



SHUBHRA RANJAN

Always Ahead

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PSIR Answer Writing Module 2023

Test 2

Time Allowed: 1 Hour 30 Minutes

Max Marks: 120

Name: NIKITA VERMA

Test Submission Date: 18.09.2022

Email Address: _____

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, fled Nazi Germany & settled in the USA in 1930s. There she studied the rise of Totalitarian & fascist states.

Her study revealed that fascism was violence that led to violence. Hitler's Germany repeated atrocities against Jews, and continued it without any ultimate objectives.

Hannah Arendt, quotes the philosophers like Hegel who believed that "State is the march of God on Earth". Such thinking led to unquestioned obedience.



she believed such theories led to rise of Hitler who for their narrow ends targeted the minorities.

States like Germany went for reverse imperialism where they targeted the minorities

such apathy had to Banality of Evil where the system produced cold blooded bureaucrats who followed orders.

she was sad & distressed to look at such events.

Thus, she gave theory of action based on the premise ~~is~~ that man is a zoon politikon.



She was an ardent supporter of civic republicanism & participative democracies.

She has criticised the socialist revolutions, but instead praises American Revolution for its emphasis on Liberty.

Her thinking has to be understood in the context of Nazi Germany. Arendt is the most original thinker of her times who wanted shared prosperity.



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 Arendt is the most original thinker of her times. She was a Jew who out of her fear of persecution fled to America ^{during 1930's.} The above statement reflects her understanding of Totalitarian & fascist states like Germany & her quest for liberty led to the "THEORY OF ACTION".

Arendt believes that man is a zoon politon & the highest human action is the political action.

Though man performs other functions like sleeping, drinking - i.e. existential works



& architectural works of creation. Yet, the most distinct activity man performs is the POLITICAL ACTIVITY.

Arendt is an advocate of CIVIC REPUBLICANISM & PARTICIPATIVE DEMOCRACY.

Just like Aristotle, she emphasises that man is a political animal.

For her, politics is a collective action based on communication.

It is inherently based on EQUALITY because all individuals irrespective of their caste, creed, colour & race should have access to it.



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Her theory of action has inspired the decolonisation struggles of IIIrd world in the 1940s. It has also given a renewed push to PARTICIPATIVE, DELIBERATIVE & ACCOMODATIVE DEMOCRACY.

Though she is criticised by the German Nazi faction for her apparent bias against her fatherland because of the ~~her~~ persecution of her community.

Nevertheless, her theory can't be rejected at all & as it gives boost to people's participation.



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 known as the theorist of "SUPER-STRUCTURE". He saved Marxism from the blame of ECONOMIC-DETERMINISM.

Gramsci is known as a Neo-Marxist & has given his theory of Revolution in Mussolini's Italy.

Just like Marx, Gramsci believes that the capitalist class is the exploitative class which needs to be overthrown by COMMUNIST REVOLUTION.

But unlike Marx, who believed that Economic structure is the basic structure

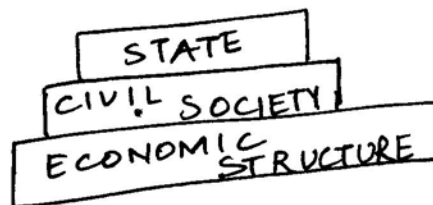


& state is super structure.



And a change in the economic structure would bring a change in the superstructure.

Antonio Gramsci said that
OPAQUE CAPITALIST states have
three levels of structure



The state in capitalist state is protected by the civil society. Later, the state protects the economic structure capitalists.



The political society creates hegemony which is transmitted to the civil society.

Thus, in order to bring a successful overhaul of capitalists, A PROTRACTED REVOLUTION is needed. It would consist of two parts:-

a) war of position $\Rightarrow$ where political society creates counter hegemony to capitalist class.

b) war of movement $\Rightarrow$ of revolution against the state

Gramscian thoughts were implemented by Gandhi during India's freedom struggle.

Bipan chandra suggests it to be a classic demonstration of Gramscian philosophy.



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 belonged to the troubled phase of Italy i.e. under Fascist Mussolini. He was deeply pained to look at the condition of poor & their exploitation at the hands of BOURGEOISE class.

Gramsci was a Marxist & like Marx he wanted to bring Revolution.

But unlike Marx, who gave "SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION" which comprises the steps to be followed for revolution,

Gramsci goes deeper & questions why communist revolutions failed in capitalist economies



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like Britain but happened
in semi feudal society like
USSR.

Marx was a determinist who
called for PROLETARIAT REVOLUTION
but Gramsci, a theoritician of
superstructure has given us
not the tools for revolution
but the questions for the
failure & prospective solution

His analysis points out that
the Reason for failure of
communist revolution in
Italy was that it was an
OPAQUE SOCIETY. The capitalist
intellectuals & state created
their hegemony which prevented
revolutions success.



