

## Political Science & International Relations

### Crash Course & Test Series - 2020

#### Test 01

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

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#### Instructions:

1. There are EIGHT questions divided in TWO SECTIONS and candidate has to attempt five questions in all.
2. Question Nos. 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, any three are to be attempted choosing at least ONE question from each section.
3. Content of the answer is more important than its length.
4. Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the admission Certificate, which must be stated clearly on the cover of the booklet in the space provided.
5. Content of the answer is more important than its length.
6. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the Question-Cum-Answer Booklet must be clearly struck off.
7. All parts of the question should be written at one place itself.
8. Write the test in exam atmosphere.
9. **Filling all the details in BLOCK LETTERS is mandatory.**

S. No.	a	b	c	d	e	Total
1						
2				X	X	
3				X	X	
4				X	X	
5						
6				X	X	
7				X	X	
8				X	X	
Grand Total						



Que.1(a)

Normative Approach in Political Philosophy.

(10 Marks)

Political science is divided into two approaches (A) Traditional approaches like normative approach, historical approach, legal-institutional approach etc  
(B) Modern approaches like behaviouralism, post-behaviouralism.

Normative approach is also called as philosophical approach as it is based on ideas. It is prescriptive in nature and dwells on questions of meta-ethics and meta-politics like "What ought to be?" For example: Plato's Republic is the conception of an ideal state. Normative approach combines ethics with politics.

In modern times, John Rawls is credited with revival of normative approach in his Theory of Justice as fairness after positivism became popular in post-enlightenment era.

Modern approaches criticize normative approach for its abstractness, ahistoricity. Karl Marx calls Plato & Rousseau's idealism as false consciousness. Aristotle criticized Plato's





idealism as impractical. In contemporary Political science David Easton criticized normative philosophers for being non-scientific.

However under post-behavioralist movement, there is an increasing relevance for prescriptive theories. David Easton himself held that social scientists must find solutions to contemporary problems by combining both data and ideas. (Creative Theory)

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.1(b)

Feminist Theory of State.

10 Marks.

State is a political association of people living over a territory and subjected to one government (Andrew Heywood). Thus state is a central concept in political science, although a debated one.

Feminists are criticized for not having a single comprehensive theory of state but there are two major threads. Feminists see state as either an institution of virtue that can solve their problems of public life or as institution of patriarchy (Marxist Feminists)

Mary Wollstonecraft (Mother of Feminism) held state to be liberator of women by giving her civil & political rights. However later Marxist scholar Engels in his book 'Private Property, gender and family' held that capitalism is the reason for dual burden on women.

2nd wave feminists hold patriarchal society responsible for and state for not doing enough in the personal sphere. Carole Hanisch's 'Personal

is Political' highlights state's inability to address feminist issues. Susan Moller Okin calls for state to interfere in personal & family space.

Catherine Mackinnon argues that state itself is patriarchal and there is need to involve women in decision making. Carole Pateman has criticized the very foundation / legitimacy of state i.e. Social Contract- in her book 'The Sexual Contract' as women were not consented.

Thus feminists must evolve a concrete and coherent theory on state.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.1(c)

Foucault's Theory of Power.

10 Marks.

Power is one of the core concept of political science. It is said what money is to economics is what power is to politics. Laswell defines politics as study of sharing of power.

Foucault's concept of power is a post-modernist view given in his book 'Discipline and Punish'. He has differed from other conventionalists like Robert Dahl (Relational theory of power). He is inspired from Nietzsche's view on power-knowledge connection.

Foucault view power as the dominant discourse or the regimes of truth. The discourse that is accepted by most people become the truth and hence he establishes the connection between knowledge and power.

In his book Madness and power, he argues that the system of segregation for mad people is due to their non-usefulness for capitalism (the dominant discourse).



He has however highlighted the utility of power in increasing discipline and govern-mentality for the state through prison watch tower. example. Foucault has used archaeology

& genealogy in establishing that it'll be impossible to know the truth. For eg: he viewed science as modern discourse.

