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Always Ahead

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PSIR Answer Writing Module 2023

Test 2

Time Allowed: 1 Hour 30 Minutes

Max Marks: 120

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Test Submission Date: 9/oct/2022

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Instructions:

1. All questions are compulsory.
2. All questions are for **15 marks** each.
3. Word limit for each question is **200 words**.
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. **Filling all the details in BLOCK LETTERS is mandatory.**

Q. No.	Marks	Q. No.	Marks
Q1		Q5	
Q2		Q6	
Q3		Q7	
Q4		Q8	
Total Marks:		Evaluator Code:	

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	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,



Que.1

Inspired by philosophy, Hannah Arendt warned against the dangers of philosophy obfuscating the plurality and reality of our shared world. Comment (200 words, 15 Marks)

Hannah Arendt is one ^{of} the most influential political philosophers of 20th century. She has extensively written on many subjects. Her books include 'on human Condition', 'on totalitarianism' etc. She describes her thinking as 'Thinking without barrier'. She belongs to the tradition of Civic Republicanism.

Hannah Arendt was a student of philosophy. At that time, Nazism was rising in Germany. She realised that her study of philosophy is of no use. She could have been active in politics and tried to stop rise of Nazism.

With this experience, she became critical of philosophy. She believed that philosophy

takes us away from reality. Philosophers stands living in the world of ideas and they treat world of illusions as reality. Philosophers also tends to be universalist and try to explain human nature.

Hannah is opposed to living in the world of ideas. She divided human action into two -

- 1) Vita contemplativa
- 2) Vita activa.

Vita contemplativa is thinking. Human doesn't realise his true essence by thinking but by acting. Thus, Vita activa is more important. Power is not when we think in isolation but when we participate in public sphere. Power belongs to people, acting in concert. Thus political action is



more important than philosophy.

She criticises plato for establishing idea as ultimate reality. She prais Socrates because he forced people to discuss with each other in public sphere. She believes that we can't understand human nature because everyone is unique. Thus, there can't be any universalism.

Marx also criticise philosophers and accuse them of spreading false consciousness. Both Marx & Hannah didn't want them to be called as philosophers.

Her criticism of philosophy is linked to her ideas on totalitarianism and thus she inspire people to be active in politics.



Que.2

"Politics is the place and activity of shared communication based on the distinct perspectives of equal human beings". HANNAH ARENDT.
Comment (200 words, 15 Marks)

Hannah is a heterodoxical thinker. She calls her thinking as 'thinking with barriers'. But there is a common thread in her writing. She promotes active citizenship, thus she can be said to be belonging to 'Civic Republicanism'.

In her books, 'on Politics', 'on human Condition' and 'on totalitarianism', She establish that politics is the most important sphere of human life.

She categorises human actions in 2 types -

- 1) vita Contemplativa
- 2) vita Activa.

She held that vita activa (action) is more important than vita contemplativa (thinking). Human realise their essence



when they act. She, then, explain that among the 3 actions - 'Animal laborans', 'homo faber' and 'zoon politikon'; zoon politikon is the most important. zoon politikon means man is a political animal. Man realise his true essence when he participate in public sphere

Public sphere or politics is the place when people act in concern with each-other. People come together and discuss their opinions. Power belongs to this sphere. When people participate, they become powerful to challenge totalitarianism.

Politics is the sphere where humans participates in 2 conditions -

- 1) Equality
- 2) Plurality.



Since all are human, all are equal.
All human are unique, so plurality
is natural.

We can find similarity between Aristotle
and Hannah Arendt. Aristotle also held
that citizens coming together and
discussing to form law, is the best.
For both, Man is a political animal.

Her emphasis on politics and political
participation is important means to
stop the rise of totalitarianism.

Que.3



Que.3

Gramsci saw capitalist state as being made up of two overlapping spheres, a political society and a civil society. Elucidate (200 words, 15 Marks)

Gramsci is a neo-marxist. He is often regarded as the greatest intellectual in Marxism after Marx. He is also called as the 'the critic of Super-structure'. His works were published in the form of 'Prison Notebooks'.

His main concern was to analyse why Marx's predictions are not becoming a reality. Capitalist societies are not showing signs of revolutions. Thus, he tried to analyse Marx's idea of history and revolution.

