

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

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**Test Date** 28-10-20  
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**UPSC Roll No** 0412599

**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 |       |
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| 8           |   |   |   | X | X |       |
| Grand Total |   |   |   |   |   |       |



Que.1(a)

Normative Approach in Political Philosophy.

(10 Marks)

In words of Sabine : "Political Philosophy seeks to answer, analyse and understand the questions involving ideas, values to seek human development..."

The Normative approach to political philosophy deals with 'values' like liberty, justice etc. Its origin can be traced back to Socrates idea that : "philosophy is much better than physics".

A. Features of Normative Approach :

Firstly, the normative approach is concerned with 'values' instead of facts ;

Secondly, it focuses on 'what ought





to be rather than what is. For eg

Plato's theory of Justice.

Third, it is an end-in-itself, as it is concerned with only philosophical analysis.

However, the empirical approach theorists have criticized this approach. David Easton has called it a failure for lacking to answer origin of fascism, communism etc.

Yet, it will remain relevant as long as political science remains about the 'idea of good' (Socrates).

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



Que.1(b)

Feminist Theory of State.

10 Marks.

"The Feminist theory of state is that there is NO feminist theory of state..."  
- Catherine McKinnon.

Feminism being a standpoint theory challenges the 'patriarchal-structure' of nation-state.

Feminists do not consider state as an institution which will automatically lead to establishment of equality of sexes once it comes into being. However, we find a debate within feminist theorization of state.

Liberal Feminists like Mary Wollstonecraft, J.S Mill etc. consider state as an authority to establish political equality, rights etc.





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Radical Feminists like C. McKinnon, Simon de Beauvoir etc. consider state as protector of patriarchy. As they argue: "when I look at the state, it appears male to me" ..

Socialists Feminists like Engels & Kollontai argue that - patriarchy and capitalism will end with the establishment of 'stateless society'.

However, feminist theorization has been criticised for being directly "anti-male". What it needs to consider is that - the fight for Equality need to be 'fought together'.

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



Que.1(c)

Foucault's Theory of Power.

10 Marks.

"Power flows like blood in capillaries"

- Michel Foucault.

Foucault marks a departure from conventional understanding of power as 'power to'.

Rather, power according to Foucault is a 'systematic construction' of words, languages, ideas etc which when continuously repeated seems to be "true" and "acceptable". This is how they generate power.

In a political system, or a society or any institution, the power is exercised in a similar manner. It leads to a situation 'governability', where the government pay heed to the voice and direction of the flow of power, just like blood in our body.





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

Que.1(d)

Aurobindo's Concept of Indian Nationalism.

10 Marks.

Aurobindo's political philosophy is a Synthesis of his "EXTREMIST" understanding of Indian Nationalism and "SPIRITUAL" understanding of India as a 'Nation'.

Aurobindo criticized colonial perception of India 'as a mere geographical expression' and moderate understanding as 'nation in disguise/making'.

For Aurobindo - 'India's rise as a NATION has divine purpose not only for the betterment of Indians but whole humanity'. His concept of Indian Nationalism can be understood through three arguments;

Firstly, inspired by German scholars like Herder & Hegel, he argues that every nation is part of Universal





Spirit. Thus, India is not just a land  
rather it is: DIVINE, has SPIRIT.

Secondly, Inspired by WTA's dictum:  
'one should find his own law of being' -  
he argues that India shall also find  
its own source of existence & fulfilment.

Third, he argues that the GREEKS  
were symbolising beauty; ROMANS - ethics;  
FASCISM - ~~beauty~~ evil; thus, India's rise  
will symbolise "SPIRITUALISM".

Thus, for Aurobindo, India's  
SWARAJ - through entirety means or  
passive assistance is fundamental to  
the liberation of spiritualism in universe.

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



ue.1(e)

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

Prof. Bhubhu Parekh argues that the ancient Indian society was based on twin concepts of "DHARMA and DANDA".

While 'DANDA' symbolised - discipline, order etc. 'DHARMA' stood for 'righteous-conduct', 'social order' etc. This idea of "DHARMA" has been systematically developed by ancient Indian philosopher - 'MANU' in his work : 'MANUSMRTI'.

