

NEXT IAS

CSE (MAINS) TEST SERIES - 2023

Test-05	POLITICAL SCIENCE & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
Dated : 22-07-2023	
Time Allowed : Three Hours	Maximum Marks: 250
QUESTION PAPER SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS	
<i>(Please read each of the following instructions carefully before attempting questions)</i> There are EIGHT questions. Candidate has to attempt FIVE questions in all. Question no 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining THREE are to be attempted. Among these THREE questions, one should be from each section. Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the Admission certification which must be stated clearly on the cover of this Question-cum-Answer (QCA) booklet in the space provided. No marks will be given for answers written in medium other than the authorized one. Word limit in questions, wherever specified, should be adhered to. Attempts of questions shall be counted in chronological order. Unless struck off, attempt of a question shall be counted even if attempted partly. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the answer book must be clearly struck off.	
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SECTION A

(5 × 10 = 50)

Q.1 Answer the following questions in about 150 words each:

- (a) Comment on the Social Democratic Perspective of the State.
- (b) The neoliberal perspective reconciles with the demands and complexities of modern societies. Examine.
- (c) What are the key differences between the empirical and normative approaches in political theory, and how do these differences shape the study and understanding of political phenomena?
- (d) How does Hamza Alavi's concept of the 'overdeveloped state' in post-colonial societies explain the dominance of the state apparatus and its impact on class dynamics, economic activities, and the role of bureaucracy?"
- (e) The pluralist perspective of the state challenges the traditional view of a centralised power structure and advocates for the dispersion of power in society. Examine.

✓ Q.2 (a) To what extent has the behavioural approach in political science achieved its goal of transforming the discipline into a science of politics, and what are the limitations and challenges associated with this approach? (15 Marks, 200 Words)

- (b) "Given Gramsci's understanding of hegemony, how does ideology serve as a tool for its establishment and perpetuation? Analyse the mechanisms through which ideology embeds itself in societal structures and institutions, and explain its influence in shaping public consciousness and 'common sense'. (15 Marks, 200 Words)

- (c) John Stuart Mill was a strong advocate for individual freedom of speech, and he believed that 'A State which dwarfs its men... will find that with small men no great thing can really be accomplished,' however, he justifies the state's interference in 'other-regarding' actions. How does this seemingly paradoxical stance shape our understanding of personal liberty and state intervention in Mill's philosophy?" (20 Marks, 250 Words)

Q.3 (a) How does Plato's concept of justice, as embodied in his division of society into three distinct classes, contribute to the formation of an ideal state and help prevent the potential tyranny of rulers? (15 Marks, 200 Words)

- (b) "Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's emphasis on scientific education and his critique of social practices contribute to the broader modernisation and intellectual awakening of Indian society, challenging traditional norms and fostering a spirit of progress during the colonial era." Analyse. (15 Marks, 200 Words)

- (c) Aurobindo Ghosh's viewpoint transformed the concept of nationalism from being merely a political movement or intellectual exercise to a living faith and creed. Examine. (20 Marks, 250 Words)

✓ Q.4 (a) How does Aristotle's belief in the state as a natural institution, prior to the individual, impact his conception of political authority and the relationship between the state and its citizens? (15 Marks, 200 Words)

- (b) Examine the contrasting approaches to class struggle and revolution between Utopian Socialism and the Marxian idea of socialism. (15 Marks, 200 Words)

- (c) Explain Gandhi's concept of Sarvodaya. Also examine "How does the concept of Sarvodaya, with its dual focus on material and spiritual upliftment, differentiate from the principles of Socialism, particularly with regard to means of production, class conflict, and approach to consumption?" (20 Marks, 250 Words)

SECTION B

Q.5 Answer the following questions in about 150 words each:

(5 × 10 = 50)

- (a) Kautilya's emphasis on realism and practicality in his political thought distinguishes him from idealist thinkers. Analyse.
- (b) "In relation to Mill's assertion, 'The legal subordination of one sex to another...ought to be replaced by a system of perfect equality,' how does he tackle 19th-century gender norms and support women's equality?"
- (c) How does Gramsci's concept of 'traditional' and 'organic' intellectuals help in understanding their distinctive roles and influences in shaping societal structures, especially in relation to the creation and perpetuation of class hegemony?
- (d) Considering Aristotle's classification of government forms and his emphasis on the rule of law and the concept of a mixed constitution, how do his theories apply to contemporary politics?
- (e) Explain the Marxian perception of alienation.

