', and enjoys Natural Right to even other's lives. The Sovereign or the 'Great Leviathan' is a creation of individuals voluntarily coming together, and it exists for the sake of a good life of the citizens.

However, Leviathan contains absolutist elements as well. The

Remarks

sovereign once created stands outside the 'Covenant' and is not bound by it, because he is not a party to it. Citizens have no 'Right to Rebellion'. Liberty is only the 'Silence of the Sovereign'. Civil society, ~~the~~ church and all popular institutions are below the Sovereign. The Leviathan is not bound by customs, civil or legal rights.

Due to this, Sabine argues that Hobbes' individualism was either sentimental vapouring or outright hypocrisy. However, Hobbes' works must be judged by the ~~time~~ turbulent time in which he lived, where he believed, the only alternative to absolute rule is total anarchy.

9 Remarks

9 is not understood
 Analyse how Hobbes starts with individualism & it is his primary to the type of the individual compels him to create an absolute state

b) Locke's theory of property and industrial revolution were the ~~most~~ most inf given in his "Two Treatises" were his most influential contributions, ~~esp~~ mainly to Western liberal capitalism.

Locke places the individual at the centre of his theory. Even in a state of nature with no ~~gov~~ government, man enjoys

"Rights of Nature", of life, liberty and Property. Right to Property is a necessary and logical extension of Right to life and liberty, and is a key expression of individuality. Without it, other rights would be meaningless.

The individual does not surrender these rights even with the formation of the Sovereign authority and state. Sovereign cannot take them away, because Natural Rights are God's Reason.

Remarks

Locke argues that the very purpose of the state is to maintain these rights, calling it a "Nightwatchman".

For these reasons, Vaughan called Locke the "Prince of individualists".

He has also been criticised by CB Macpherson and others for espousing ~~to~~ "possessive individualism", and favouring the bourgeois capitalist system. Even though Locke places three restrictions on Right to Property, ~~to~~ to prevent unrestricted greed, they became meaningless with the invention of modern money.

Despite the criticism, he can be considered the philosophical father of USA and the West, due to with their commitment to Lockean Capitalism.

Remarks

Elaborate on the limitations he places on the right to property. Also how does his right provide the philosophical justification for the use of capital in Britain?

c) Michael Sandel puts forward a communitarian conception of Justice in response to Rawls' Theory of Justice.

He argues that the liberal concept in general and Rawls in particular gives an atomist conception of the society, where the individuals are considered egotistical, selfish and self-reliant.

Sandel calls this situation a "Disembodied" or "Unencumbered"

self, where the individual is seen as separate from the community.

Culture is an ~~irreducible~~ "irreducible social good" and community is an embodiment of one's culture.

Therefore the

As opposed to this, ~~to~~

Sandel gives a new image where

the individual is "embedded" within the community. This is called a "situated" or "encumbered" self. Distribution of 'Primary Social Goods' on the basis of 'Difference Principle' must unavoidably take this into account.

Thus, in essence, Sandel argues for putting the community ahead of the individual, and the society is more than a mere aggregation of individuals.

In contrast to this, Nozick in 'Anarchy, State and Utopia', give a very individual oriented conception of Justice. He gives the individual an absolute right to property against both