MANUSMRTI starts with explaining DHARMA related with 4 Concepts :

PURUSHARTHAS - Dharma (order), ~~Karma~~ (activity),  
Artha (economy), Kama (sexuality)  
and Moksha (salvation) ;

ASHRAMAS - Brahmacharya, Vanaprastha,  
Vihastha

VARNAS - Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, Shudras





It is when these 4 orders are rightfully followed, it leads to a 'just society'.

Manu also speaks about -  
"RAJADHARMA", i.e., Dharma of the King.

King is created by GOD (Divine Rights Theory) and it's duty of king to uphold dharma, to respect brahmanas, to establish varna system.

However, the concept of Danda in Arthashastra refuted dharma as primary mechanism to establish just society (Kautilya).

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| 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

"Prajā Sukhe Sukham Rajyah, Prajanam cha Hitch Hitam..."

(In the welfare and happiness of people lies the welfare and happiness of KING).

- Kautilya in Arthashastra.

Kautilya's Arthashastra is an expert treatise on the art of governance, order and foreign policy conduct of a Kingdom/nation-state.

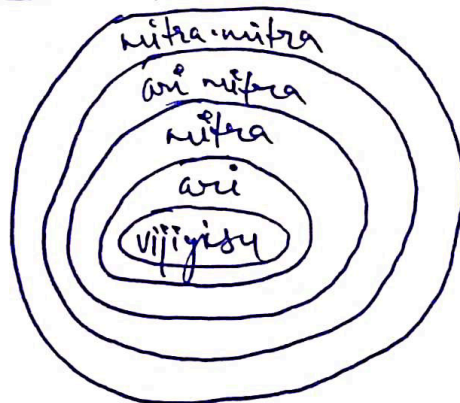
Kautilya in his "Mandal Siddhant" elaborates on his policy of foreign relations and how a state shall exist in an anarchical-order.

Prof. VR Mehta argues that



Kautilya's Mandal Siddhant is based on the maxim that : 'a friend's friend is likely to be a friend and an enemy's friend - an enemy'.

According to Kautilya, the relations between states are that of constant war and aggression — offensive realism. In order to survive in this state, state seeks to expand and comes in conflict with others. Thus, it is ideal for a state to follow "expansionist policy" and become "Chakravarti Samrat" (world conqueror).



vijigishu - king  
ari - enemy  
mitra - friend  
arimitra - enemy's friend  
mitra mitra - friend's friend  
uparin - neutral

(Fig. Mandal Siddhant)



Thus, a state must continuously strive to align with 'nitra' & 'nitra's-nitra'.

This theory seems to be relevant in present context with - India's neighbour - China following an expansionist policy. Thus, it is ideal for India to align with as many states and international groups it can.

## A. Kautilya as Indian Machiavelli?

Kautilya can be rightly called as Indian Machiavelli for several reasons:

1. for considering that human-nature (state) is essentially wicked and it seeks to fulfil its self-interest (to expand..);
2. that Religion has no role in politics, as it dilutes the purpose of political development;
3. that Princ/State must be like a cold-



Blooded man - i.e., if shall know the difference between use of violence or justice as a tool to control people...

However, the fault with Machiavelli is that in his work 'Discourses' - he resorts to 'Republicanism' in the end, whereas Kautilya would actually get his Ruler follow an expansionist policy.

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



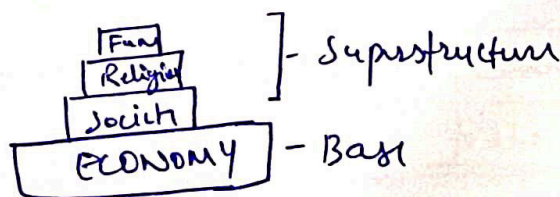
Que.2(b)

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.

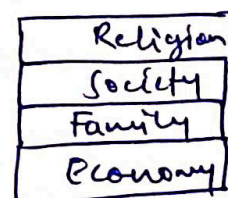
15 Marks

Antonio Gramsci's political philosophy is an attempt to analyse as to what went wrong with Marxism and why revolution didn't happen as predicted?

For Gramsci, Marxist understanding of 'Mode of Production' or the 'BASE' (economy) is essentially redundant as the relations between society are not solely economic in nature. For Gramsci, it is the 'SUPERSTRUCTURE' (family, religion, society etc.) which equally plays an important role in establishing the dominance of one class over another.



