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Always Ahead

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PSIR Answer Writing Module 2023

Test 3

Time Allowed: 1 Hour 30 Minutes

Max Marks: 120

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Test Submission Date: 11/Nov

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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,

[illegible]



Que.1

Write a critical note on the concept of sovereignty with a special reference to Austin's theory of sovereignty. (200 words, 15 Marks)

Austin's theory of sovereignty is called as monistic theory because it presents state as the only & ultimate source of authority, state is sovereign.

Concept of sovereignty of state emerged in the modern times. Rise of state in modern time, is influenced by capitalism.

Modern states has 3 essential features —

- 1) Territorial integrity
- 2) Sovereignty
- 3) Fixed population.

Treaty of Westphalia, recognised the sovereignty of Nation States —

which means state has the sole and supreme authority to make & execute law in its territory.

Hobbes, is the 1st person to give complete theory of sovereignty.



acc. to him, State is Leviathan - most powerful, having monopoly over use of violence.

Similarly, Austin presents his theory. His theory can be summarised in his words,

"As a determinant human superior, not in a habit of obedience of other like superior, receives habitual obedience from bulk of society. . . then that human superior is sovereign . . . Law State is the command of sovereign."

Thus, we get the monistic theory of sovereignty where all the power is concentrated in the state, no international law, custom or any other law is above State.

This theory is almost universal & unchallenged until WWII. World witnessed the consequences of Austinian theory.



Thus, in response, Pluralistic theory of State emerged. Laski states that "Society is federal, so authority should also be federal."

Similarly, MacIver also suggest that state, is one of the many institutions, not the only one.

These are the attempts to dilute national sovereignty & strengthen international law. We also see emergence of Supra-National organisation - EU, which represent dilution of boundaries & emergence of Cosmopolitan values.

Modern times necessitates that Austrian theory is diluted, so that international law can be strengthened, wars can be avoided.

Que.2

The main objective of feminist critique is to explore the extent of patriarchal ideology in political philosophy to explore the material forms of discrimination against women. Discuss. (200 words, 15 Marks)

"when I look at the state, state appears male to me."

— Catherine Mackinnon.

metaideology
Feminism is the ~~idea~~ that explore discrimination against women in public & private sphere and fight for equality of men & women.
The main area of research for feminist has been to examine patriarchy in public sphere and political sphere to show discrimination against women.

Liberal Feminist voice for equality of women & men in public sphere & equal political & civil rights. Suffrage Movement is the result of this theory.

Radical feminist explore discrimination in private sphere & also in political



philosophies. Kate Millet's Book 'Sexual Politics' explore state's role in perpetuating discrimination. She also said there is politics (power struggle) within families. Thus, Radical feminist coined the phrase "Personal is political".

They criticise Aristotle, for creating separation b/w personal & political. Pol. philosophers since then, has maintained this artificial division, except Mill.

In the book 'Sexual Contract', it's shown that social contract is not inclusive of women perspective.

Catherine Mackinnon, a lawyer, examined laws made for women in rape, violence etc. She said "Laws see women as man see women".

State makes laws, which contain loopholes, to protect men.



Thus, feminists raises the question, "where are the women", suggesting that women's perspective, concerns are missing in political philosophy. If we apply gender lens, we will see state's policies are not neutral. Iris Marion Young gave concept of differentiated citizenship, to give special protection to women.

Thus, feminist examine pol. philosophy from different angles & explode the myth that pol. philosophy & state are neutral.



Que.3

Liberalism is a view of a thing and not a theory. Comment? (200 words, 15 Marks)

Liberalism, as a theory emerged, in modern times, in the works of Hobbes and Locke. It's the longest surviving ideology. In the west, it's not more a theory of political science or economic, it's a way of life, how one looks at a thing.

Liberalism is a meta-ideology, presenting world view - means view about everything from human nature, society, rights, equality to state. Liberalism can be understood as a philosophy, a political ideology, a economic theory.

As a theory, main contribution in it, comes from John Locke, propounder of classical theory.

Acc. to liberalism, human nature is individualistic (hobbes) & egoistic. Man is selfish & possessive. Later, modern liberals criticise this view & suggest man is moral & social (F.H. Green).

Society is viewed as aggregate of individuals, which should max. freedom & minimise chains of human. Modern liberals, view society as organic. State is viewed by classic liberals as 'necessary evil', while modern liberals view state as 'source of virtue'.