Noam Chomsky argues that Foucault has wildly exaggerated the influence of power in scientific discourse. But his theory is essential to understand the multidirectional - post-structuralist view on power.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.1(d)

Aurobindo's Concept of Indian Nationalism.

10 Marks.

Shri Aurobindo is known as prophet of Indian nationalism because his was the first theory on complete independence (swaraj) for India.

He was influenced from Swami Vivekananda's Sanatan Dharma ideas and the enlightenment ideas of humanism. He gave the Indian national struggle a spiritual, religious identity. For him, nation is the greatest call from God.

He believed that Indian nationalism is unique because Indian civilisation is the only one in world which has values of multi-culturalism of Vedas and spiritualism of Upanishads. Indian nation is destined to liberate the entire humanity of its discontent was his strong call for nationalism to Indian youth.

He refuted views of <sup>his</sup> contemporary political leaders like Surendranath Banerjee (India: A nation in making) and B.G. Tilak's



call for swaj (good governance). He wanted youth to participate in national struggle and thus developed the strongest pitch on Indian nationalism.

Ex MP Karan Singh argues that Aurobindo wanted a revolutionary national building programme post independence and he equated nationalism as divine call. Thus it can be concluded that Rabindranath Tagore was right when he said "The world will ~~remember~~ know India through Aurobindo Ghosh" as we see our current foreign policy aiming to achieve his aspirations.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.1(e)

Concept of "Dharma" in Indian political philosophy. 10 Marks

Indian political philosophy was said to be developed by Manu, the first King when he eliminated anarchy (Arajakta) or Matsyanyaya (The law of fishes) and established Dharma.

Dharma means cosmic law. It is derived from the laws governing our universe and thus are placed on the highest pedestal in Indian civilisational history. It is said that 'Prithvimi Dharmam Dharamam' meaning Dharma is the one who holds the Earth.

The ancient scriptures like Manusmriti, Dharmashastra and Dandashastra elaborate on different Dharmas or code of conduct for different peoples or groups. For eg: A king has to follow RajDharma of enabling his subjects to achieve Yogakshem - attainment of Purush-  
artha, ensure adherence to Varne system.

The western political philosophers

criticize Indian political philosophy for its inadequacy but as Prof VR Mehta held that Indian system of thought does not think in dichotomies like individual and society, King and subjects, as opposed to Western thinkers who developed different comprehensive doctrines like liberalism, Idealism, Communitarianism, Marxism etc.

Hence the concept of Dharma is important contribution to political philosophy and ignorance to it by the Western scholars will lead to their impoverishment (Alasdair MacIntyre).

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.2(a)

"One with immediate proximate territory is the natural enemy." (Kautilya). Discuss. How far is it appropriate to consider Kautilya as Indian Machiavelli. **20 Marks**

Kautilya is considered as the greatest strategist and political thinker of Ancient India. His book 'Arthashastra' - is a master piece on statecraft.

Kautilya advised Chandragupta Maurya in establishing Mauryan dyansty in Magadha Empire and was successfully able to ward off Alexandra the great's invasion into India. His theory of Mandals is regarded as eternal wisdom in geopolitics.