MARX



GRAMSCI

[Fig 2 Difference b/w Marx & Gramsci]





Thus, Gramsci establishes the dominance of superstructure in determining relations between classes.

Further, through his concept of "HEGEMONY" as power of CAPITALISTS class over PROLETARIAT class - he analyses as to why evolution didn't happen and why Marrism became economically reductionist.

He argues that the bourgeoisie class develops hegemony through COERCION and CONSENT over the working class. It establishes Coercion through aligning with 'State' and consent through its mass-culture, values, society etc.

Thus, proletariat class finds itself bypassed and ruled over by



one class, i.e., bourgeoisie. As a result, Gramsci suggests two-staged revolution: War of Position and War of Manoeuvre to deconstruct hegemony. He also suggests to align with - ~~Organ~~ Intellectuals.

It is because of this reason Gramsci has been called by - N. Bobbio as "Theoretician of superstructure".

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| Understanding of Questions |  |
| Structure and Flow         |  |
| Subject Knowledge          |  |
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| 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 in his "Theory of Power" marks a significant departure from conventional understanding of power as 'power to'.

Liberals like 'Robert Dahl' viewed power as 'get A to do B, which he otherwise won't'. Marxists like Terry Eagleton view power as an 'instrument in the hands of one class to subjugate another'. Feminists like Judith Butler view power as a tool of patriarch-class to control women.

Whereas for Arendt power is not a tool or a systematic oppressive value rather a "collective value" which



expresses itself when people "act in concert".

Using phenomenological approach, she distinguishes power with violence, strength and force. While violence is exercised by authority - power by people acting together. While strength is of individual - power is of group. While force is a tool of nature, power is in hands of general public.

Thus, for Arndt power is a "SUI-generis" value, which automatically expresses itself when people come together to act. For eg the recent protest by women in Bihar against liquor-sale. This collective action enables power. Arndt calls it "Potentiality in Togetherness..."





However, in contemporary time we are also witnessing the 'de-powering of masses'. With modern nation-states becoming yet again more powerful the voices of people/marginalised / sub-alterns gets marginalised. Examples are - Hong-kong protests & China's backlash.

Prof. Ranvir Jahangir calls it the 'Machiavellian-times' we are living in. However, it is only in dark-times that we need to realise our potentiality to fight the evil.

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



Relative Autonomy Theory of the State.

10 Marks

Que. 5(a)

Marxist theory of state view state from an 'instrumentalist - perspective'. As expressed by Marx and Engel in The Communist Manifesto (1848):

"State is the Executive Committee of the Instrument of the bourgeois class..."

However, the Miliband - Poluntras debate marks a departure from this. Ralph Miliband argues from an instrumentalist perspective that state is the instrument of bourgeoisie. For eg anti-gun ban lobby resisting state's (USA) attempt to bring anti-gun laws.

Whereas, Poluntras represents the Relative Autonomy theory of state. He argues that state is an equilibrium-maker and adjusts as per the demand. When the





however its class is stronger if it sides with them nor it seeks to fulfill the desires of various sections.

Forey the Forest Rights Act, 2006 implemented by state grants forest rights to tribals. But when powerful - MNC's / capitalist-class seeks to get mining licenses, state may be willing to step back from its role and favour them.

Thus, for them state continues to be relatively autonomous. However, favouring capitalism has given rise to influential lobby which now often disturbs the equilibrium in society - called as "CRONY-CAPITALISM".

| Understanding of Questions |  |
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| Fact Knowledge             |  |
| Pre-<br>judice             |  |
| Overall Remarks            |  |



Que.5(b)

Affirmative Action.

10 Marks

The idea of Affirmative action seeks to achieve 'substantive equality' in society by conferring special privileges to the marginalised section.

This idea can be associated with John Rawls's "Difference Principle" - which seeks to confer special privileges to the most-disadvantaged in the society. This idea is well-established in the Indian Constitution under Article 15, Article 16 etc. as well. Foreg Reservation to women, SCs, STs, EWS etc.

However, it has also led to debate about - whether is it just to favour one community over others? and does it not lead to worse discrimination against others?





Scholars like Jatish Dasgupta, Yogendra Yadav argues in support that it has led to development and empowerment of communities in social, economic and political sphere.