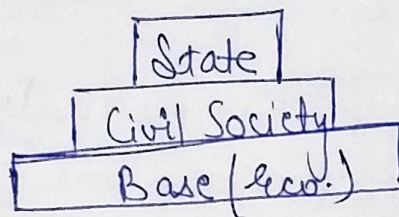
He studied alternate theories of history and got influenced by Benedetto Croce. He said that Marx has overlooked the role played by cultural factors in



shaping history. Thus he ~~shaped~~ saved Marxism from economic determinism.

He also analysed Capitalist societies and realised that the structure of society is not as simple as Marx explained.

Gramsci's Model of Society



He explains that economic structure is the basic structure. But superstructure are not just reflection of base but structure in themselves. Civil society is the interface between State and base. Civil society includes media, church, educational institute, family etc.



Capitalist states are opaque. People don't realise the true nature of State because civil society creates attraction for bourgeoisie values. They manufacture consent. State continues, not on the basis of coercion, but by consent. Thus, it becomes hard to convince workers that the state is working for bourgeoisie class. This is 'hegemony'.

Gramsci rectifies some of the problems of Marxism and analysed Capitalist society way of functioning and gave the concept of hegemony. He became inspiration for neo-Marxist such as Herbert Marcuse (one dimensional man).

Que.4

"Gramsci gives us, not the tools with which to solve the puzzle, but the means with which to ask right kinds of questions". STUART HALL. Comment. (200 words, 15 Marks)

Gramsci is the greatest intellectual in Marxism after Marx. He is regarded as the theorician of Superstructure, originator of 'Cultural Marxism'. His main work is 'Prison Notebooks'

Gramsci was puzzled about why revolution didn't happened as proposed by Marx. He tried to investigate this puzzle and realised that Marx's ideas have certain issues. Marx has ignored the role of cultural factors in society.

He explains that culture is not just a superstructure but a structure in themselves. Civil society is the promoter



of bourgeoisie values and culture. Thus, Capitalist society is an opaque society. Workers are unable to realise true nature of state because civil society comes in between.

Civil society manufactures consent. It consist of family, media, educational institutions etc. They create attraction for bourgeoisie way of life and creates 'hegemony'. Hegemony represent soft power (power of attraction) and limit of our common sense.

He also analysed role of intellectuals in maintaining capitalism. Organic intellectuals emerge with capitalist class. They also create false consciousness.



Gramsci analysed various aspects of capitalist society in order to understand its functioning and how it maintains its hegemony. Without knowing the reason, workers will not be able to overthrow capitalism.

Thus, Gramsci analysed this puzzle of Marxism/revolution failure, from different means and provided the basis to rightly evaluate capitalism. As a thinker, he inspired 'Neo Marxist', 'Cultural Marxist' and 'Critical or Frankfurt school'.



Que.5

"Religion is the opium of masses".-MARX. Discuss (200 words, 15 Marks)

Marx is the person whose influence has been so great that every person's life has been directly or indirectly affected by his ideas. His main concern was the exploitative nature of Capitalism and protection of workers. His main works are - 'The Communist Manifesto', 'The Economic and philosophic Manuscripts' and 'Das Kapital'.

The statement 'Religion is the opium of Masses' in context of his ideas on ideology and false consciousness. Marx explains that "It's not our consciousness that determine our existence, but it's our existence which determine our consciousness".

He says that God has not made man but man has made God. This means that consciousness / ideology are false and created by philosophers to take us away from reality. Our existence or material condition should determine our true consciousness.

Philosophers creates false consciousness of religion, nationalism and other, to limit our thinking and divide workers on the basis of religion, nation etc. Religion is also a false consciousness because workers understand themselves as belonging to one religion and it takes them away from their real exploitative material condition.

Thus, religion hinders the development



of true consciousness among workers.
It act as 'opium' means workers become
unconscious of their true reality.
Religion act as an Ideology to mobilise
masses. Capitalist also use religion
institutions as an instrument.

Thus, He suggest "Workers of the world
unite, you have nothing to lose
except your chains" (Chains - religion,
nationalism). His views were later
criticised by Ambedkar who held that
not all religion are opium, it can be
a source of emotional satisfaction.