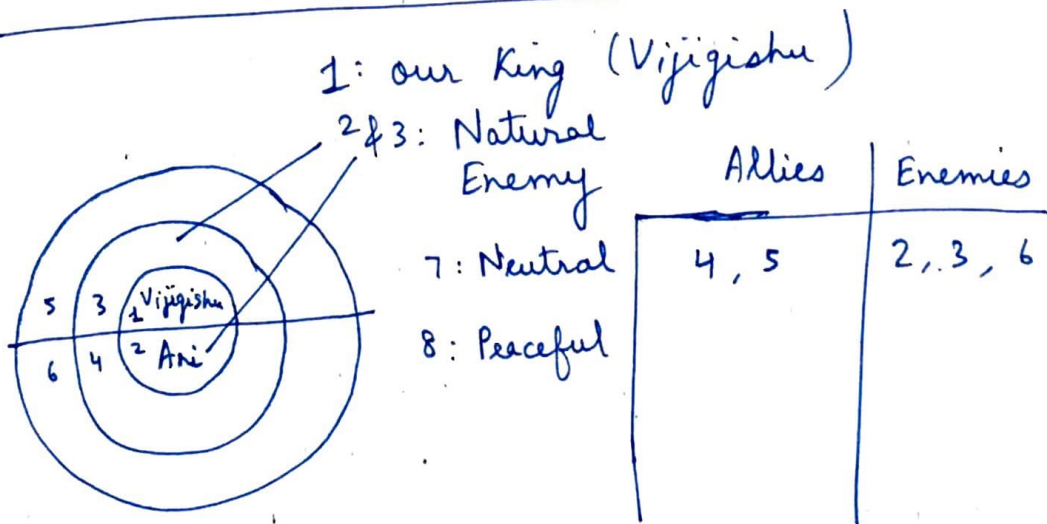


Fig: Mandala Theory



Kautilya argued that objective of a King is to constantly expand his land frontiers. Hence this makes the immediate neighbour as a natural enemy. This also implies that neighbour of a neighbour is an enemy of an enemy hence an ally.

However we must note that during Kautilya's period land was the only source of income to state's treasury, thus the only way for welfare of citizens. He does not advocate land grabbing for the sake of ego of the King. This notion is close to Hitler's policy of Lebensraum (New land for settlement) in World War 2.

But in today's time expansionism is replaced by development as populations demands can be met through other ways of economic & social enhancements.

J.L. Nehru in his book 'Discovery of India' called Kautilya as Indian Machiavelli. Machiavelli is an Italian strategic & political thinker of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. His book, 'The Prince' is considered first to establish national interest as the yardstick to conduct foreign policy.

Both these thinkers resemble in their realist assumptions and advice to their reader. Both established that ethics of politics are different from the common man's ethics. However there lie certain differences as well.

Kautilya's advice were given to a real world character and hence are more rooted. Machiavelli wanted to save his society from the corruption of Church and thus established secularism. Kautilya does not advise that.

Max Weber's book 'Politics as Vocation'  
argue that Kautilya is more Machiavellian  
than Machiavelli himself. This can be  
understood as Machiavelli wanted to save  
Italy in a hypothetical situation through  
an imaginary Prince. Kautilya's thought  
has developed through wisdom collected  
by generations preceding him.

Thus it is natural to compare  
the two but also realizing the difference  
in their contexts is essential.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.2(b)

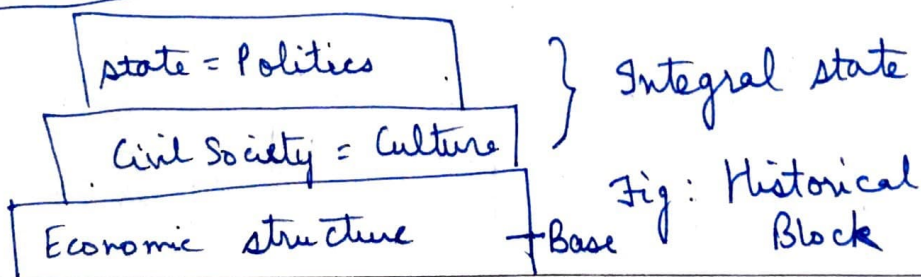
Gramsci's Theory with its reconceptualization of the relations between base and superstructure and recasting power as hegemony marks a major breakthrough in Marxist theory. Comment.

15 Marks

Antonio Gramsci is considered as the saviour of Marxism from crude economic determinism. In his 'Prison Notebooks' he tried to analyze the reasons for failure of Marxist prophecy of revolution.

He is inspired from Benedetto Croce in realizing the importance of cultural factors. Thus he argued that the theory of basic structure of Marx is incomplete and superstructures are structures of independent existence which interact with the base to form a reflexive equilibrium.