Critics argue that it leads to worse discrimination against the general population. (For eg) in 2018, Bangladeshi government had to call back reservation for communities in a university after students (general) backlash.

Katap Bhanu Mehta argues that the problem is also the 'politicisation' of reservations. 'It is done to seek power, not to empower them'. Yet, it is a tool in the hands of society (state to empower the yet unempowered ones).

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

Que. 5(c)

Relationship between Liberty and Equality.

10 Marks

"What good is Freedom (Liberty) to a starving man, he cannot eat Freedom or drink it.."

— Hobbes.

The relationship between liberty and equality is essentially contested — right from private sphere to political sphere.

While liberty is about absence of constraints for individual, equality seeks to treat all individuals equally. But how liberty would help a starving man when an unequal society has deprived him of equal opportunities?

Isaiah Berlin argues that equality in economic sphere is unnecessary as it will compromise liberty of individuals to earn. 'A starving man cannot complain of unfreedom to earn'.





On the contrary, Prof. Laski argues that freedom and equality are bedrock of modern liberal democracies. In his Functional theory of rights, he argues that free-freedom would be one which guarantees socio-economic rights and equal opportunity to develop.

Ambedkar had also put it:

"Liberty without equality would produce supremacy of few over others, and equality without liberty would kill individual initiative".  
(precisely the debate between Capitalism and Socialism).

Indian Constitution does justice to both by providing reasonable restrictions and equality of opportunity, before laws and of laws.

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



Que.5(d)

Difference between Domination and Hegemony.

10 Marks

While Domination can be described as a 'systematic oppression' of one individual over other/society etc. "Hegemony" is systematically developed when the oppressed gives <sup>it's</sup> consent to the oppressor.

Applying Marxist perspective, capitalist class dominates the proletariat class in all spheres of society, religion, politics, economy etc. as it has developed unparalleled power/appeal/coercion-tactics to use to kill any protest/dissent.

Similarly, Gramsci argues that hegemony as a tool of oppression lies in the hands of capitalist class because it has successfully generated coercion (power) and consent (mass culture, superstructure etc.) from the oppressed.





Domination and hegemony can be seen in other spheres as well. Like in international sphere, Wallerstein's World-systems tells the domination of Core countries over developing (periphery) countries.

In private sphere, men systematically dominates the patriarchal structure and it has now led to their established hegemony. Similarly, in caste-system, which Brahmins have dominated and dalits have been oppressed.

How Do we Resist? By establishing counter-hegemony. As Ambedkar said - Educate, Agitate and Organise. As Freudt said - to act in concert.

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



Que.5(e)

Concept of Overdeveloped State.

10 Marks

The concept of "Overdeveloped State" has been developed by Hamza Jalvi to analyse the status of post-colonial state from a - 'Structuralist-prospection'.

Jalvi puts this concept in context of states like - India, Pakistan, Bangladesh etc. He argues that these states have witnessed unequal growth in forms of the institutions of state and its society, culture etc.

According to Jalvi, the structure and institutions of political-state are overdeveloped, whereas the growth of middle-class, societal-education, values etc. are lacking in growth.

This has led to a situation where state now dominates





the social structure and politics is now undervalued and worshipped more than any other sphere.

It's because of this reason, these post-colonial state witness unparalleled growth, suffer through Middle-Income trap, low per-capita income etc.

It also gives birth to a surpounded / developed class which now systematically oppresses and rule over others.

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

Que.6(a)

"Deliberative democracy questions narrow and the limited conception of political participation in liberal democracies." Comment. Discuss the normative ideals related to deliberative democracies.

20 Marks

"Common people acting alone can arrive at better decision making than philosophers acting alone ..."

- Aristotle.

The above line by Aristotle captures the essence of deliberative democracy.

Deliberative democracy is a step ahead from mere representation or participation of public, as it captures the "voices of public". Rousseau calls this the exercise of "moral will" of people.

It critiques the mere conception of democracy as being the stage for voters to elect a representative.





Rather, it goes on to involve and keep people as the centre-stage of any political decision. For eg in the case of ancient - greek society which functioned on the aspect of direct-democracy where people, debated, discussed and took decisions.

Joshua Cohen has listed out the ideals of deliberative democracy as :

- ↳ it shall involve deliberations as the modus-operandi...
- ↳ people shall respect the decisions of others...
- ↳ people shall also respect the mutual decisions taken..
- ↳ it has to be systematically achieved.

