

D-16 L-7 R-7 C-13

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.

Good analysis
Content
No major issue

1. Invigilator Signature _____

2. Invigilator Signature _____

Name MATTHEWS M

Mobile No. _____

Date _____

Signature [Signature]

REMARKS

GS SCORE

--	--

SECTION A

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

(10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) Discuss M.N. Roy's differences with the Comintern over the Colonial Question.
- (b) Bring out the relationship between Equality and Justice.
- (c) Alienation and its diverse interpretations.
- (d) Complex Equality
- (e) Socialist Feminism

a) Even though MN Roy was a Communist and a revolutionary, ~~he~~ was a radical humanist as well. This along with his experiences in India created differences with the Comintern over the Colonial Question.

Comintern believed that there should be no cooperation with the national bourgeoisie. The ~~most~~ industrial workers were to play the dominant role. They believed that violent revolution was the only solution, because class war and alienation can be eliminated only by the destruction of the capitalist system.

Remarks

M N Roy disagreed with these ideas. ~~M N Roy~~ He believed that the anti-colonial struggle was primary, and cooperation with the national bourgeoisie was acceptable. In India, workers could not pull off a revolution alone because of its lack of industrialisation. Most importantly, he believed education as the only lasting means of revolution. Violence would destroy social harmony. He also disputed Leninist ideas like Vanguard of proletariat, Democratic Centralisation, etc. For him, the individual was the measure of all things, not the proletariat nor the communist party.

Overall analysis is okay but focus more on why don't we want to align with the mainstream national movement

Remarks

5

b)

Equality is described as the absence of discrimination. It involves treating equals equally and unequals unequally. It does not mean literal equalization. It includes provisions for special considerations of needs and of merit.

Ernest Barker calls Justice as the thread which connects equality, liberty and fraternity and makes them a part of the integrated whole. Justice ensures "equal basic liberties" for all. It aims to provide an ~~open~~ "equal start, not just an open road". This helps Equality become more than political equality, towards effective social and economic equality. Equality graduates into "equality of conditions".

Remarks

which will create "effective equality of opportunity."

At the same time, Justice will prevent "equality" becoming an "equality of outcome". Laski argues that "the purpose of society will be frustrated if a mathematician is treated identically with a brick layer". Therefore, justice will help in recognising merit, while at the same time, ensuring no disadvantage for the rest.

Thus, Justice is what makes Equality relevant and

4) You need to formulate the about debate in view of Aristotle Rawls Nozick Amartya Sen etc

c) Alienation was dealt by the "Young Marx" extensively in his work Economic and Philosophical

Manuscripts. He drew from Hegel and Fuerbach's works.

Marx describes alienation as the process of reification, resulting from "objectification" in the capitalist society. Production of objects or goods is done for the satisfaction of others' needs, not their own. It becomes a boring and monotonous work. Workers gradually get alienated from the process of labour, the product itself, from their fellow workers, from nature and ultimately from themselves. Communist society will be free from alienation, because ~~it~~ objectification will be for their own needs.

There are other interpretations too.

Hegel described alienation as a condition of the mind, a form of consciousness. He says

"Man is self-alienated God".

Feuerbach says the opposite

"God is self-alienated Man".

Gramsci, neo-Marxists and Frankfurt school draws from both Hegel's and Marx's definitions. Gramsci adds the dimension of hegemony, while Frankfurt school attributes alienation to diverse sources, ranging from mass media, repressive societies, etc. Thus alienation is a wide concept, and forms the foundation of Marxism.

Any discussion on alienation will not be complete unless you include Gramsci & Olsky's views

Refer hints

d) 'Complex Equality' is a concept given by Michael Walzer in his book "Spheres of Justice". It is a critique of Rawls' Theory of Justice.

Walzer criticises ~~the~~ Rawls theory because it aims to achieve a universal principle of equality in all aspects of life. He calls it as "Simple equality".

Walzer argues for 'complex equality'. Human life has different "spheres", like economic, political, etc. Each sphere must have its own principle of justice & equality for the redistribution of primary social goods. Inequality within a sphere is permitted, if its advantage cannot pass to other

spheres. For example, economic inequality is acceptable, if it does not help people buy political power, or vice versa.