Remarks

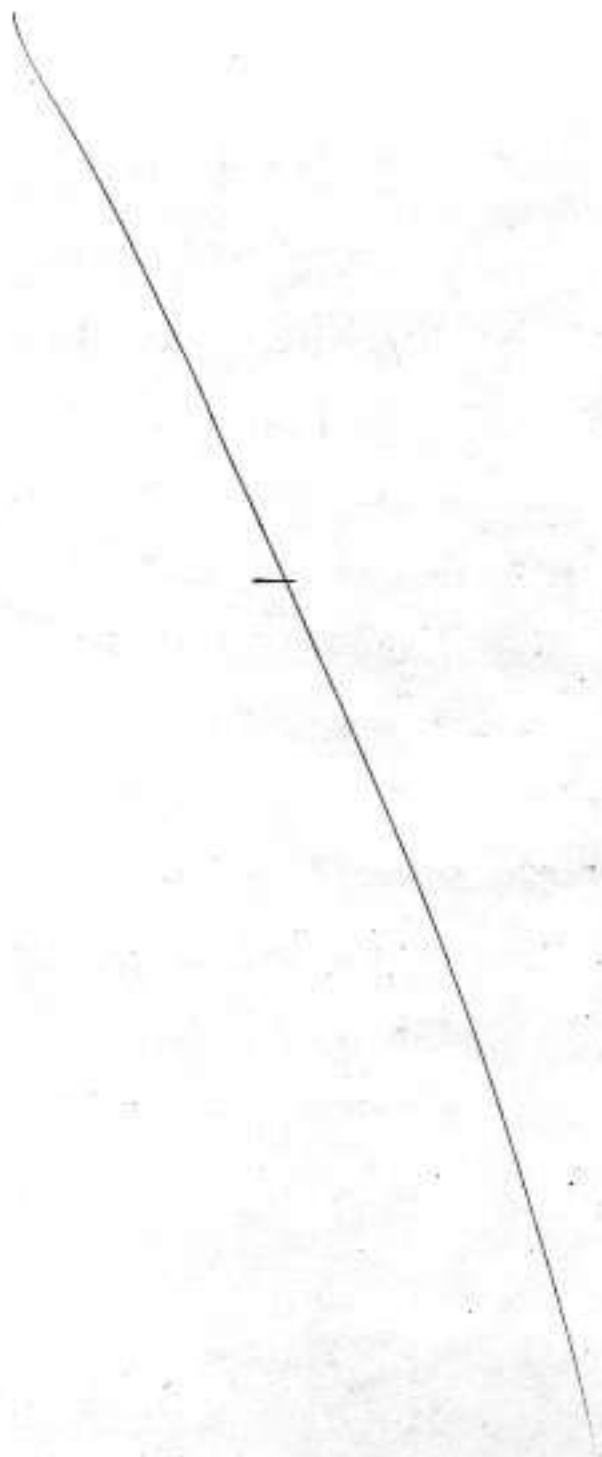
the state and community,
and opposes redistributive
taxation.

Sandel's views are in
consonance with Walzer's and
Charles Taylor's conception of Justice.

Good elaboration
but you need to
on the Rawls &
justice of rights
against going on
debate blw
Sandel &
rights of individual
community

9

Remarks



Remarks

3. Attempt all questions:

(a) Multiculturalism as alternative ideology of Liberalism, Examine.

(200 Words) (15 Marks)

(b) Marxist conception of alienation is a humanitarian Crisis of modern Industrial society, Explain.

(200 Words) (15 Marks)

(c) Positive liberalism as a challenge to classical liberalism. Discuss.

(250 Words) (20 Marks)

3. a) Multiculturalism is a critique of liberalism and aims to provide an alternative to it.

Liberalism as seen in the works of Locke, Mill; Hobson, etc focus on individualism and toleration of differences. It values peace and plurality, but creates a 'rigid' divide between 'public' and 'private' culture, religion and ethnicity are put into the 'private' domain, and hence ignored by the state.

Multiculturalists like Will Kymlicka argue that mere toleration of differences is not

Remarks

sufficient due to unconscious ^{state} group support for some groups.

He calls for

- ① Representation Rights
 - ② Polyethnic Rights
 - ③ Self determination rights,
- in order to promote their cultural uniqueness. Differences must be appreciated and publicly affirmed. Culture is an "irreducible social good" and hence cannot be ignored.

Cosmopolitans ~~and~~ like

Jeremy Waldron criticise it for obstructing the capacity of societies to evolve. It would mean tolerating medieval customs and unschooled girls.

Robert Putnam argues that it will increase distrust in the society.

However, it seems more suited for present globalised world.

Remarks

Point just provide a route or discuss on multiculturalism instead of trying to create a what says - it is or better alternative to liberalism.

b) Alienation was a central concept in Early Marx's writings, mainly in "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts".

Scholars like Seeman and Olson consider alienation as a humanitarian crisis. Its ~~central~~ main cause was the division of the society into classes based on ownership of the economic "means of production". In industrial societies, the proletariat have only the labour to sell and an illusory free will, only to choose their oppressors. The capitalists aim for profit maximisation, and "surplus" value keeps increasing.

In this process, labour itself becomes a commodity. The

worker, is alienated in multiple dimensions, from the process of labour, the product of labour, from fellow workers and ultimately from himself.

