

Political Science & International Relations**Crash Course & Test Series - 2020****Test 01****Time Allowed: 3 Hours****Max Marks: 250**

Name MANASA
Test Date _____
Email Address _____
Mobile _____
UPSC Roll No 5000686 (Passed Prelims)

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						



SHUBHRA RANJAN

Always Ahead

32 B, Pusa Road, Karol Bagh, Delhi 110005. ☎ 011 45612719

	Poor	Average	Good	Very Good	Excellent
Understanding of Questions					
Structure & Flow					
(a) Introduction					
(b) Conclusion					
(c) Overall					
Subject Knowledge					
Presentation					
(a) Underline					
(b) Paragraph					
(c) Overall					

Overall Remarks:

Dear Student,

All the best for next test..!!!

Q. 1. (a) Normative Approach in political philosophy
(10 Marks)

Political science as a discipline started ~~to~~ as a branch of political philosophy. The normative approach is one of the oldest approaches in the field.

The normative approach emphasises on the distinction between reality and the ideal. It focuses on values to make the world a better place.

For example, in Ancient Greece, thinkers such as Plato emphasised on justice, beauty and excellence, to make Athens the ideal state.

However, the normative approach faced a challenge - after World War II with the advent of the behavioural revolution.

Positivists such as Charles Merriam emphasised on value-free analysis and empirical observation to make "scientific" theories.

While this led to certain advances in electoral studies, thinkers like David Easton held that the normative approach cannot be discarded altogether, which led to postbehaviouralism.

Scholars like Rawls and Leo Strauss held that the essential nature of the discipline is philosophical and normative theories are extremely valuable.

Moreover, the particular approach to be used also depends on the area and type of study.



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

Q1.(b). Feminist Theory of state.

(10 MARKS)

The feminist theory of state is still in a stage of development. Catherine McKinnon holds that there is no such theory.

Yet, in her book 'Towards a Feminist Theory of State', McKinnon says that since the state is a product of the society, and the society is patriarchal, the state is also an institution of patriarchy.

Feminist scholars point to laws of the state that discriminate against women. For example, until recently, Indian Muslim women required a male guardian to go on the Hajj pilgrimage.

They also point to the under representation of women in political institutions. In the 17th Lok Sabha, only 14% of the seats are filled by women.

The feminist theory of state shows that the state is also an instrument of oppression of women. However, they also hold that only the state can rescue them from the patriarchal society.

They thus argue that "personal is political", prompting the state to make laws on domestic violence and so on. They also argue for differentiated citizenship and affirmative action for women.



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

Q.1 (c).

Foucault's Theory of Power

(10 MARKS)

Foucault presents a postmodern theory of power, influenced by Nietzsche's concept of the knowledge power link.

Foucault believes that not only does knowledge strengthen power and power create knowledge, but they are also identical.

He holds that power does not flow in a unidirectional way. Instead it is multidimensional and flows through a network of capillaries.

Everyone in a society exercises power on everyone else by building "discourses". In his book 'Madness and Civilisation', he talks about the power of discourses of criminology and sexuality.

He also believes that we have moved from using brute force to using discipline as a means of power. In his book 'Discipline and Punish', he says discipline is a method of ensuring we govern ourselves, thinking we are being watched, in a "panopticon".

Foucault also believes that "biopower" is used on the collective. He also holds that power can also be constructive and forge identities.

Thus, he gives a sociological and micro view of power.



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

Q. 1. (d).

Aurobindo's concept of Indian Nationalism.
(10 MARKS).

Aurobindo Ghosh is known as the prophet of Indian nationalism. He was critical of British colonists who held that India is not a nation and simply a geographical expression. He also refuted moderate nationalists who suggested that India is a nation in the making.

Instead, Aurobindo suggested that a nation is not a piece of land or a political program. It is divine and has a spirit.

Influenced by German scholars, he held that every nation is a reflection of a dimension of the universal spirit. India is to spread the message of spirituality to the world, which is God's will.

Inspired by Vivekananda's concept of nationalism as a religion, Aurobindo

held that India was always a nation and its awakening cannot be stopped.

We require the same religious fervour in order to liberate our nation through passive resistance.

However, Aurobindo's concept of nationalism was not against cosmopolitanism. By acknowledging a universal spirit, he propounded the integral view of humanity.