Similarly, liberalism present Natural theory of rights, concept of equality of opportunity and positive v/s negative liberty.



In contrast to liberalism, socialism or communism present a different view about human, state & society. Liberalism is the most dominant ideology, facing challenge in the contemporary times - from rise of authoritarianism (China) & internal challenge (Brexit)

Francis Fukuyama suggested that "End of cold war represent end point of man's ideological evolution" & world has accepted that there can't be any better way of life than liberalism



Que.4

Fascism began as a movement demanding revolutionary changes in the social and political structure but soon became a counter revolutionary force. With reference to above explain the nature of fascism as an ideology. (200 words, 15 Marks)

Fascism emerged during the interwar period (1914-1939) as a totalitarian system in Italy under Mussolini, Germany under Hitler & in Spain, Portugal etc.

In the beginning, Hitler or Mussolini emerged as Mass leader, demanding changed in social & pol. structures of society. Hitler was disenchanted with individualistic notion of man (man forgetting race) and unstable political structure. Similarly, Mussolini also wanted to get glory of Italy back. He wanted to inspire people to work for nation & regain their glory.

These leaders came through democratic means — people voted for them in large no.



but soon, they become counter revolution - ary force. They banned democratic structure and established the rule of elites. Mussolini said " Democracy is the luxury of rich nations, parliament is a talking shop."

Fascism promotes rule of supreme leader, unquestional authority & sacrifice of individual for the sake of state. Mussolini held " Nothing above the state, beyond state and against state."

Economic policy promoted by fascism are - Autarky & Corporatism. Autarky means self sufficiency & corporatism means workers & capitalist working together. They favour expansionist foreign policy.



Fascism as an ideology gets inspiration from Plato (Philosopher King), Machiavelli (ends justify means), Herder (cultural nationalism), Rousseau (General will)...

It's not a coherent ideology, more of a hodge-podge one. It's more of a propaganda, mainly for mobilisation of masses.

Hannah Arendt described it as 'totalitarianism' because it establishes 'total control over individual's life'.

"Stripped to its essential, fascism is a form of totalitarianism."



Que.5

The emergence of new actors and social forces are forcing a rethink of the overdeveloped thesis of the state. Critically evaluate (200 words, 15 Marks)

Hamza alvi, a post colonialist scholar from Pakistan, studied the nature of post-colonial state and developed the theory of overdeveloped state:

In his analysis, Hamza Alvi, explains that colonial masters introduced the modern state in colonies, in a modified manner, to suit their needs. The perverted version of liberal democracy - Bonapartist State was introduced in colonies where executive (police, Army) was very powerful. It has not changed even when colonies got independence.

Modern State was introduced in a traditional society where economic & social structure was traditional.



In west, political & eco. structure develop in sync with each other. When economy & society was feudal, state was federal. When capitalism came, nation state emerged. But this is not the case in colonies where there is a mismatch between pol. & eco. structure.

Thus, ^{post-}colonial states are overdeveloped — where political structure is modern, but society traditional. This has resulted into enormous power in executive's hands and continuation of colonial legacy. The problems in politics (people voting for caste, religion) as well as in economy can be linked to overdeveloped states.

In recent times, countries like India, has moved towards capitalism (free market economy) and due to this, new social actors — middle class & upper class bourgeoisie, as well as new social



forces like modernisation, have emerged. These changes are casting doubt over overdeveloped thesis of state. Economic & political structure are getting insync slowly.

Changes have certainly occurred & new social actors & forces are emerging. But, yet, overdeveloped theory is still relevant. Society still is feudal and caste, class, religion largely dominates society.



Que.6

The state is based on power relations between classes. Comment
(200 words, 15 Marks)

Class is the main arena of research in Marxism. Marx presented the view that state is the instrument of bourgeoisie class. He said that "history of all ^{societies} ~~man kind~~, is the history of class struggle".

He presented the view that powerful class control the State. Basic structure (economic) control the state (Super structure). In the present capitalist societies, bourgeoisie class control economic structure & thus, State. There are 2 School within Marxism, which study state as power struggle between classes —

- a) Instrumentalist — Marx, Lenin, Miliband.
- b) Relative Autonomy — Marx, Poulantza, Hama Alvi.



1) Instrumentalist approach view at State as instrument of bourgeoisie, having no autonomy. Ralph Miliband examined nature of post capitalist State & found that no change happened. State works as bourgeoisie's instrument & workers are still powerless.