Que.6

Marxism consists of three ideas: Theory of history, Critique of capitalism and a vision of ideal society. Evaluate. (200 words, 15 Marks)

Marxism is the economic and political theory originated in the works of Karl Marx. Marx wrote books like 'The Communist Manifesto', 'Das Kapital' etc., to explain the exploitative nature of capitalism and providing an alternative in Communism.

In his critique of capitalism, Marx first analysed the laws of History. He is inspired by Hegel's 'Dialectical Material Idealism' and 'Historical Idealism'. But he proposed 'Dialectical Materialism' and 'Historical materialism'.

According to Marx, "The history of all existing human society is the history of class struggle".



He explains history as movement of matter and as a result of class struggle. Every society (Slave society, feudalism) consisted of 2 class - Exploiter and exploited.

From his theory of history, he presents his critique of capitalism. He explains that capitalism is the society of exploited and exploiters. Capitalist are exploiters and have all the capital and control over State (State is instrument of capitalism). In capitalism, workers are have nots, exploited, alienated.

Due to extreme exploitation in capitalism, workers will develop true consciousness and will 'revolution' will happen against capitalism.



Workers will end capitalism and the exploitation and a ideal society, Communism will be established. Communism will be a classless and stateless society. The principle of Justice will be - "From each acc. to his ~~acc~~ ability, to each acc. to his need."

Marxism, thus, involves three major ideas - Theory of history, criticism of Capitalism and vision of new ideal society. These predictions will later, not happen and Marx was called as 'God that has failed'. Later on, Neo marxist will bring new ideas in Marxism - alienation

Que.7

Que. 7

"The only freedom which deserves the name is that of pursuing our own good in our own way..." - J.S. MILL. Comment (200 words, 15 Marks)

J.S. Mill is the greatest Champion of liberty. He wrote many books - 'on liberty', 'on Democracy', 'on utilitarianism'. His main contribution is the theory of freedom and defense of freedom of individuals.

He defend individual liberty and gave his famous statement -

"over him and over his body, Man is Sovereign."

He explains that freedom is the absence of state intervention (negative liberty). He defends Man's liberty from external intervention and holds that man should be free to pursue

their own good in their own way.

'Freedom' is the essential condition
for flourishing of human qualities.

Man's freedom is important, not
for himself but for Society and State.

"No state become great by dwarfing
its own citizens"

Thus, Mill is of the view that persons
should be given freedom to pursue
their goals and develop their potentiality.
He held that man should be free in
'self regarding sphere'.

"~~liberty~~ Only way mankind is warranted
to intervene is to prevent harm to
others."

Thus, man's freedom can be restrained
only to protect others. All other restraints



are "quasi-restraints."

Barker criticise Mill as prophet of empty liberty because Mill interpret liberty as absence of state intervention. Barker is a positive liberal. He also said that Mill makes artificial difference between self and other regarding actions

Mill is the greatest supporter of man's freedom. "If anyone is liberal, it's Mill". His idea of liberty also got emerged in his defense of women's right and democracy.



Que.8

Mill was a champion of democracy who failed to bring the idea of democracy to its logical conclusion. Critically examine (200 words, 15 Marks)

Mill is regarded as the originator of the modern concept of liberty in liberalism. He defended man's right to freedom of speech and expression and other liberties. He is also a great supporter of democracy and women's rights.

His book, 'on democracy' is a classic defence of democracy and he is a great champion of democracy. He explains that democracy is the best form of government because it provided maximum scope to individuals to exercise their freedom of speech & expression.

He held that authoritarianism and



democracy differ because it's democracy which provides opportunity to men to develop their virtues.

He is influenced by Greek tradition of direct democracy but also held that modern day complex society is best suited for representative democracy. He also support women's right to vote, to make democracy, true.

But, he is called as the 'Reluctant Democrat': He is reluctant on 2 grounds -

1) To introduce democracy in colonies -

'Benevolent despotism is suited for barbarians', because democracy is not a free gift and without democratic



culture, democracy will fail.

1) Future of democracy - He is fearful that poor ignorant workers will get right to vote and majoritarianism will be established. Thus he proposed -

Plural voting, weighted voting, House of Lords' powerful etc.

Due to these ideas, he is called as 'reluctant Democrat'. On the other hand Nehru, Bentham are 'radical Democrats'. Mill failed to realise that only in democracy, people can develop democratic culture.