Thus, Aurobindo spiritualised the concept of nation.



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

Q.1.(c). Concept of 'Dharma' in Indian political philosophy (10 MARKS).

The concept of dharma is central to Indian political philosophy across the ages. Dharma is that which holds together the world (prithivim dharmam dhrutam). It is derived from "rita", the cosmic law.

According to the Bhagavad Gita, dharma is the law of our being, and each person must fulfill his dharma. Dharma-shastras hold that each varnashrama has a unique dharma, and if it's not followed, it leads to arajaketa (anarchy) and pralaya (destruction).

In political philosophy, Kautilya holds that the duty of the king is to ensure dharma is maintained, for which he has the danda or the rod to punish.

Buddhist literature too talks of dhamma. Scholars like Ashvagosha hold that the King should maintain dhamma and win over enemies through dhammegosha and not dherrigosha.

Hence, the concept of dhamma is found in all the major works of political philosophy in India. While Bhiku Parekh divides texts into dharmashastras and dandashastras, he acknowledges that there is no clear distinction but only a difference in degree.

Thus, Indian thought did not separate politics and ethics like Machiavelli but viewed dharma as central to politics.



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

Q.2.(a).

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

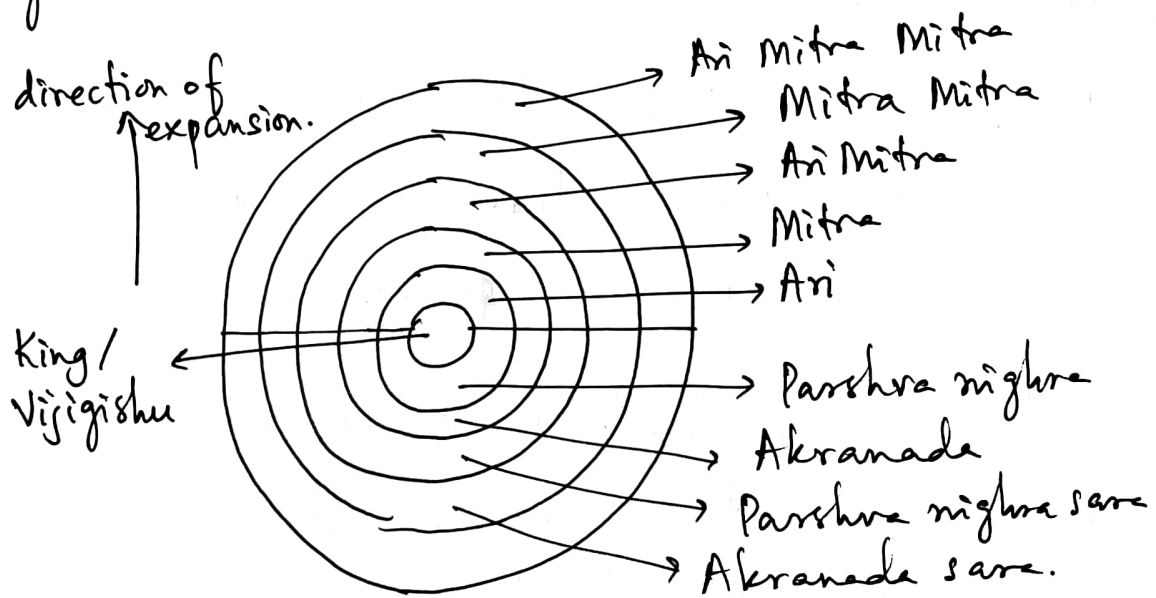
Kautilya's treatise on statecraft, 'Arthashastra' is one of the oldest books on geopolitics.

According to Kautilya, the dharma of the king is to ensure the material well-being of his people. For only when artha is ensured are the three other goals - Kama, dharma and moksha - satisfied.

He states that in order to secure artha, the state needs to expand and gain more land. This is in consonance with the modern theory of geopolitics which views the state as an organism that needs to grow to not perish.

When a state seeks to expand, the first area available is the neighbour's territory. Hence, Kautilya holds that "the one with immediate proximate territory is the natural enemy."

Kautilya, in his Mandala Siddhanta gives mandalas or concentric circles of power.