In his concept of Integral state he suggests that civil society and state both



play an important role in the continuation of the capitalist system i.e. rule of the Bourgeois class.

Gramsci argues that the hegemony i.e. world view of the Bourgeois class being presented as common sense, ~~and~~ inevitable and beneficial social structures for all classes is responsible for failure of Marx in western societies.

This happens because of presence of a civil society that generates this hegemony as a "moral intellectual consensus". For eg in a transparent ~~society~~ <sup>state</sup> as Russia where civil society ~~did~~ not exist, the failures of state were visible and Revolution was successful.

But when organic intellectuals of civil society (eg trade unions, political parties) generate 'false consciousness' the capturing of political power/state is not possible.





Hence he advises to have two pronged strategy of war of position (to establish counter-hegemony) and war of manoeuvre (direct overthrow).

Gramsci emphasized that power i.e. dominance of state appears only when hegemony fails to generate consensus. Thus his recasting of hegemony & power is essential to understand nature of state in capitalist societies.

For his theory on superstructures and concept of Hegemony, Chantal Mouffe argues that we have entered an era of Gramscian in Marxist thought.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.2(c)

"Power is what keeps the public realm ...in existence ." (Hannah Arendt). In light of the above statement, critically examine the relevance of Arendt's theory of power. 15 Marks

Hannah Arendt is one of the most seminal scholars of 20<sup>th</sup> century. Her concern for protection of public sphere and participatory democracy against the dangers of totalitarianism is widely acknowledged as one of the most profound & original.

She is influenced from St. Augustine (City of God) and Aristotle's (theory of citizenship) when she analyses the two totalitarian regimes - Nazism and Communism. The reason for unseen terror in these societies is traced to creation of superfluous masses which have lost their critical ability to think and act in concert.

Thus, in her theory on power she has given an unconventional view different from traditional sense of dominance. Her 'power' stands for empowerment of people.

When people act in concert in public sphere they generate power. Hence for her power is sui-generis. It is held not by individuals (who hold strength) and neither by the state (who monopolises violence) rather it is held by society.

Her concept on power is linked to her theory of action. She holds that the real human condition as different from other animals is achieved when we act in the public sphere. Her notion of Vita-Activa (Active life) is zoon-politikon (Political action).

Arendt's theory of power with people shows her concern for civic republicanism & participatory democracy. She argues for more proactive political participation. This concept is later developed by Habermas (The Transformation of Public Sphere).



Thus if not for public participation there is always a danger of state becoming totalitarian and reducing citizens to unthinking atomistic individuals.

Thus in modern democracies including India there is emphasis on free media, citizen participation through RTI, Social Audits, Citizen Charters to ensure the state right balance between authority of the state and liberty of citizens.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.3(a)

"Politics becomes a much more elusive quarry...The nature of political theory is both internally complex and deeply contested."  
Andrew Vincent. Critically analyse. 20 Marks

Political theory refers to a systematic analyses of political issues. The nature of such study is debated among political scientists itself. There are two approaches to political theory:

- (A) Political science : fact based inquiry
- (B) Political Philosophy : normative ideas

Empirical method of political science essentially deals with institutions and political behaviour. For eg study of Constitutions done by Aristotle and Election data analysed to study voting patterns. These studies are based on evidence and depict what is.

Political Philosophy deals with substantive political ideas like justice (Rawlsian theory of fairness), equality (

Dworkin's analysis as sovereign virtue) etc. They are prescriptive in nature and hence do not tell what is rather what ought to be.

The discipline of political science evolved through various stages initially being a part of ethics in ancient days, later became separate (Machiavelli) and in modern period became positivist and science based (behaviouralism). However today it is debated as to whether it is philosophical or empirical.

Normative school scholar suggest questions of good life can not be separated from public life hence it is philosophical whereas David Easton (Behavioralist) want to introduce falsification & verifiability.