This idea of alienation becomes the foundation of later Marx's works like 'Das Kapital', 'Communist Manifesto' etc. Alienation is sought to be abolished by abolishing all property relations. Only in a Communist society when state withers away, will workers be truly free, "to hunt in the morning, and fish in the afternoon..."

It also inspired others like Bernstein, Frankfurt school, Herbert Marcuse, Habermas, and others.

Remarks

6

your answer will not be complete unless you mention all your types of alienation & new of Marx's manifesto on it

c) Classical liberalism emerged as a response to the evils of feudalism and ~~Positive~~ gave rise to Capitalist society of 18th century. Its evils in turn gave rise to Positive liberalism, which aimed to create a midwayhouse between liberalism and Socialism.

Classical liberals like Adam Smith, Locke and others considered individuals as egotistical, self-reliant, and self-seeking. The state is expected to be a 'night watchman', existing only to safeguard individuals 'Natural Rights' of life, liberty and Property. The state protects 'Negative liberty', which means it is not expected to interfere in the private spheres of the citizens.

Remarks

However, this was shown to create an unedifying ^{society} with rampant ~~so~~ inequality. This "possessive individualism" did not bring the prosperity it was expected to, and eventually led to the Great Depression.

Positive liberals like Hobson, Hobhouse, Laski and even Mill tried to shift the focus towards "Positive Liberty". The state is no longer a "necessary evil", but is expected to actively try and expand the horizons of freedom of the people.

As Laski pointed out, positive liberals tried to reconcile the Liberal Means with Socialist Ends. ~~It~~ They aimed to maintain freedom, equality of opportunity and

individualism, ~~as well as~~ while making provisions for the needy.

Present democracies inevitably endorse Positive Liberty with provisions for Affirmative Action even in the USA. However, the Neoliberals and New Right with scholars like Nozick and Hayek, have called for going back to classical liberal roots, and "rolling back the frontiers of the state."

6+1 = 1
 what were the
 historical
 social factors for
 what led to the
 rise of Positive
 Liberty
 Advantages on the advantages
 what Positive Liberty
 has on classical liberalism

Remarks



Remarks

4. Attempt all questions:

(a) Revolution from above in context of views of Gramsci.

(200 Words) (15 Marks)

(b) Marxist views on liberal democracy.

(200 Words) (15 Marks)

(c) How is the approach and viewpoint of Aristotle different from that of Plato?

(250 Words) (20 Marks)

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

<i>Remarks</i>

SECTION B

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

(10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) Mill's defence of rights of women.
- (b) Notion of State in views of John Locke.
- (c) Stephen Krasner on Sovereignty
- (d) Post modernism
- (e) Washington consensus.

5. a) ~~At~~ Susan Muller Okin called Mill the "first modern feminist" among men who stoutly defended women's rights in his works, like 'On Subjection of Women', 'Representative Democracy', 'On Liberty', etc.

Mill proceeds in classic utilitarian fashion to counter the prevalent arguments against women's rights. He argued that greater absolute equality in all spheres with women would double the mass of mental faculties in the society. It ~~would~~ was wrong to say women are not fit for the public.

Remarks

sphere, with Mill quoting British queens and Hindu princesses. Mill argued it was ~~not~~ not a natural state of affairs, and women movements have been calling for suffrage ~~or~~ rights for long. Most importantly, the utilitarian scale of "happiness" of the society will increase manifold, when women become equals.

Mill's views were revolutionary for his time and was shaped by his association with Harriet Hardy Taylor. He unsuccessfully tried to pass a bill as a parliamentarian for women's suffrage

good arguments
 includes how he compares the situation of women to that of slaves

5

Remarks

includes most of his arguments from his

5)

~~Locke believes~~

John Locke in his "Two Treatises" called for a "Minimal state", in order to maximize individual liberty.

~~The state was formed~~

The 'state of nature' was a condition of "Peace, goodwill, mutual understanding and self preservation". The 'STATE' was formed solely to combat three inconveniences, i.e., the lack of an impartial judge, impersonal executioner and a legislative authority. Therefore the state is expected to be a "nightwatchman" protecting citizens from external attack, enforcing contracts and maintaining law and order.