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Thus, a protracted war is needed
against the capitalist

As Stuart points out that
it is Gramsci who kept
^{communism}
~~capitalism~~ relevant especially
after the rise of Nazi
Germany & fascist Italy.



Que.5

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

Marx is one of the greatest political philosopher of all times. It is because of him that the world was divided into 2 camps - capitalist & communist after WK II upto 1991.

Communism as propounded by Marx was a stateless & classless society. Another significant feature of Marxism is that Marx believed that RELIGION IS THE OPIUM OF MASSES.

Marx believed that God has not created Man, rather, man has created God.



Early socialists believed that capitalism can be reformed by appealing to the consciousness of capitalist. But Marx believed that consciousness is dead. As per Marx, 'IT IS NOT OUR CONSCIOUSNESS THAT DETERMINES OUR EXISTENCE, RATHER IT IS OUR EXISTENCE THAT DETERMINES OUR CONSCIOUSNESS.'

He urged masses not to depend on God to improve their condition, but to take up arms against the capitalist. Religion is used by the bourgeoisie to exploit the poorer sections of societies.



Communist countries like china have no religion as it is believed that ~~a~~ religion is a cause of exploitation.

But it is to be noted that religion has its own utility & can be used for the mobilisation of masses.

As even Machiavelli writes that states shouldn't tolerate atheists because they have no stakes in stability & can't be trusted.



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, as propounded by Marx in his COMMUNIST REVOLUTION has following ideas :-

1. Historical Materialism → For Marx, in every epoch the society was divided into haves & have not

Ancient	<u>have</u> Master	<u>Haven't</u> slave
Medieval	lord	~~period~~ serf
Modern	capitalist	worker

2. DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM - There exists a class struggle in every epoch.

3. CRITIQUE OF CAPITALISM →

capitalism is the most exploitative system. Capitalism will dig its own grave. because of its contradictions



- Capitalism leads to Alienation of man from his labours, product & from himself.

4. CLASS STRUGGLE

As the society has a lot of contradictions, class struggle is inevitable

5. COMMUNIST REVOLUTION -

Marx inspires workers of the world to go for revolution

"Workers of the world unite,
you have nothing to lose,
you have the world to win."

6. Dictatorship of Proletariat -

Revolution will ultimately lead to society led by the proletariats



7. Marxism / Marx Ideal Society →
This will ultimately lead to
a CLASSLESS & STATELESS SOCIETY.
There will be no exploitation

Marx wanted to establish
a society where everyone
is rewarded on the basis
of " From each according
to his work, to each according
to his need "

The biggest contribution of
Marxism has been that it
has made capitalism humane.
So long Marxism remains, it
poses a challenge to exploitative
capitalism.



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)

It is said that if anyone is liberal it was J.S. Mill. J.S. Mill is credited to have brought the tradition of liberty back in liberalism. Before him, utilitarianism had dominated liberty.

Mill is a consistent thinker for his advocacy for liberty. He believes that state should give maximum opportunity to man to develop his potential and achieve the best.

As Mill writes "NO STATE BECOMES GREAT BY DWARFING ITS OWN CITIZEN"



Mill believes that liberty is good not only for the individual but for the state also. It helps state accrue the maximum demographic potential

To determine the limits on Liberty, Mill has given the HARM PRINCIPLE. Mill classifies human actions into two types :-

- a) self regarding
- b) other regarding

For him, state has no right to interfere in self regarding actions, but it can interfere in other regarding actions

for eg

State can stop a person from drinking & driving.



critics like Ernst Barker refer Mill as the prophet of Empty liberty for his abstract classification as self regarding & other regarding.

Apart from this, Barker is a positive liberal who believes freedom is in the presence of state

But, it is to be noted that J. S Mill is an active proponent of liberty. He believed that this should be extended to women and this^{is} also seen in his support to suffragate movement



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)

It is said that J. S. Mill is a reluctant democrat. Though he was a proponent of direct democracy, he supported representative democracy due to its practical efficiency.

Mill believes that :-

- a) Representative democracy where possible
- b) Benevolent despotism for colonies.

Mill is not keen on expanding democracy to the colonies as he believes education, literacy, ownership of property is a pre-requisite.



He is criticised for his beliefs.

Apart from this, even for democracy in Britain he proposes "reforms". Due to universal suffrage more poor people were getting right to vote which could lead to "Government of Ignorants".

Thus, he proposes safeguards:-

- a) weighted voting
- b) Right to Representation for property in every estate
- c) More powers to House of Lords.

Thus, he isn't sure of the future of democracy even in countries like Britain.



Thus, it is said that though Mill was a champion of democracy who failed to bring democracy to its logical conclusion. His fears were true because many democracies have turned into mobocracies

But the only solution to the problem is awareness among the people of their rights, liberties



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