The neighbour's neighbour is a natural ally and becomes a "mitra." Similarly when the state expands in one direction, it must placate the neighbours at the back (parshva nigra).

Kautilya also speaks of udāsina (neutral territory) and madhyama (buffer state) and the need to bring them in our favour.

Thus, he holds that the relations between neighbours is like a jungle where the strength of the lion prevails. He views international relations as a struggle for power. Hence, he is a realist, and an offensive realist since he advocates offense as the best defence.

Kautilya also talks of the Saptanga of the state which the king must use to his advantage. He gives four upayas - sama, dama, bheda, danda, and shadguna niti in order to win over more land.

Kautilya has been called 'Indian Machiavelli' by Nehru in the 'Discovery of India'. However, as Upinder Kaur holds, Kautilya's work is much older and more expansive than Machiavelli's Prince. Hence, Machiavelli should be called Italian Kautilya.

While both Machiavelli and Kautilya advocate realism, there are several differences. Machiavelli separates ethics from politics whereas Kautilya states that the King is to follow dharma.

Moreover, as Max Weber argues, Kautilya's King makes Machiavelli's Prince look harmless, as the Arthashastra gives ~~the~~ precise cold-blooded techniques.

Hence, Kautilya is one of the greatest scholars of realism. While Machiavelli never found his Prince, Kautilya found his King in Chandragupta Maurya.



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

Q. 2 (b). Gramsci's Theory with its reconceptualisation of the relations between base and superstructure and reacting power as hegemony marks a major breakthrough in Marxist theory. Comment. (15 MARKS)

Gramsci is one of the most influential thinkers after Marx and has addressed some of the failings in Marxist theory.

~~While Marx held that the class which controls the basic structure also controls~~

Marx held that the economic structure of a society constitutes the basic structure, and the class which controls it would also control the superstructure, including the state. Thus, Marx held that the state is an instrument of the bourgeoisie and predicted that workers would revolt to overthrow the state.

Gramsci, puzzled that the workers revolution had only taken place in Russia and that capitalism had progressed everywhere else, sought to provide another explanation.

Influenced by Benedetto Croce, Gramsci looked at the cultural factors in shaping history. He reconceptualised the base and superstructure model, arguing that the civil society institutions act as a shock absorber between the state and the people.

Thus, he gave the concept of an integral state consisting of the state and institutions such as the Church, schools, media and so on. He held that the state does not exercise naked power but uses the civil society to establish its "hegemony".

Gramsci, in his 'Prison Notebooks' defined hegemony as soft power or the power of attraction, which generates the consent

of the people. He points to the role of intellectuals in the civil society that help establish the hegemony of the state. Thus, the true nature of the state remains opaque and workers lose their potential for revolution.

Thus, Gramsci saves Marxism from the label of crude economic determinism. He laid the foundations of Cultural Marxism.

Gramsci's work has earned him the title of theoretician of superstructures, and has contributed immensely even in the field of international relations.

Thus, Chantal Mouffe rightly says that we have entered into the era of Gramscianism ~~for~~ in the theory of Marxism.



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

Q.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
original and profound thinkers of the 20th
century. She gives a phenomenological view
of power in her books 'On Violence' and
'The Origins of Totalitarianism'.

According to Arendt, power is not a
possession of the state or an institution
as held by the traditional view. Instead,
she suggests that power belongs to the
people who are in the public sphere.

She defines power as "people acting in
concert". When people enter the public sphere
through debate and deliberation, they
automatically gain power.

Thus, power is not property which can be possessed. Nor does power belong to an individual in isolation. Power necessarily belongs to the collective.

She also distinguishes power from strength, which belongs to an individual, force, which belongs to the nature-like wind, authority, which requires legitimation, and violence, which is exercised by the state.

Arendt holds that power does not require any legitimation since power itself is legitimate.

Hannah Arendt has analysed the nature of totalitarian regimes of Nazi Germany and Stalin's USSR. She recommends people coming back to the public sphere and exercising power to gain back their freedom. Thus, she suggests participatory

and deliberative democracy, and belongs to the tradition of civic republicanism

Her analysis is extremely relevant in contemporary times when the power of people is being challenged on multiple fronts. There is a growth of right wing fundamentalism and neo-Nazi movements across the globe, a decline in institutions of deliberative democracy such as Parliaments, and a growth of Bonapartist states in the backlash of globalisation.