Thus it can be said to be a hybrid discipline where both action & relevance matter (Creative Theory). As Andrew Hacker



(Political Theory: Ideology, Philosophy & Science) argues that no political philosopher can make a meaningful contribution ~~without~~ to human knowledge about politics without combining the dual role.

The utility of the discipline itself is contested. Karl Marx held that all philosophers have interpreted history but what matters is to change it. Hence he views political theory to bring changes in the society. Whereas Sabine suggests that political theory describes problems of group life and also tells how public life is organised. In doing so, it also suggests how it should be, thus sometimes altering what it is.

Thus different approaches like traditional approaches of normative school (Plamanetz, Leo Strauss), historical school (Machiavelli & Aristotle), legal institutional



approach of March & Olsen & Empirical approach of Locke & Aristotle combines with the modern approaches like Behavioralism (Lord Bryce's emphasis on facts) and post behavioralism (David Easton) to form political theory.

Foucault calls all theories as discourse and hence in contemporary political science scientific theories are also seen as interpretative.

As Thomas Kuhn suggests, there is no finality of knowledge. The nature of political theory is complex and deeply contested.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.3(b)

How does Rawls explain Democratic equality? How does Rawls use the idea of a veil of ignorance to argue that fair and just distribution can be defended on rational grounds. 15 Marks

John Rawls is credited with revival of normative political philosophy in his masterpiece 'A Theory of Justice', 1971. His conception of democratic equality is linked to his idea of justice as fairness.

The debate among liberals on two values of liberty & equality and how to prioritise among them is old. John Rawls emphasize that liberty & equality are not anti-thetical. Infact liberty is essential condition to ensure equality.

He sees inequality as the product of merit principle in society (which is natural). However such inequality is justified as long as the resources resulting from this merit principle is utilised for the weaker sections. Hence John Rawls supports progressive taxation.

Rawls three principles on Justice in Lexical order summarises his notion of democratic equality :

- A) Maximum equal liberty for all
- B) Equality of opportunity
- C) Difference principle eg: Affirmative action.

However this principle of equality is criticized by libertarians like Nozick (Anarchy, state & Utopia) as bonded labour, Amartya Sen (Equality of what?) and Dworkin (proposes resource egalitarianism).

Today we see similar ideas reflected in Indian Constitution as Fundamental Rights representing liberty, DPSP as equality and reservations as difference principle.

Rawls justifies this distribution as rational by evoking social contract ~~tradition~~ tradition through his thought experiment of Original position (state of nature) behind



the veil of ignorance. Since man does not know particularities about himself but has certain sense of psychology & economics behind the veil he would act in an unbiased and rational manner.

Rawlsian individuals are Kantian (rational and moral) in nature and hence would try to secure the worst outcome of the distribution of primary goods in the original position i.e. wealth, income, respect, liberty and dignity. Thus they would agree to difference principle.

Hence Rawls argue that since possessions of primary goods is a matter of chance & stability of peace in social order is vital for pursuit of rational plan of life all would agree to this political conception of justice.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.3(c)

Ambedkar's vision for social justice was closely related to the concept of good society, rationality and scientific outlook.  
Comment. 15 Marks

B.R. Ambedkar is considered as the father of Indian Constitution and the tallest Dalit leader (Dr. Bhanu Prasad). He has analysed the Indian society scientifically to solve ills of our society for the sake of social justice.

He is inspired from Jyotiba Phule (Aryan Invasion Theory), Karl Marx (Historical Dialectics), Gautam Buddha (Cause of suffering / Dukka) and renaissance ideas of French Revolution (Liberty, Equality & Fraternity).

B.R. Ambedkar analysed that problem of social injustice in Indian society is caused not due to class struggle but because of caste struggle. Brahmanism was the basis structure of Indian society which



was based on notions of purity - pollution and endogamy.

He has given a scientific, anthropological account of the Vedas, the Varna Ashrama system, 'Who are Shudras?' (the Kshatriyas who lost and Buddhists) and held that unless Indian society realises that caste system needs to be abolished, untouchability can not be eliminated.