J.S. Mill also in his work: "Essay concerning Toleration" sought to achieve



freedom of speech and expression for all within a political-society. He even extended this to women to develop equality.

Rousseau and the contemporary 'NEW LEFT' carries forward the idea as 'Radical democracy' - a form of direct democracy where popular-sovereignty prevails and mutual-decisions are taken.

However, the complexities of modern times and the politicisation of every aspect of life has changed the scenario of modern liberal-democracies.

Now people are much satisfied in watching on their phones the political debates rather than witnessing live. Neo-liberalism has promoted individualism which has transformed politico-social structure.





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| Understanding of Questions |  |
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| Presentation               |  |
| Overall Remarks :          |  |



Que.6(b)

Fascism is a hotch potch of several ideologies and creed. Critically examine.

15 Marks

"Fascism enters our door when people are systematically st to become into non-thinking beings..."  
— Hannah Arendt.

Fascism is a ultra-right wing authoritarian system which establishes the supremacy of state over all aspects of individual life.

It's called a hotch-potch ideology because it does not have any static characteristics or ideals. Rather, it takes precedence as per the situation. However, it's chief characteristics as witnessed through Nazi Germany and Fascist-Italy are : militarism, autarky, totalitarianism etc.





There are several reasons for rise of Fascism. Karl Popper blamed Plato's Philosopher King, Hobbes's Leviathan, Nietzsche's Ubermensch (Superman) etc. as philosophical defense of this system.

However, two theories have been put forward. First theory by NOLTE considers Fascism as product of circumstances.  
For eg Nazi Germany's rise during 1930s.

Second theory by Eric Fromm considers it as an offshoot of "Fear of Freedom" - people fear of freedom and the bad it can bring.

Thus, Fascism for 20<sup>th</sup> century has represented horrors of systematic violence, anti-semitism, xenophobia etc.



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In contemporary times, the rise of neo-fascism as white-supremacy, xenophobia etc. signals the dangers of humanity.

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





Que.6(c)

"Plato's philosophy is the most savage and most profound attack on liberal ideas which history can show." (Crossman). Discuss.

15 Marks

Plato's philosophy is an attempt to establish a just-ideal state (Kallipolis), which would be ruled over by a Philosopher King based on his Theory of Justice.

In his theory of justice, Plato provides for the 'rule of men', i.e., Philosopher King/Queen in whom - 'reason dominates over courage and appetite'. He distinguishes between three classes - Rulers, Auxiliaries and Craftsmen.

The centers being the Philosopher King/Queen possess the knowledge of Theory of Forms, have undergone Education system and practice communism of



Property and Family. The rest two classes mind their own businesses and are ruled by their intellectual rulers.

This theory has been considered by critics as defense of the death of idea of liberty. Critics like Karl Popper in his work 'Open society and its Enemies' have called Plato as enemy of open society.

Popper argues that - Plato through moral justification of blind rule of Philosopher King has compromised individual liberty.

Similarly, he argues that, through his Theory of Forms, he described humans as imperfect copies of the real one only which Philosopher King can see.

Third, Plato also justifies





as to what would happen when the -  
guardians and common people will rule instead  
of philosophers, by manipulating history.

As Aristotle writes: "common  
people deliberating can arrive at better  
decision-making than philosophers acting  
alone." As a result, Crossman accuses  
Plato of attack on liberal ideas.

However, feminist Juan Mallin  
Okin calls Plato as 'the First Feminist'  
for providing education and rule of  
Philosopher Queen as well.

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| Understanding of Questions |  |
| Structure and Flow         |  |
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| Presentation               |  |
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Que.7(a)

"What is taken as Gandhi's critique of modernity, generally refers to his critique of the doctrines of materialism and instrumental rationality." David Hardiman. Explicate. 20 Marks

Gandhi in his book "HIND SWARAJ" (1909) provides us with one of the most influential critique of modern civilization.

Gandhi argues that the modern civilization based on twin concepts of MODERNITY and MATERIALISM is SATANIC. It completely reduces man from status of being human to that of an "animal".

Inspired by scholars and writers like Edward Carpenter, John Ruskin, Leo Tolstoy etc. he argues that - what India calls development in form of - Railways, Medicine, Doctors etc. has actually led to the impoverishment of the very idea of India.