In this backdrop, her recommendation for the people to act in concert and exercise their freedoms remains deeply ~~more~~ meaningful in order to safeguard human dignity and ensure that people remain central in the process of development.



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

Q. 4. (a).

Give the salient features of the theory of natural rights. What is the relationship between natural rights and human rights? Analyse the debate around the Asian values? (20 MARKS).

The theory of natural rights is the product of liberalism. John Locke, the father of liberalism, held that the right to life, liberty and property were given to man by nature or God, and cannot be taken away even by the state.

Locke held that reason in man teaches him not to harm the other in his life, liberty and property. Thus, natural rights are a product of human reason.

Moreover, the tradition of Locke views natural rights as entitlements, which are inalienable. He proposes a night watchman state, saying that the "sole purpose of creating the Commonwealth" is the protection of rights.

The Kantian tradition of moral individualism, on the other hand, views rights as a means to preserve human dignity which is a categorical imperative.

This theory of natural rights is questioned by scholars such as Bentham. Bentham calls natural rights as "chimera" and "nonsense upon stilts". He advocates the theory of legal rights which are guaranteed by the state.

Non-Western countries also hold that rights are a Western notion imposed on them. Mahathir Mohammad has talked of "Asian values" which emphasise on duties rather than rights. Others such as Lee Kuan Yew have also held that the theory of natural rights and human rights do not apply in the Asian context.

However, Amartya Sen challenges the notion of a single set of Asian values, saying that Asia is too big a place.

Moreover, scholars such as Ambedkar held that rights are important in transforming traditional societies into modernity and safeguarding human dignity.

Thus, the concept of natural rights is highly contested and multidimensional.

Over the years, the theory of legal rights had subdued natural rights until the Second World War. However, with events such as the Holocaust and atrocities during the war, the theory of natural rights reemerged in the form of human rights.

Human rights were given by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. They hold that every human being has certain intrinsic rights regardless of whether the state they belong to recognises them.

This is a highly contested issue as the concept of human rights has been used in geopolitics to undermine state sovereignty with instruments such as Responsibility to Protect (R2P).



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

Q.4(b) "Liberalism has many critics, both within and without". Elucidate. (15 MARKS)

Liberalism is one of the most prominent ideologies in the world today. Its origin can be traced to John Locke.

Locke held that reason in man teaches him not to harm the other in his life, liberty and property. He thus held a sublime view of human nature, and suggested that in the state of nature, good will prevails.

Liberals thus suggest a minimal state, which is limited by the rights of men. This ideology fuelled capitalism and grew to become the dominant discourse in political science.

However, liberalism is not without critics, both within and without. Within liberalism, scholars do not agree even on the meaning of liberty.

Traditionally, only negative liberty signified by the absence of the state was considered. However, social liberals and welfare state liberals such as Laskei and Amartya Sen emphasise on positive liberty, which demands the state.

For example, T.H. Green has held that "liberty involves rights and rights demand the state". On the other hand, scholars like Isaiah Berlin argue that positive liberty can increase the powers of the state and lead to totalitarianism.

Outside the liberal tradition, liberalism is attacked mainly by Marxists. They advocate that liberty is a bourgeois notion and emphasise on equality through a classless and stateless society.

Liberalism also faces challenges from reflectivists such as postmodernists who are incredulous towards metanarratives, feminists who view it as a masculinist discourse and postcolonialists who regard it as a Western ideology.

Thus, while scholars such as Fukuyama have celebrated liberalism as the end of history, it faces numerous attacks from both within liberalism and without. This is especially evident in the rise of right wing fundamentalism across the world.



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

Q.4.(c).

"The concept of equality is a fundamental concept in normative political theory. However, it is also one of the most complex and contested." Elucidate.
(15 MARKS).

While Rawls held that justice is the first virtue, Dworkin has held that equality is the sovereign virtue, as the concept of justice is rooted in the idea of equality.

While most scholars agree that equality is a fundamental value as it ensures human dignity, they fail to agree on the criteria for equality.