He differed from Mahatma Gandhi on his notion of 'Harijan' towards the untouchables and termed this as false consciousness. As Arundhati Roy points out Mahatma Gandhi was a saint & his was a spiritual view to resolve untouchability whereas Dr Ambedkar like a Doctor gave a scientific rational prescription.

Dr Ambedkar's ideas are heavily reflected in our constitution. Granville Austin calls it a revolutionary document that calls for social overhaul based on modern lines.



Therefore abolition of untouchability (Article 17), socialistic principles of equitable distribution (DPSP Article 38, 39) and promotion of scientific temper (Article 51A) all form basis of modern Indian society.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.5(a)

Relative Autonomy Theory of the State.

10 Marks

State is a political association governing over a territory and population. (Andrew Heywood). It is the core concept of political science which is subjected to debate over its nature.

Old Marxist scholars view state as an instrument of the Bourgeois class and part of the superstructure (including Marx, Lenin). However in post capitalist societies two traditions - instrumentalists and structuralists (Relative Autonomy) emerged.

Relative autonomy theory of state is given by Nicola Poulantzas (Political Power and Social Class). He is inspired from Marx's work 18th Brumaire of Napoleon Bonaparte. ~~He~~ <sup>Marx</sup> argued that under certain historical conditions when executives / bureaucracy of the state becomes the most powerful social class it is able to act independently of the basic structure.



For eg Germany under Hitler was not working under the Bourgeois class.

Such a state is able to manage the interests of both the classes - haves & have nots. Poulentzas argue that right to vote, welfare schemes, competitive party systems have led to a relatively autonomous state that ceases to be an instrument of any class. However under crisis, it favors the rich - Eg : 2008 financial crisis & bank bailouts.

Habermas has challenged this notion and points out to inevitable legitimacy crisis of welfare states in post-capitalist societies.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.5(b)

Affirmative Action.

10 Marks

Affirmative action stands for positive discrimination done in favor of weaker section to ensure equity & level playing field. It is a concept of normative theory of distributive justice inspired from Rawls concept of difference principle.

John Rawls in order to ensure stability in social order, developed an accommodative, universal blueprint of justice. Since liberty leads to inequality, the only way to manage it is to ensure application of difference principle - protecting the interests of weaker section.

~~Affirmative action is seen as the strongest positive~~

However Amartya Sen has criticized Rawls for giving too much emphasis on procedural aspects. His essay concerning justice argues that substantive aspect of

justice i.e. Nyaya should trump Niti. By that he means one must be capable enough to take benefit out of equality of opportunity. Hence state should focus on capacity building (functioning) & doing (actually able to do what one wants).

Libertarian scholars like Nozick & (Anarchy, state & utopia) discards affirmative action as uninspiring. He argues state should not indulge in distributive justice.

Indian Constitution has provided for strongest affirmative action i.e. reservation which is needed to ensure that weakest link in our society also gets strong.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.5(c)

Relationship between Liberty and Equality.

10 Marks

Liberty and Equality are two prominent values that emerged out of Renaissance ideas of French Revolution. In liberal discourse, there has been a debate over <sup>their</sup> precedence.

Classical liberals like John Locke placed liberty over equality. His view of liberty however was inclined towards right to property. J.S. Mill is the first scholar to place liberty as central value of liberalism.

However later modern liberals (social liberals) who got influenced from Karl Marx's criticism of capitalism, idealism, <sup>(Kant)</sup> ~~and~~ communism and humanitarianism (Carlyle). They placed equality on an equal footing. They see liberty, however, as a pre condition to equality. For eg John Rawls & Dworkin.

Marxists criticize liberty under capitalism as alienation and the notion of equal opportunity as farce. They believe equality of outcomes (social-economic) is the only way to achieve liberty i.e. freedom from needs.

Isaiah Berlin (Two Values of Liberalism) has argued that modern state should not prioritise as both these values are incommensurable and different for different people. This value pluralism should be adopted. However favours liberty as too much emphasis on equality can lead to totalitarianism tendencies.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.5(d)

Difference between Domination and Hegemony.