To achieve this, he calls for a series of "Blocked exchanges". He believes this will ~~be~~ lead to a more egalitarian distribution of social goods. It forms an influential counter narrative to Rawlsian theory.

good analysis
 But your book is a bit
 muddled in
 places he challenges
 in actually
 first men
 implementing

6

2. Attempt all questions:

(a) Analyse the features, significance and criticism of the Pluralistic theory of state.
(200 Words) (15 Marks)

(b) Discuss in detail the concept of Nationalism by Aurobindo Ghosh. Also provide a critical examination of his contribution to Indian Political thought.
(200 Words) (15 Marks)

(c) Classical liberalism as per Michael Oakeshott is a philosophy of crude and uncritical individualism and in fact inconsistent with social democracy. What are the major arguments you can give to support his views?
(250 Words) (20 Marks)

1. e) Feminists are often divided into "waves" based on time period, but they also form distinct schools of thought, like Socialist Feminism. Its main proponents are Maria Nies, Iris Young, etc.

They draw from the Marxist narrative, that the capitalist system is exploitative. Women are affected disproportionately because the capitalist society facilitates patriarchy. Due to lack of property rights and social disabilities, they are denied access to the means of production.

Remarks

Women are bogged down
 "Second Shift" of unpaid domestic
 work. They are crowded into
 underpaid "caring" professions,
 as seen in the "Feminisation"
 of teaching and nursing.

They criticise the traditional
 Marxist state too, because women
 are reduced to a "reserve
 army of cheap labour". It is
 their duty to rear the next
 generation of workers.

Therefore, socialist
 feminists provide a new
 dimension to both Socialism
 and Feminism.....

8

Include Engels's views
 what were the later
 developments in the
 approach?

write your answer in the
 designated space

Remarks

4. Attempt all questions:

(a) Explain the term "Liberal Democracy" and also assess its major critiques.
(200 Words) (15 Marks)

(b) Analyse how Gramscian views have influenced the Marxian views on false consciousness.
(200 Words) (15 Marks)

(c) Discuss the views of Post-modernist group inside the Feminist ideology.
(250 Words) (20 Marks)

4. a) ~~Democracy was popularly defined by Lincoln in his Gettysburg address as a government "of the people by the people for the people".~~
The term "Liberal Democracy" means any form of government where the ultimate authority was with the people.

It is essentially drawn from the ideas of liberal scholars from the 19th century, starting with Locke's constitutional government. It embodies the liberal belief in "individualism", where the ultimate goal of government was to maximise Individual Liberty. Faith is placed in the rationality of people to choose best for themselves.

Remarks

It ensures political equality, where 'prince and peasant' are alike. Tolerance of different ideas is encouraged through freedom of expression. Most importantly, they believe in Thomas Paine's motto "The state is a necessary evil." So they prefer a minimal government counterbalanced by a constitution, judiciary and a legislature, ~~just~~ essentially a "night watchman state."

It has been critiqued from several schools of thought.

Marxists and left scholars like C B Macpherson consider political equality a hypocrisy in the ~~absence~~ presence of huge economic differences. It is merely the "dictatorship of the bourgeoisie" & a doctrine of "possessive individualism."

Feminist scholars point to the liberal distinction between 'private & public' spheres, ~~even~~ propagating patriarchy. They call for a 'sexual contract' to protect ~~their~~ women's rights.

Communitarians and multiculturalist scholars ~~po~~ like Charles Taylor, Sandel, Kymlicka, etc. criticise the atomist conception of society. They call for cultural rights for minorities.

Radical democrats like Rousseau, Mill, Arundt and Habermas criticise the "brief moment" episodic authority. They call for participative & deliberative democracy.

Thus, ~~still~~ Despite the criticism, it has become the most popular form of government.

point critical analysis
 in 1st part of answers
 you use it in liberal democratic
 merely But not the aspect
 focus in the electoral dimension

Remarks

8

b) 'False consciousness' means the ideological propaganda of the ruling class which is used to prevent the exploited class from realising their own alienation. Karl Marx believed this was achieved through "ideology". Capitalist ideas were the "ruling ideas of the age", and hence prevented the revolution.

Gramsci ~~revolution~~ added several dimensions to this idea. He did not believe that the political superstructure was a mere surface reflection of the economic base". It was divided into two - the state and the civil society. The state used "structures of coercion" while the civil society used "structures of legitimation".