Q.6 (a) How does the statement 'Leninism is Marxism in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution' encapsulate Lenin's alterations to Marxist theory, particularly concerning the proletariat, peasantry, and imperialism? (15 Marks, 200 Words)

(b) Analysing the impact of different streams of feminism on the broader feminist movement, examine how their diversities and conflicts have enriched the discourse on gender equality and women's rights. (15 Marks, 200 Words)

✓ (c) Given John Stuart Mill's statement that 'Benevolent despotism is good for barbarians' and his hesitance towards extending democracy in all situations, how does this reflect on his perspective as a 'reluctant democrat'? How does it reflect his concerns about the potential drawbacks and challenges of democracy? (20 Marks, 250 Words)

Q.7 (a) To what extent can the decline and resurgence of political theory be considered a valid claim? How does this evolution shape our contemporary understanding of political phenomena? (15 Marks, 200 Words)

(b) "How has globalisation and the emergence of new international organisations challenged the traditional notion of state sovereignty, and what impact has this had on internal policy-making and democratic processes within nation-states?" (15 Marks, 200 Words)

(c) What were the views of Ambedkar on untouchability. Discuss the fundamental differences between Ambedkar and Gandhi regarding their approaches to addressing the issue of untouchability and the caste system. (20 Marks, 250 Words)

✗ Q.8 (a) "He (Machiavelli) writes about nothing and thinks about nothing except politics, Statecraft and the art of war. He was perhaps too practical to be philosophically profound". (George Sabine) (15 Marks, 200 Words)

(b) Lacking a rational and coherent core, fascism appears to be, as Hugh Trevor-Roper put it, 'an ill-assorted hodgepodge of ideas'. Analyse. (15 Marks, 200 Words)

(c) The incorporation of various societal and political factors reshapes the Neo-Marxist understanding of class struggle and societal progression. Examine. (20 Marks, 250 Words)

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1(a) According to Giddens political science is science of state. Thus, there are various perspectives on state.

Social democratic perspective of state sees state as an instrument to achieve not only political democracy but also socio-economic democracy. According to Ambedkar, political democracy, without socio-economic democracy is a paradox.

Advocates of social democracy, thus support, not just civil-political rights but socio-economic rights. They advocate fair equality of opportunity.

It can be traced from scholars like T.H. Green, who talked ^{about} the role of state as 'hindering the hindrance'. Lasker also talked about wider set of rights.

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Similarly, social liberals, like Amartya Sen and John Rawls talk about justice as essential condition for a well ordered society.

social democratic perspective, thus advocate affirmative action, level playing field, progressive taxation, state going for welfare policies.

Indian constitution, which along with fundamental rights, talks about directive principles is an example of state aiming for social democracy.

1 (b)

Neoliberalism is off shoot of liberalism.
It is also seen as revival of classical
liberalism.

Neoliberal perspective emerged in 1970s
with the decline of idea of welfare state.
It advocated rollback of state. Margaret
Thatcher called it TINA and Ronald
Reagan policies were also based on
neoliberalism (washington consensus).

The conclusion of Uruguay round and
foundation of WTO in 1995 were highest point
of neo-liberalism.

The perspective based on ideas of
Hayek in law, legislation, liberty advocate
market led planning and calls social
justice a mirage. He advocates minimal
role to state.

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Nozick, in his Anarchy, state, utopia calls neoliberal, minimal state as right and inspiring. He calls progressive taxation as bonded labor. It can be seen as in line with increasing individualism, materialism, consumerism.

However, neoliberal perspective is criticised for increasing inequalities.

Joseph Stiglitz in his Globalisation and discontents talked about soaring inequalities. Amartya Sen also advocates the need to democratise development.

The increasing idea of inclusive growth, adoption of SDGs and Cornwall consensus show the limitations of neoliberal perspective.

1 (1)

considering the all encompassing nature of political theory, different approaches are needed for its study.

Normative approach / philosophical approach is one of the oldest approaches. Plato was its greatest proponent, it focuses on normative issues like Justice, Rights, Liberty.

Empirical approach, on the other hand focuses on externally observable phenomena such as human behaviour. Machiavelli was great proponent of empirical approach.

Method of philosophical approach is logic and reasoning, while it is observation in empirical approach.

Also, the consideration is right or wrong in philosophical approach, it is true or false in empirical one.

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While philosophical approach is change oriented, prescriptive, empirical approach can be status quoist and descriptive.

Both approaches shape study of political ~~phenom~~ phenomena differently. Philosophical approach is focussed on 'what ought to be' focussing on how to bring change current situation. For instance, Plato proposed 'philosopher king rule' as he saw poor condition of Athens.

Empirical approach, however is more focussed on 'what is' as, Machiavelli called politics as an management of power based on his observation of Italy.

considering position as bottomless and borderless sea (Coakeshot) - both approaches are necessary.

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1(d)

Hamza Alavi is a neomarxist scholar who gave concept of overdeveloped state in explaining nature of state in South Asian societies - like India, Pakistan.

The concept can be traced to idea of Bonapartism - where executive is strong given by Marx in his 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.

According to Hamza Alavi, the state in post colonial societies cannot be considered instrument of a particular class, unlike state in west.

In west, as economy changed to capitalist, state changed from decentralised to centralised. Thus, there is perfect match in pace of development of base and superstructure.

In post colonial societies, however, state is modern, while economy

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remains traditional or transitional. state here is an imported institution, hence over developed.