10 Marks

Domination & Hegemony are two forms of power. Power is a core concept of political science that implies control over another against their wish.

Domination is a classical view of power. This means through force one is able to coerce the other into some action. For eg state uses coercive action in case of law & order problems. Marx called state's authority as domination.

Hegemony is a soft power i.e. cultural domination that attracts rather than coerces. For eg Gramsci held that capitalism survives in western societies because workers in west don't hate capitalism rather they hate that they are not capitalists. Thus hegemony makes social norms & values of the ruling class as common-sense, inevitable &  $\downarrow$  beneficial for all.  
as if such an social order is

Neomaxist scholars like Chomsky says that the civil society & media manufactures consent of the governed in favor of the state is a form of hegemony.

However post modern scholar Foucault calls every discourse as a form of power. The one that is acceptable to most becomes common-sense & truth. This his view on power is different.

Similarly Hannah Arendt calls power as a concerted public action. For her neither the state nor certain intellectual individuals hold power rather the common masses when participate in public sphere create 'power'.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	



Que.5(e)

Concept of Overdeveloped State.

10 Marks

Overdeveloped state concept was developed by Neo Marxist scholar Hamza Alawi. He belongs to the post colonial school of thought as he has analyzed the nature of state in Pakistan.

Although Marxists claim state to be an institution of coercive power which acts like an 'Executive Committee' of the Bourgeois class. Hamza Alawi claim that state is relatively autonomous in post colonial societies.

Since it is an imported institution, the economic structure & civil society has not developed (Theory of superstructures of Gramsci) as much as the political structure. This makes the military-bureaucracy class as the most powerful class. Hence we have seen several military dictators as well in Pakistan.



Post colonial state is a mediator between three social groups:

- 1) Indigenous Bourgeois<sup>ois</sup>
- 2) Metropolitan Bourgeois
- 3) Indigenous Feudal class

such states adopt centralised planning political economy model and usually parties involved in national struggle enjoy unquestioned legitimacy, thus state emerges as the most powerful class in itself.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.8(a)

What were the intellectual factors responsible for the rise of Behaviouralism? Compare Behaviouralism with post-Behaviouralism. 20 Marks

The discipline of political science went into decline post the world war 2. When major discipline/scholars of Economics, Psychology, Law were invited to form global academic / intellectual way forward in the post war period, political science was left out.

David Easton, professor at MIT, blamed the traditional political scientists for producing irrelevant, redundant, rhetoric theories unsuitable for 20<sup>th</sup> century. In his lecture at American Political Science Association, he laid 8 intellectual foundation stones for revival of political science as a behavioralist discipline. Some of them are:

- 1) Verifiability of hypothesis
- 2) Data oriented
- 3) Move towards law, psychology & economics

- 4) Move away from philosophy, history etc.
- 5) Scientific testing

This resulted in induction of scientific methodology in political theory and the rise of behavioralism.

The traditional approaches like normativism (eg Plato), legal institutional approach (revamped under March & Olsen), historical were criticized. Instead study of politics as process (Laswell) and emphasis of facts (Lord Bryce) were the key outcomes.

Hence voting behaviour, data collection and elections were studied by Behavioralists. However this could not be sustained due to inherent nature of politics as study of social life. Soon David Easton himself in his lecture 'Credo of Relevance' urged to include both relevance and scientific methods in research & not just rigorous techniques oblivious to societal problems.



Post-behavioural movement of David Easton emphasized involving social problems that emerged in 1960s in the US in the researches of ivory tower scholars.

Behavioralism focused too much on methodology that it lost its relevance. Election outcomes although important are not the only purpose of political theory.

Political scientists hold a special responsibility of guiding public life, its organization & the problems that arise therein. Hence as Plomanatz said "Political philosophy is not an escape mechanism rather an arduous calling" post behavioralism seek to be creative in theory and action.