In his essay titled 'Equality of What', Amartya Sen explains this debate lucidly. Utilitarians such as Bentham advocate of equality of welfare and

suggest that everyone should be made equal in happiness. However, Dworkin comments that happiness is a subjective concept and equality of welfare cannot be the idea of justice

Libertarians argue for equality of opportunity. They advocate rights such as freedom of speech and the freedom to pursue their goals through their own labour.

However, social liberals such as Rawls and Stiglitz hold that this is unfair to the disadvantaged who need special measures to create a level playing field.

Meanwhile, socialists argue for equality of outcomes. They provide for the state to reduce inequalities

of income and wealth through redistribution. However, scholars like Hayek argue that this is unfair to those who work hard and can lead to totalitarianism.

Furthermore, Amartya Sen argues for equality of capabilities which the state has to ensure by providing public health and education. This notion is contested by Dworkin who believes that initial compensation to the disadvantaged is enough.

Thus, while most scholars agree that equality is central to normative political theory, it is still a complex and contested issue.

We can agree with Rawls who holds that all inequalities are not harmful as they motivate us and ensure the progress of the civilisation. Instead, as he holds, these inequalities have to be made just.



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

Q. 5. (a) Relative Autonomy Theory of the State.
(10 MARKS).

In the Marxist theory of the state, the state is labelled as an instrument of the bourgeoisie to exploit the workers.

'The Communist Manifesto' of Marx and Engels provides for an instrumentalist state. It says that the class which controls the economy, that is the basic structure, will also control the superstructure, including the state.

However, in his book. 'The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte', Marx provides that there can be situations when the state is not merely epiphenomenal but a structure in itself.

Structural Marxists hold that, at times, when no single class controls the economic structure, the state can act as an "equilibrium-maker" between all classes.

However, still, the state only has relative autonomy as if forced to make a choice, the state will side with the capitalists.

The relative autonomy theory applies to Bonapartist states with a strong executive, such as in post-colonial states as held by Hamza Alvi. Nicos Poulantzas also believes that since workers have the right to vote in modern times, the state gains relative autonomy and tries to appease workers too, especially with the growth of catch-all parties.



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

Q. 5. (b). Affirmative Action.

(10 MARKS).

The concept of affirmative action is rooted in equality. While libertarians advocate equality of opportunity, social liberals such as Rawls and Amartya Sen advocate a more substantive equality through helping the disadvantaged.

This idea is based on the fundamental value of human dignity which Kant held as a categorical imperative.

Rawls, in his theory of justice as fairness proposed helping the disadvantaged. Dworkin, in his book 'Sovereign Virtue' suggested ensuring initial equality. Amartya Sen, in his book 'The Idea of Justice' suggested capacity building by the state.

The concept of affirmative action is implemented in welfare states. For e.g., in Article 46 of Part IV of the Indian Constitution, the state is to ensure the welfare of SCs and STs. The Indian state thus provides reservation in education and employment for weaker sections.

The idea of affirmative action is deeply contested. Scholars like Hayek hold that it leads to reverse discrimination. However, when implemented fairly, it can ensure human dignity.



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

Q.3. (c). Relationship between liberty and Equality.
(10 MARKS).

A fundamental debate in political science, ever since the origin of the discipline with Aristotle, is how to reconcile the twin objectives of liberty and equality.

Liberal scholars such as Locke and Mill give importance to liberty. Isaiah Berlin defines liberty as the power to control one's life.