Remarks

Through "organic intellectuals" the state spread its propaganda and establishes its cultural dominance, creating "hegemony". This was the reason why Marx's prediction of revolution didn't come through. It is elaborated in his work Modern France & other writings.

Gramscian views have been adopted by later scholars. Neomarxists and the Frankfurt school emphasize on the role of consciousness and culture, best seen in Marcuse's 'One dimensional Man'.

Even power theorists like Michel Foucault draws on Gramscian ideas in his works like "Discipline & Punish", etc. He argues that modern state creates "identities" & regulates the society through "knowledge", transforming people's consciousness.

Remarks

8

How the challenge falls on someone to be overcome in the name of Gramsci?
Talk about Gramsci

what role do civil society institutions play in this?

~~Thus Gramsci~~
 Scholars like Robert Cox has applied it to international relations, analysing capitalism & imperialism.

Thus Gramsci revolutionised Marxian thought.

c)

Feminism is a "meta-ideology" which encompasses a wide range of traditions. Post modernist group is represented by scholars like Judith Butler, Adrienne Rich, etc.

Post modernists believe in the ideas role of ideas, culture and consciousness. They criticise the radical feminists for overemphasising the biological

Remarks

differences between men and women.

Post modernist feminists believe that "Gender precedes sex". Sex refers to the biological differences and gender refers to the cultural meanings attached to the same. Women's bodies have been shaped by society's imagination of gender, eg. the ideal female proportions.

They also question the "compulsory heterosexuality" and the water tight 2-sex model. Male and female biology is not related to the various ideas of masculinity and femininity. It is proved by the fact that there is no unanimity among different cultures as what constitutes the masculine or feminine.

They draw from Simone de Beauvoir's statement "One is not

born a woman, one becomes a woman". Children are shaped into gender roles through specific forms of dress, behaviour and play.

Patriarchy is also a product of this imagination, where feminine values are not valued. This creates an atmosphere of domination by men.

This can spill over to the private sphere and public sphere. Ideas and consciousness is shaped in homes and families and these get propagated to the public sphere. Also the public sphere regulates the private, by creating laws of marriage, sex, etc. eg: Banning homosexuality.

Therefore, postmodernism adds a unique perspective to the diverse feminist theory, by focusing on the role of ideas.

5

Remarks

Most of your answer talks about viewpoint of Radical feminists (Not required)
 Post modern talk about role of ideas of sex & gender

SECTION B

5. Answer the following questions: (150 Words)

(10 × 5 = 50)

- Locke as an individualist out and out.
- Platonic classes and justice in the ideal state.
- Multiculturalists perspective on Human Rights.
- Over himself, over his own body and mind individual is sovereign (Mill), comment.
- Comparison of Aristotle and Marx in terms of 'Revolution'.

5.a)

Locke has been described by scholars like C B Macpherson and C E Vaughan as the "prince of individualists", scholar of "possessive individualism", etc.

In Locke's various works like the 'Two treatises', the individual is at the centre of all his theories. ~~He~~ He believed in the positive nature of humans. The State of Nature is a condition of "peace, goodwill, mutual assistance and self preservation". The individual is prior to the state, which is an artificial creation. Individuals possess the

Remarks

"Natural Rights" of "Life, Liberty and Property" even without the state. He prefers a minimal "night watchman state", to prevent it from usurping individual freedom. He even gives the "Right to Rebellion" against the state if it goes against the individual.

However scholars like Leo Strauss and Robert Cox calls Locke a "covert Hobbesist", and merely disguising the Leviathan in palatable language.

But the general consensus today is that this view is unfair as shown by Ashcroft, Aarsleff and Martin Seliger. Locke is an individualist, out and out.

Very good approach
 Always use this structure to cover specific questions

Remarks

7

b) Plato describes his theory of justice in 'The Republic', which is both a cause and effect of the class division of the society.

Inspired by Socrates, Plato uses the dialectical method to arrive at the 'Theory of Justice'. He believes each individual justice means each individual doing what is best suited to his nature. Knowledge is the ultimate virtue, and only those possessing it should rule.

He starts by analysing the human soul's various parts like temperance, bravery and wisdom. Those with ~~the~~ wisdom are the philosophers, bravery are the auxiliaries and temperance are the producers. The philosophers (the Shepherds) and auxiliaries (the dogs) form the guardian class.