Robert Dahl settled the value-fact dichotomy debate by emphasizing on need to ensure both. But the problem of



applicability & verifiability of values  
still remain.

Karl Popper held that political  
theories cant be tested & verified in labs.  
Openness to falsification is enough proof for  
their scientific nature.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow:	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.8(b)

Explain the concept of political obligation. Elaborate Hobbes theory of political obligation. 15 Marks

Political obligation refers to the consent of the governed. It refers to questions such as how much & to what extent should we obey the rules, procedures of the state. For eg paying of taxes.

There are several theories which suggest why and how much should be obliged. In ancient times, the divine rights theory of Kings theory suggested King to be mediator between subjects and God. They commanded absolute obligation just as to God. We find similar concepts in Manusmriti.

Traditionalists like Edmund Burke calls customs & traditions emerging from society to be the source of such authority. They also call for complete obligation. For eg Robert Filmer (Patriarchs)





Thomas Hobbes in his book 'The Leviathan' started the modern concept of political obligation as per social contract tradition.

Marxists believe that state is an instrument of coercion and not a product of will rather force, thus call for revolution against the state.

Feminist theory believe that state can be both a virtuous and exploiter. Hence depending upon its cause of gender equality, they argue for obligation towards it.

The social contract tradition started the concept of limited obligation. Thomas

Hobbes held that state is essential for preservation of life and end to anarchy. His view is inspired from his pessimistic view on human nature, state of nature (



condition before the contract) and Puritan revolution of England (His book: Behemoth)

Acc to Hobbes state commands complete sovereignty ~~except~~ <sup>including</sup> the right to take life as per law. Hence although he is an individualist but is criticized for giving an absolutist state (CB Macpherson)

His view was later rectified by John Locke following the same tradition of social contract i.e. existence of man is prior to the state and he gives consent/obligation to the state. Although the reasons for both of them were different.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject Knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	

Que.8(c)

Compare and contrast the monistic theory of sovereignty with the pluralistic theory. Explore the relationship between globalization and sovereignty. 15 Marks

Sovereignty refers to the highest authority. Sovereign is the one who decides on exceptions (Carl Schmitt, Political Theology)

The theory of sovereignty is a modern concept related with the concept of nation state formed after Treaty of Westphalia 1648.

Although Jean Bodin gave the partial theory, Thomas Hobbes developed the first complete theory of sovereignty.

His theory is classified as Monistic theory of sovereignty as he recognises the state as the only source of law & the only recipient of political obligation. As he argued "Law is the command of the Sovereign."

However H. J. Laski criticized monistic theory on the grounds of it being unrealistic.



Since our society is federal in nature, authority should also be federal. Moreover man is multi-dimensional, hence it will be immoral to reduce him to one-dimension. For eg customs & religion also play a role in our public life.

Laski argued that state is only one of the many associations of man, although the most important one. He is an internationalist & believes that one way to avoid wars is to reduce state's monistic sovereignty and implementation of international law through international institutions.

Globalisation has greatly increased the integration of states. (Thomas Friedman, The Olive and the Lexus Tree) State sovereignty has been impacted but it is debated on its extent.

Hyperglobalists like Kenichi Ohmae (Borderless world) and Marshall McLuhan (Global Village) greatly undermine state sovereignty.

Neoclassical realists like Robert Gilpin argue that states are in command ~~of~~ yet. However, ~~some~~ <sup>weaker</sup> states have lost more sovereignty due to <sup>uneven</sup> globalisation (Geoff Lovenson, Whose World Order?) but transformationalists like David Held argue that we must not look at this in a zero-sum manner.

Thus although globalisation has led to stronger international framework of governance but due to inherent defects like Democratic deficit (Joseph Stiglitz) and crisis of neo-liberal world order post 2008 Global Financial crisis, impact on state sovereignty is debatable.

Understanding of Questions	
Structure and Flow	
Subject knowledge	
Presentation	
Overall Remarks :	