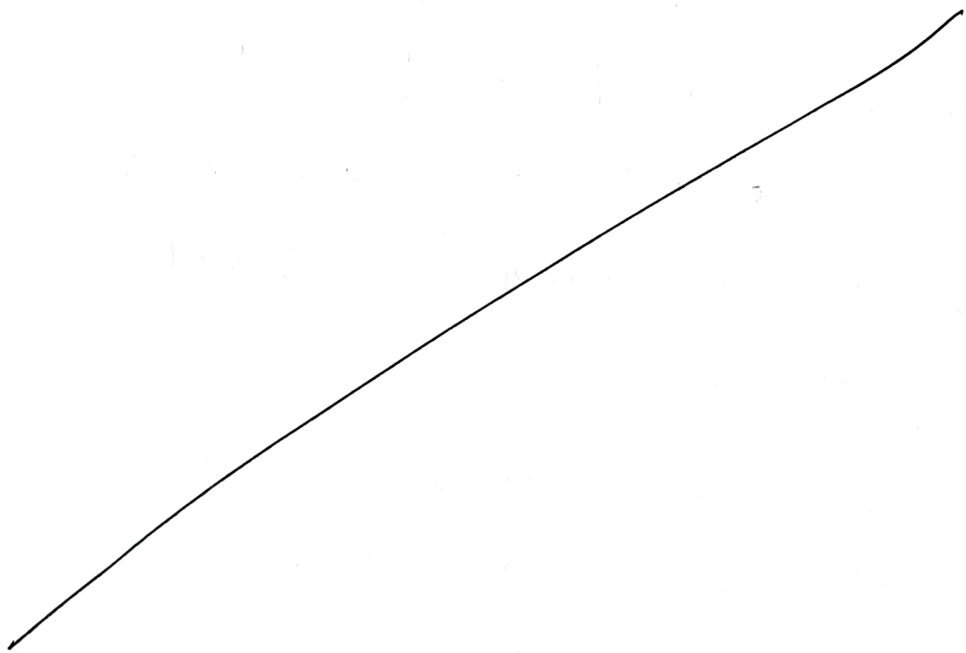
On the other hand, socialists emphasise on equality. Marx held that liberty is a bourgeois notion and advocated a classless society to end exploitation of workers.

Moreover, liberty also involves equality of opportunity. For example, the capitalist class demanded an end to feudal privileges.

They demand political rights to make men equal in the political sphere.

On the other hand, socialist countries give emphasis to social and economic rights to ensure equality.

Other scholars such as Rawls, Dworkin, and Amartya Sen have all tried to reconcile this difference between liberty and equality.





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

Q.5.(d) Difference between ~~Domination~~ ^{Domination} and Hegemony. (10 MARKS).

The traditional view of power is of domination, which is coercive in nature. It relies on military and economic strength to force opponents to submit.

However, Gramsci in his 'Prison Notebooks' gave the concept of hegemony. Hegemony is soft power or the power of attraction.

It involves making your opponents respect you and seek to emulate you.

Gramsci held that hegemony is built by the civil society's intellectuals and cultural institutions. For example, Hollywood and blue jeans build the hegemony of USA.

While domination is an expensive use of power, hegemony is economical. In international relations, most states try to employ soft power through cuisine, art and historical links.

However, soft power has to be backed by hard power, and both combined, form smart power.

Gramsci holds that when power is simply exercised as domination, a single revolution as Marx suggested is enough. However, hegemonic use of power requires establishing a counter-hegemony first and then launching a frontal attack.



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

Q. 5. (e). Concept of Overdeveloped state. (10 MARKS).

The concept of overdeveloped state is given by Hamza Alvi in his analysis of post colonial states in South Asia.

He holds that in Western societies, there was a parallel development of social, economic and political institutions. For example, when feudalism gave way to capitalism, monarchy also gave way to democracy.

However, in postcolonial states such as India and Pakistan, the modern institutions of the state have been imposed by the colonial masters without the requisite development in economy and society.

Hence, the economy remains feudal while the state is democratic, assures liberty and holds elections.

Hamza Ali holds this to be a contradiction, and is one of the reasons for the nature of soft states in post colonial countries. Without a democratic culture and constitutionalism, there is increasing lawlessness and the growth of deep states with a military-bureaucratic oligarchy in states such as Pakistan.



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

Q.8. (a).

What were the intellectual factors responsible for the rise of Behaviouralism? Compare behaviouralism with post-behaviouralism. (20 MARKS).

Behaviouralism is a movement that ~~stud~~ started after the second world war. It sought to make political science closer to natural sciences by bringing "systematic theory building" to make "scientific theories."

Traditional approaches to political science were ~~were~~ concerned with how to make the world a better place. Hence, they resulted in philosophical and normative theories, that were ill-suited to the real world.

Critics of traditional approaches like Ray Maerdis have pointed out that they are concerned solely with studying

institutions, whereas the processes that affected politics were left behind.

These misgivings of the traditional approach were heightened when political scientists were ignored in the conferences to rebuild Europe after the second world war. It was felt that political science has nothing concrete to offer and results in "armchair theories".