They are ~~denied~~ family and property rights, and undergo higher education. Producing class don't have such restrictions but are denied political power.

Justice is each class doing their duty. If producing class become rulers, it will result in, as ~~Glaucon~~ calls it, "a city of pigs". If auxiliaries dominate, it will be a ~~war~~ state. Only philosopher kings can rule, but "must rule as a tiller does tilling".

This is severely criticised by Aristotle, Karl Popper, etc. It unjustly ~~denies~~ family rights to the ~~guardians~~. It will result in ~~social disharmony~~. Plato disregards the experience of ages. Popper calls Plato an agent of ~~totalitarianism~~. It must however be true if Plato's views are unacceptable to modern society, it must be seen

as a reflection of his belief in individual competency, efficiency and belief in knowledge as virtue.

6

God content & analysis

As 2

But how will this mechanism provide justice to the individual level

(d)

Multiculturalist view on

human rights is essentially a critique of the liberal model of rights. Its main proponents are called Kymlicka, Bhikhu Parekh, Communitarians like Charles Taylor, etc

Liberalism is based on an "atomist" conception of the society where individuals are separate from their societies. It merely "tolerates" cultural differences, which is inadequate. Multiculturalists want such differences to be appreciated and publicly affirmed. Culture is an "irreducible social good".

Remarks

Kymlicka calls for "group differentiated rights". It is of 3 components

- ① Self determination rights
- ② Polyethnic rights
- ③ Representation rights

It is opposed to assimilation of immigrant communities. Liberalism is not an impartial framework, because of unconscious state support for majority.

It has been criticised by several scholars.

Cosmopolitans believe that culture is not a pure self contained whole, but a product of hybridisation. Jeremy Waldron argues that multiculturalism cripples the ability of community to adapt. It would mean tolerating un-schooled children and medieval customs.

Elaborate
more
Bibby
Parekh
views

Thus, multiculturalism shows the inadequacy of liberalism to protect minority rights.

6

d) J.S Mill was a utilitarian and a champion of liberty, as seen in his works like "On Liberty", "Utilitarianism", "Representative Government", etc.

He begins "On Liberty" with a paradox, that liberal democratic societies are at a greater threat to individual liberty than despotic ones. This is because of the danger from social conformism and public opinion threatening freedom.

Mill calls for freedom of expression, action and association.

His ideal is improvement and liberty is the only unconditional & unfailing source for it. Therefore he aims to maximise it, against both the state and society.

He classifies actions into self-regarding actions & other-regarding actions. There must be no restrictions on self-regarding actions. eg: restrictions on pork, beef, etc. State cannot take away liberty for preventing harm to others. That individual's own good is not reason enough.

The essence of his thought is that the individual is sovereign. This is supported on the basis of utility, because an individual is the best judge of his own interests.

~~P.S. why does he even want the individual to be sovereign? (what gains will come out of it?)~~

Remarks

(6)

6. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Explain the term "Party as Vanguard of the Proletariat". (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Comment on the assertion of Laslett that Filmer and not Hobbes was the main antagonist of Locke. In what sense does Locke differ radically from both Hobbes and Filmer? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Discuss the relationship between emergence of Mass societies and Alienation on basis of views of scholars. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

5. e) Aristotle's theory of revolution in his work "Politics" was unmatched until the arrival of Marx. Yet both were significantly different.

For Aristotle, any change in property of a government was a revolution. eg: A democracy becoming less democratic. It wasn't necessarily violent. Its causes were varied. For example in a democracy, it was the unprincipled character of popular leaders, and in oligarchy, it was the exclusion of other classes. He gave primacy to politics rather than

Remarks

economics, and called it a "master science". Aristotle believed that revolutions can be prevented, by educating people in the values of constitution, preventing injustice, promoting patriotism, etc.

Marx gave primacy to economics. All changes in the political "superstructure" was due to the economic "base". Revolutions occurred between classes. It was inevitable and cannot be prevented. The proletariat will lead the final revolution, and establish a communist society, and then there will be no more contradictions nor revolutions.

Thus, Aristotle and Marx gave a unique theory of revolution.