The state is formed by a covenant of individuals, and

Remarks

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:

the citizens have a right to rebellion if the state is unresponsive.
~~The state~~ Even in the absence of state, the civil society will exist. Natural Rights of life, liberty and Property cannot be infringed upon by the state.

This has inspired modern ^{liberals} ~~neo-realists~~ like Nozick and Hayek, and has formed the philosophical foundation of the West.

Analysis of structure of state (more origin)
 How does politics differentiate the state from goals

Stephen Krashner calls Sovereignty an "Organised Hypocrisy".
 Traditional definition of Sovereignty means ~~an~~ a ~~unique~~ sphere of authority which cannot be entered upon by any other body.

He gives multiple forms of sovereignty, like legal sovereignty, political sovereignty, economic sovereignty, etc.

In the present day, political sovereignty can be ignored and circumscribed in ~~any~~ certain conditions like

- 1) Minority Rights
- 2) Human Rights
- 3) Religious freedom etc

Economic sovereignty has been eroded because of globalisation and TNCs, global bodies like WTO, multiple social linkages etc. This is ~~gov~~ resulted in relative "denationalisation of power" and "deteritorialization of the nation state". It is giving rise to the new phenomena of "disaggregated state".

Remarks

You need to elaborate on the exact differentiation given by Iversner
 why does he say that
 sovereignty is a always
 under challenge &
 never complete

d) Post modernism - is an idea which ~~is~~ posits that the era of "modernity" is over.

In the post modern world, there is no role for ideologies, which are merely grand meta-narratives.

The emphasis is on forms of knowledge, ideas, or culture, etc. Foucault argues that "Savoir-pouvoir", i.e. knowledge is power. Organic intellectuals wield 'Biopower', because they determine the standards of truth. Modern societies are self regulatory because of a "Panopticon" situation where the disciplinary society has successfully internalised coercion.

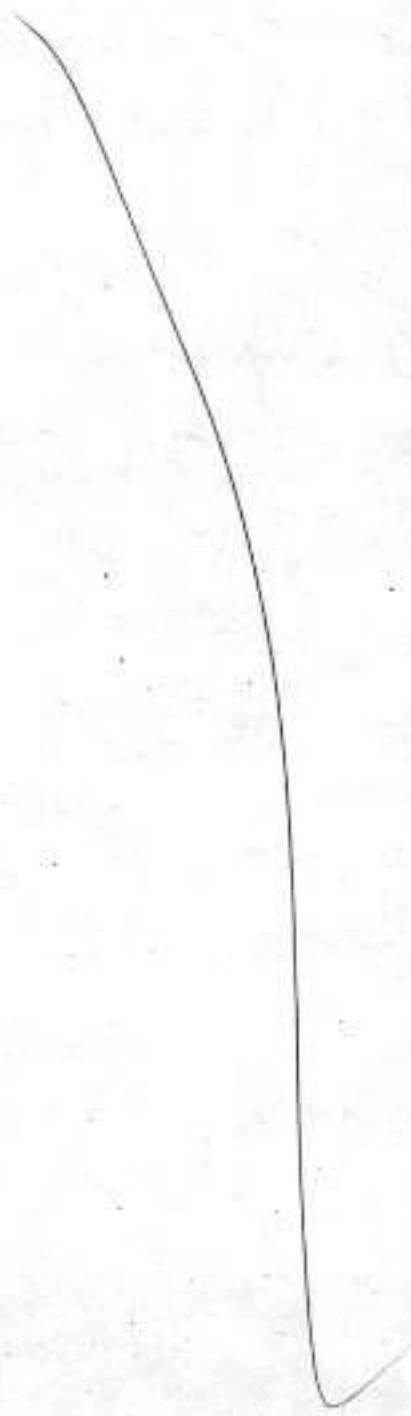
Remarks

It was ~~at~~ developed by Lyotard and Derrida as well. Mechanisms like Deconstruction and double reading are used to expose ~~for~~ hidden meaning in texts.