It's not that because of its western origin - but it's very "nature" of violence, industrialisation, compromisation of means etc. This has led to development of un-Indian spirit and we have lost swaraj even before achieving it.

A. But then what is CIVILIZATION for Gandhi?

Gandhi writes in Hind Swaraj that -  
'civilization is something which points to the man his path of duty ...'

For Gandhi, civilization is about the mental-moral-cultural-responsible cultivation of human mind. It provides liberty for an individual to develop in a way which involves dutiful-development of others.

Gandhi further elaborates

his idea of 'idea-civilization' through his concepts of SWARAJ and Oceanic-circle model.

Swaraj for Gandhi is true empowerment at two-levels. At political level it is about India getting free from British-dutch. At individual level it is about 'rule our self'. It's when we control our desires, purpose just means our ends, that will reach to the stage of true swaraj.

Through his oceanic-model he calls "villages as the idea of India". Development of villages will lead to development of India — as India lies in its villages.

Thus, as Hardiman points





out, Gandhi did not ignore modernism rather the nature - of modernism. As he writes: "I'll keep my windows open for other cultures to blow away, but I refuse to be blown away by any".

However, the evil-fascistic forces of modernity has compromised individual-rationality in today's times. As Herbert Marcuse rightly puts it: 'Man used to be multi-dimensional, but now we are witnessing a one-dimensional man'.  
Gandhian spirit is the need of the hour.

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| Understanding of Questions |  |
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| Overall Remarks :          |  |

Que.7(b)

What are the components of the philosophy of radical humanism?  
To what extent can it be described as the philosophy of freedom?

15 Marks

"The progress of any society shall be measured by the amount of FREEDOM it's individual has ..."

- Manabendra Nath Roy.

MN Roy's idea of 'Radical Humanism' has been developed in his work : "Reason, Romanticism and Revolution".

In his idea of Radical democracy, Roy goes on to consider individual in it's radical-state, i.e., free from any caste-class-social constructions etc.

Roy critiques dominant philosophies of Liberalism, Humanism etc. for ignoring the most important aspect of individual existence - "FREEDOM".





"Freedom" for Ray is the prime value of mankind. Freedom is not only important for individual development rather for establishing a just social-political order.

Thus, as Prof. Bhikhu points out - Ray's whole idea of Radical Humanism is about giving back individual's lost freedom. Ray provides for an "Intellectual Revolution" rather than any dictatorship to establish it.

He provides for control over the apparatus of state through - "people's committees decentralised across the country". He argues that all individuals are Free and part of 'cosmopolitan union of free individuals'.



Thus, his philosophy can be rightly described as philosophy of Freedom.

However, the injustice we have done to Roy is evident in his political-philosophy being read only in textbooks, losing all relevance post-Independence.

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





Que.7(c)

Gender is a social and cultural construct. Elucidate. How the concept of feminist political theory differ from conventional political theory? 15 Marks

"One is not born but is made a woman ..."

— Simon de Beauvoir  
in The Second Sex.

Simon de Beauvoir argues that Gendering is a social and cultural construct, and society has been successful enough in fooling us.

Taking on from Sartre's idea of 'existence precedes essence', she argues that we exist as "subjects" (existence) after birth, but are turned into "objects" (essences) after society's assigning of values.

Post-modern Feminists Judith Butler also argues that distinctions

between sex and gender are absolute and are product of 'societal constructions', 'mis-understandings' etc. Inspired by Michel Foucault & Jurida, she argues to unshackle and deconstruct this language.

Considering that the Gender Gap Index and Gender Inequality Report continues to represent dismal picture of women worldwide, feminists continues unabatedly to challenge their gender norms.

#### A. Feminist vs. Conventional Political Theory :

Feminist political theory being a "STANDPOINT theory" seeks to unshackle the conventional understanding of women as 'waker sex', 'feminine-values' etc. It challenges societal wisdom, patriarchal institutions etc. through



literature, drama, debates, actions, protests etc. whereas, political theory is in general related to the idea of development of human good.

While Feminism takes 'women' as the sufferers and disadvantaged, political theory regard the defects of humanity as measures of redemption. Feminism involves frontal-attacks against oppressive structure, political theory seeks to answer 'what ought to be'.

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