Remarks

~~Context is just charactering a poor~~
~~Instead of describing them one by one you can do a comparative analysis~~

4

7. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Bring out the relationship of religion with politics as per M.K. Gandhi and also point out his views on caste system and the larger scheme of Social equality. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Discuss all the major arguments given by Mill in defence of protection of Individual liberty. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Discuss in detail Hannah Arendt's views on Totalitarianism. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

7 a) Gandhi believed that religion was the pursuit of truth and righteousness. Politics enables people attain their best self. Therefore both are interrelated.

He opposed the attempt of the modern world to separate religion and politics. He didn't mean the religion of superstitions and blind, but the universal religion of toleration. It is the embodiment of ethical and moral rules. It can help reform politics, if people take part in it as though politics is a religious activity. The Kingdom of God is on Earth. With religion, the polity can become self regulated, and

Remarks

create an enlightened anarchy.

Gandhiji ~~severely~~ disagreed with Ambedkar that the caste system was evil. Varnashrama evolved from the wisdom of ages. He distinguished it from untouchability, which he ~~and~~ relentlessly fought. For this reason he did not call for interdining and inter-marriage because both were practiced among the lower castes themselves.

However he was not for a hierarchical division of the society. He believed in social equality. He felt this was affected by stigma of manual labour. For this he called for "bread labour" by all. He called for reforms among lower castes like giving up alcohol, meat, etc to foster equality, but it must come from they themselves.

Remarks

Atorakem
why network
A picture for
vowel

what are his views
on social equality
for

women
tribals

Religious minorities

7

7. b) J. S. Mill was a champion of liberty, best seen in his work "On Liberty".

He believed in the improvement of the people, especially the moral and mental faculties. Liberty was the only unfailing source of improvement, because just like physical exercise improves strength, liberty improves the mind.

For this, he calls for liberty of action, expression and association. He calls for absolute freedom of expression. He even wants unorthodox ideas and news allowed, because "Nine out of ten will be harmless cranks, but one could be of more use to mankind than all the rest".

Also, truth is multidimensional. It is possible that the majority

opinion is wrong. Even if it is correct, "only constant collision with falsehood, give a clearer perception of truth."

More importantly, liberty is essential for the development of individual personality. "All of mankind silencing one man is as bad as one man silencing all the rest." Only an individual will know what is good for him.

He puts one limitation on the freedom of action, i.e., to prevent harm to others. His own good is not enough warrant. Action and association will help create the social feeling of oneness, and a sense of civic duty. Therefore he calls for full freedom for "self-regarding actions."

Thus, Mill puts forward an effective defence of liberty,

warning of dangers like majoritarianism, social conformity, despots declaring "greater good", etc.

you have delved on freedom
~~speech~~ ~~of~~ ~~expression~~
 nicely write more on freedom of action, education & freedom for women

c)

Hannah Arendt's work

"On Totalitarianism" deals with the twin ^{political tragedies} ~~phenomena~~ of Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia.

She believed that it caused a "crisis in judgement", because our inherited ~~mental~~ framework fails. They were completely "Novel forms of government", built on terror and ideological fiction.

Terror was ~~no longer~~ the means to a political end like in ancient regimes, but an end in itself. It was justified

8

by recourse to "laws of history" which were imagined, like the classless society or the Aryan rule.

The popular appeal of such ideologies rested on the destruction of the stable order in which people lived. Disasters like the first world war & Great Depression made people vulnerable. They were looking for a clear unambiguous idea to allocate responsibility for their woes and secure a better future. For this, totalitarianism offered fictional "key to history" to explain the series of pathologies.

At the same time, the disasters led to delegitimation of political institutions and of democracy. It undermined the

Remarks

Exp 1001
the form
series of
pathologies
in
hist
context

possibility of a viable public life, hence resulting in totalitarianism.

Arendt's theory of judgement is essentially a continuing ~~line~~ of thought. People must use their imagination to evolve new standards of judgement. The "sensus communis" or community sense must be preserved to facilitate "virta acting" in the public sphere.

Good analysis

No major problems

3

8. Attempt all questions:

- (a) The understanding of the concept of "Class" and "Class War" is central to understanding of Marxian philosophy. Discuss. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Discuss in detail the major aspects of theory of state given by Aristotle. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Discuss all of the salient features of Kautilya's work in Arthashastra which show his expertise on administration and realistic approach to public affairs. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

8. a) Class is the starting point of Marxian analysis, as seen in 'The Capital', Communist Manifesto, Anti-Duhring, etc.