Post colonialist scholars — Wallerstein, Samir Amin, also suggested that State in colonies, act as instrument of Metropolitan bourgeoisie.

2) Relative Autonomy — Marx in his book '18th bourgeoisie of Napoleon Bonaparte' explains that specific historical conditions, give relative autonomy to state, to act as arena of power struggle b/w classes and appear as neutral. Hamza alvi also suggested that post colonialist State act as a bargainer between — Metropolitan, indigenous bourgeoisie.



On the other hand, liberals like like Locke, Mill, suggest State is the neutral arbitrator and not a instrument of particular class. Hegel suggested State represent 'Universal Reason'.

They don't accept State as power relation b/w classes..

State in normal times, appears class neutral and autonomous, even promote interest of weaker class. But when, in crisis, State comes in protection of bourgeoisie, confirming that State favours the strong, controlled by stronger class.



Que.7

Neoliberalism as the mode of existence of contemporary capitalism is in systemic crisis. Discuss. (200 words, 15 Marks)

Neoliberalism, is the reaction against welfare state and revival of classical liberalism. Main propounders of this theory are Hayek, Mosick, Friedman, Malcom Olson etc.

The reason for rise of Neoliberalism is the inefficiencies that emerged in welfare state — it became unsustainable due to high fiscal deficit. It came 1st in Britain under Margaret Thatcher and in USA under Ronald Reagan & spread to other parts. It was presented as TINA factor — The only alternative is there is no alternative.

Hayek suggested that 'Planning is road to serfdom' — means it's inefficient & increase power of state. He also said

"Progressive taxation is bonded labour."
Similar views were presented by Nozick who held "free market is both right and inspiring." They held 'Market as God and panacea for all evils.' They promote Nightwatchman state - limited state.

Neoliberalism led to increase in inequalities, specially in developing nations.
'Trickle down effect' doesn't happen.
Thus, it came under severe criticism and is in systematic crisis. It's criticised by - 'Social liberals' - Amartya Sen, Rawls, Dworkin.

Rawls suggested human dignity should be protected, thus special measures should be taken for weaker section. Similarly, Amartya Sen suggested humane governance - 'treating human as end in itself'. He suggest to invest in



capacity building of people, by State,
to reduce inequalities.

Thus, Neoliberal idea of free market
economy and minimal state failed
(as said by Amartya Sen), which led to
its current crisis. Due to inequalities
in society, state can't remain neutral,
thus social liberals are currently
dominant.



Que.8

Marx's Communism is not simply a utopia presented in vacuum, it is a political programme meant to critique the social conditions of Capitalism. Elaborate. (200 words, 15 Marks)

Marx is the main critique of capitalist society and through detailed study of various aspects of capitalism, he proposed ^{communism} a political programme to change social conditions in capitalism. His main work on political action is "Das Kapital" and "The Communist Manifesto." He criticised social conditions of capitalism in "Economic & philosophical Manuscript."

In Capitalism, human are viewed as individualistic man, living in society out of compulsion and state as necessary evil. State work as instrument of capitalist class. Bourgeoisie control the basic structure of society, thus they are able to control society in political & other spheres too and subjugated workers. Marx was concerned about plight of proletariat in capitalist economy.



He held that private property is the reason for inequalities in society. Bourgeoisie concentrate property & surplus value in their hands & workers are compelled to work as slaves, in harsh conditions.

He also explain alienation, workers feel in capitalism. workers are alienated from

- The product of their labour
- The process of production
- From society
- At last, from himself.

Thus, he proposed communist revolution where workers will develop true consciousness, revolt and capture state, establish communism - a stateless & classless

Society. In communism, the distribution will be "from each acc. to his abilities to each acc. to his needs". workers will work acc. to their choice, they will realise their social nature. Since, no class is

There, no inequalities. No private ownership, no concentration of resources. State will not be there, people will govern through voluntary organisations.

Neo marxist such as Gramsci, Critical School, Althusser etc all get inspiration from Marx's critique and analysed further the nature of Capitalist society. Gramsci describes role of intellectuals and civil society in creating hegemony. Critical School also talks about consumerism, Culture industry, loss of freedom in capitalism.

Liberals like Nosick, Hayek held Capitalism as best economic system. But rising inequalities, poverty in present times, affirm Marx's critique and reflect his farsightedness.