Hence, scholars like Charles Merriam advocated the need to bring the scientific approach using empirical analysis. Lord Boyce held that "we need facts, facts and more facts".

David Easton gave a set of criteria to make more useful theories. For example, he advocated quantifiable data analysis, statistical surveys and building verifiable

theories ^{that are value-free.} There was a drive to study the processes and not just the institutions that gave rise to new methods such as Easton's systems approach. The American Political Science Association spearheaded this behavioural revolution.

However, it was soon realised political science was not a pure science and scientific theory building could not be applied to the entire field. Behavioural approaches had restricted the scope of the field to electoral analysis and the like.

Moreover, some scholars argued that values need to be brought back in as philosophical approaches can help us make our world better and solve the existing problems.

Hence, David Easton in his 'Credo of Relevance' speech spoke of post-behaviouralism which incorporated both the systematic methodology of behaviouralism and the normative aspect of traditional approaches.

This would again expand the scope of the field and allow research into theories of justice, rights and equality.

The postbehavioural approach of political science is the most widely accepted approach today.



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

Q.8.(b). Explain the concept of political obligation. Elaborate Hobbes theory of political obligation. (15 MARKS).

A core issue of concern in the field of political science is the concept of political obligation or why we need to obey the state. From Plato to Marx and Weber, numerous scholars have provided their own theories.

Plato held that the state is the individual writ large and the just rule of a philosopher king would ensure peace, harmony and excellence for all.

Marx held that the state is an instrument of coercion that exists to enable the exploitation of workers. He suggested that workers have to go for revolution to destroy the state and gain freedom.

A prominent theory used to explain the origin of the state is the social contract. Hobbes gave this theory to suggest that the state is an instrument of utility.

According to Hobbes, human nature is individualistic, materialistic and pleasure-seeking. Through the Resolutive-Compositional Method, he showed that man is a power-seeking animal and in the state of nature man's life is "nasty, poor, brutish and short".

He holds that through the social contract, man created the state in order to provide security of life and prevent chaos. Hence, in his book 'Leviathan', Hobbes holds that the state is all-powerful and sovereign.

Hobbes explains that we only have a choice between absolute anarchy and absolute state sovereignty. The state can do anything except arbitrarily take away our right to life.

This notion of political obligation to prevent anarchy is refuted by scholars of liberalism such as Locke who hold that the state is only an "insurance agency" that ensures right to life, liberty and property.

Others like T.H. Green have also argued that "will, not force, is the basis of the state" and that the state provides positive liberty to the people.

Hence, the concept of political obligation is central to the discipline of political science. It helps us understand revolutions to overthrow the state and why people obey the state.



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

Q.8.(c). Compare and contrast the monistic theory of sovereignty with the pluralistic theory. Explore the relationship between globalization and sovereignty. (15 MARKS)

Sovereignty implies absolute control over a territory or a population with no interference in the ability of the government to rule.

The monistic theory of sovereignty holds that only the state has the power to make laws and enforce them and only the state is sovereign. This is influenced by Hobbes' concept of sovereignty which claims that over a territory there can only be one sovereign.

John Austin has also contributed to the monistic theory. He holds that if a determinate human superior receives habitual obedience of its people and is

not itself in the habit of obedience to a like superior, than that superior is sovereign.

This theory is challenged by scholars such as Laski who give a pluralistic concept of sovereignty. Laski held that the Austinian view of sovereignty is not realistic, and the customs, traditions, rules of religions and societal institutions all contribute to law.

Pluralists argue that the state is like any other institution of society and does not gain preponderance.

The concept of sovereignty of state is also challenged by globalists who believe that the forces of globalisation such as ICT, media, trans national civil society, multinational corporations, and even terrorist networks have reduced the power of the state.

Globalisation has made the borders of the state porous and led to flow of people, ideas, capital, resources and culture. The neoliberal model of globalisation has also made countries in Africa and Latin America subservient to Western capitalist economies, as suggested by dependency school scholars like A.G. Frank.

However, realists argue that states are still very much in control, and nowhere is globalisation winning. This can be seen in the increased protectionism after the 2008 financial crisis to the present vaccine nationalism during the pandemic.

Sorenson argues that globalisation has had a varied effect on different countries. However, we can agree that globalisation has definitely impacted state sovereignty and influences it even today.



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