Marx believes that the society at any point is divided into antagonistic classes. Based on this, Marx identifies stages in history - Primitive communism, slavery, ~~fe~~ slaves - Master, Serf - landlord, Proletariat - Capitalist, and the Communist society.

This division is based on which class owns the means of production. Economics therefore determines the class division of the society, and in turn determines

Remarks

the political and cultural
 "superstructure," ~~is~~ It is a mere
 reflection of the economic base.

The "haves" and "have-nots"
 are perpetually antagonistic,
 creating Class War. It occurs
 only when the "forces of production"
 mismatches the "relations of
production". It then leads to
 a revolution, creating new
 relations of production. The class
conflict is irreconcilable because
 of the "alienation" of workers
 and the extraction of economic
 "surplus" by the bourgeoisie.
 This forms the foundation of
Marxian philosophy...

This has been criticised
 by many. Neo-Marxists and
 the Frankfurt School showed
 that class consciousness & culture
 plays an important role, not
 just economics.

Pluralists like Dahl and

Remarks

what if
 class
 consciousness
 & how it
 can be
 achieved

Tauman find the 2-class model as too simplistic. Society is composed of several groups competing for power.

Evolutionary socialists like Bernstein and humanists like MN Roy has discarded 'class war' because it can never create a stable society.

Yet, it is an essential component of Marxian analysis

9 ^{Good balanced analysis.}
 include some of his famous statements & also note for critical - most friendly

5) Aristotle's Theory of state is drawn from his observation of the Greek city states. The polis represented the community, government and the state.

The state is viewed as a unnatural organisation. It grows and branches out like a tree

Individuals grow into families, villages and finally into a state

It is ~~prior to the individual~~. The whole is necessarily prior to the part, because an organ has no existence outside a body. Aristotle likens it to a human body.

It is the association of associations, and the most important of all. His belief in "Politics as a master-science" comes because the state regulates all other associations.

It is a self-sufficing institution, unlike the family or a village. It is not a uniformity - but a "unity in diversity".

Like Plato, Aristotle believed that the state is essential for the attainment of a complete life. "A state

exists for the sake of a good life, not life only."

Aristotle gives the features of an ideal state as ~~small or~~ neither small nor big, corresponding population, good climate, rule of law and power rests with the rich.

In his 'Politics', he gives a "cycle of classification", which show good and perverted forms of government. Monarchy, Aristocracy and Polity are good, while Tyranny, Oligarchy and Democracy are perverted. He considers "Polity" as the best practicable form.

Despite Aristotle confusing state and government and being outdated, his theory is the starting point for studying classification of states.

Remarks

very good
 Just elaborate more
 in a pointwise manner
 the various functions the state
 will perform for the
 individual
 critique his views
 Brief

10

c)

Arthashastra is a comprehensive volume which deals with all aspects of a state and administration.

It deals with Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha, even though he ignores Moksha because of its other-worldliness. It is compared to Machiavelli's Prince, because of its indifference to the use of immoral means for the state. Preservation of the state is the primary goal, while maintaining Dharma is the first duty of a king.

Kautilya believes in a monarchy, but assisted by scholars and ministers. King is accountable to God, and hence does not advocate tyranny or despotism.

Like Machiavelli, he advocates the balanced use of

force and craft. King must be civil whenever possible setting an example for the others. Force and cruelty must be used only as a last resort.

King must maintain discipline in the state. He must have a strong standing army containing several wings like elephants, chariots, etc. Kautilya prescribes various departments for administration in Chapter 11.

Kautilya aims to establish a welfare state. He says "in the happiness of the subjects be the happiness of the king".

Kautilya also details external relations. He believes the immediate neighbours to be enemies, because common borders lead to differences and tension. Expansion of territory

is seen as necessary and just. He details the measures for conducting war and peace. He ~~is~~ advocates mechanisms like spies, assassinations, poisoning, etc to win over neighbours.

Thus, Arthashastra shows Kautilya's expertise on administration and realistic approach to public affairs.

Good analysis
 Talk about his views on
 bureaucracy, administration
 & prevention of
 corruption as well

10