It is an influential stream of thought, which has expanded Gramscian ideas ~~and~~ ~~those of~~

First state the general overall assumptions of the approach of then move on to views of scholars

4



Remarks

6. Attempt all questions:

- (a) How is social contract theory of John Locke significantly different from that of Thomas Hobbes? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Elaborate the concept of 'Contradictions' and 'Antagonisms' developed by Mao in context of Marxist theory? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Legitimation crisis and response of Liberal democracies. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

7. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Relative autonomy model of state. Describe. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Liberalism as an amorphous ideology. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Discuss the various aspects of Popper's critique of Plato. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

Marx in his major works like Das Kapital and Communist Manifesto had argued that the state is ~~a~~ ^{only} a surface reflection of the property relations of the society. Economy and means of production forms the "BASE", while politics, culture and the state are only the "superstructure".

However in his later work "Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte", Marx argues that the state have "Relative Autonomy". This was further developed by Poulantzas and Miliband.

Ralph Miliband opines that there is an overlap in the social

Remarks

backgrounds of the political and economic elite. This makes the state favour the dominant class.

Poulantzas argues the relative autonomy comes because of the economic structure of the society.

Because of this, the state is no longer a ~~mere~~ weak reflection of the base, but it can become so strong as to ~~strengthen~~ the base itself.

Bob Jessop argues that the relative autonomy makes the state an important vantage point. It would reflect the Balance of Power among various groups in the society.

Thus, its relative autonomy model is an ~~effective~~ ^{extension} of Marxist conception of the state.

Remarks

The answer should focus on the Miliband / Poulantzas debate. You need to elaborate a lot more on views of Poulantzas.

b) Liberalism encompasses a wide range of traditions and ideas, and has been called 'amorphous', because of its unclear moral standard.

Classical liberals focus on 'Negative liberty' - Equality is only in legal and political terms. Right to Property is considered absolute, and the state is called a "Necessary evil".

~~For~~ Modern liberals like Mill, Hobhouse, etc focus on freedom, reason and effective equality of opportunity. ~~The~~ A bigger role of the state in providing for the needy and recognition of merit is accepted.

Remarks

Neoliberals, have returned to the 'Classical liberal' call for "Rolling back the frontiers of the state"

However, despite its amorphous nature, liberalism has a consistent belief in ~~some~~ many ~~ideas~~ certain principles.

Constitutionalism is an essential part of the state, to prevent unrestricted powers of the state.

The individual is always the priority.

Equality of opportunity is never expanded to 'equality of conditions or outcome'. Government based on Consent and Peace are valued.

Thus liberalism is a broad umbrella uniting different streams of thought, ~~but~~ with certain common fundamentals.

Remarks

8

You need to elaborate a bit more on the central dogma of liberalism
 opinions written in the margin
 Read more from such

9) Karl Popper subjected Plato to scathing criticism in his book "Open Society and its Enemies".

He opposed Plato's theory of Justice because it aimed to establish an absolute state.

"Far from being morally superior to ~~to~~ despotism, it is fundamentally identical to it". He rejected giving unbridled powers to the philosopher kings, because such ideal humans are impossible to find.

Popper rejected Plato's "Communism of Property and wives", and called it an "idealised tribalism of the past".

It would dissolve familial love
"One son will have a thousand"

Remarks

fathers and one father a thousand sons". It would be is unfairly depriving the guardian class of familial love.

He criticised Plato's Theory of Education as unrealistic and lost sight of administrative difficulties. It would be incredibly expensive and ignored subjects like literature.

Popper argued against Plato's emphasis on duties instead of rights.

Therefore, Popper's ~~was~~ ~~joined~~ criticism was in the same vein of Aristotle's.

However, Sabine has argued that Popper was unfairly harsh. Plato's ideas were ~~revolutionary~~.

for his time. His intentions were always for solving the ills of body-politic. He expected the philosophers to live a life of asceticism, "who does the job of ruling, as the tiller does tilling". He prevented any innovations in education system to prevent misuse. His idea of communism was inspired by the successful Spartan experiment of the same.

Thus, Plato is ~~rightly~~ the a forerunner of all revolutionary idealist and antimaterialist philosophies of our time.

Very good effort
All relevant points
Included - 14

inter-mobility of three classes

(14)

He alone was really unfair towards the producer class

Remarks

Remarks

8. Attempt all questions:

- (a) What are the different prepositions advocated by Will Kymlicka and B. Parakeh in favour of multiculturalism? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Amy Guttmann's critique of multiculturalism. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) 'The minimal state is inspiring as well as right'. Explain and provide suitable critique. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

Remarks

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Remarks

Remarks

Remarks