State, thus is not an instrument of any class, but state itself is a self-perpetuating institution. It mediates among three classes

- (i) indigenous bourgeoisie
- (ii) metropolitan bourgeoisie
- (iii) landed class

Also, it explains the overriding powers of bureaucracy who enjoy lot of authority (e.g. licence raj). It also explains, the commanding role of state in economic activities.

In this context, Hamza Alavi calls Pakistan military bureaucratic oligarchy, however, nature of state is changing in India with Judicial and civil society activism, acting as check on executive.

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1(e)

Pluralist perspective of state was given by scholars like Laski and Moeher.

According to Laski, the concept of monistic theory of sovereignty which emphasise on centralised power structure with concentrated sovereignty is legal fiction and not political reality. He calls it threat to international peace.

Traditional view, given by Thomas Hobbes and John Austin see state as only sovereign and for them to divide sovereignty is to destroy it. For Hobbes, law is the command of sovereign and in one territory, there is only one sovereign.

Laski, however, holds that, since society is federal authority shall also be federal and he advocates to expunge monistic theory from discipline of political science.

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MacIver - who is extreme pluralist gives idea of service state. State commands because it serves. State is not at, neither the only institution, for him. State is both guardian and child of law. State plays role of ensuring rule of law.

However, pluralists are inconsistent as Laske argues that, though state is not the superior institution, it automatically gains primacy because of special role it plays - that of 'equilibrium maker'.

Thus, Laske calls, state as keystone of social architecture, pluralists view,

is relevant in 21st century, with international laws, norms with 'diluted' and modified view of sovereignty.

2(a)

Political science is called master science.
Because of its all encompassing nature,
various approaches - ranging from philosophical
to behavioural one applied.

Behavioural approach in political science
emerged as a reaction to decline in political
theory post 2nd world war. With focus on
normative theories, it was called - speculative
philosophy and lacked testable, verifiable
theories.

Thus, scholars like Arthur Bentley,
Graham Wallace called for making discipline
scientific. Charles Merriam (father of
behaviouralism) in his new aspects of
politics advocated value free analysis.

David Easton gave eight intellectual
foundation stones of behaviouralism as:

- (i) Regularities in human behaviour
- (ii) verification, like in natural sciences
- (iii) systematisation
- (iv) integration with psychology, sociology

(v) measurement of data collected to test hypothesis

(vi) value free analysis

(vii) use of statistical techniques,

(viii) make political science pure science.

It led to development of new techniques such as structural functional approach, systems approach. It developed comparative politics as a discipline. It enabled better electoral studies, voter behavior, understanding politics in developing areas, increased understanding of ground realities.

Thus, behaviouralism enabled political science to refute the claim of 'preference of a scholar' or speculative philosophy.

However, behaviouralism had its own inherent limitations. Marxists questioned the value free claims of behaviouralists. Traditionals attacked that political

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science by nature comes close to social sciences and behaviouralism introduced unnecessary complex terminologies.

David Easton in his ARSA speech credo of Relevance pointed that, with emphasis on techniques, behaviouralism compromised scope and relevance of political science. Scholars in ivory towers failed to understand their responsibility. Max Weber too held that facts without values have no meaning.

thus, David Easton suggested post-behaviouralism, which integrates traditional along with behavioural approaches. Easton called it 'creative theory' guided by action in accordance. post behaviouralism is synthesis of traditionalism and behaviouralism, helped in enhancing 'credibility' of discipline and its resurgence.

2(b) Ideology is a set of ideas which seek to explain political, social principles. The word ideology is traced to Comte de Tracy who talked about Science of ideas.

The analysis of ideology was provided by Karl Marx, who called ideology an false consciousness and suggested workers to develop true consciousness. In the words of Marx, 'in every epoch, ideas of ruling class are the ruling ideas'.

A more fundamental analysis of nature of ideology was provided by neo marxist Gramsci. In his Prison notebooks he gives idea of hegemony.

Hegemony, as per Gramsci, is

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'ideological domination'. It is invisible force that acts on mind. It is predominance by consent'.

Gramsci analyses role of intellectuals in creating and sustaining ideology. He talks about traditional and organic intellectuals in manufacturing consent and establishing hegemony.

Influenced by Gramsci, post mo. str. critical marxists like Herbert Marcuse, Theodore Adorno, Habermas analysed role of culture, music and advertisement industry in sustaining ideology of capitalism.

Herbert Marcuse gives idea of one dimensional man - man as a mindless consumer.

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Also inspired by Gramsci, post-modernists
analysed ideologies & called all
ideologies as metanarratives. Foucault
saying 'knowledge is power', says
that there is no single truth but
regimes of truth.
He analyses ^{disciplinane} all institutions
like schools, prisons to inculcate ideology.
In his History of sexuality, he explains
how normal, abnormal is shaped by
societal needs. Thus, what benefits
society becomes 'common sense'.
Thus, idea of hegemony, and
post-modern analysis offer an insight
in understanding perpetuation of
ideology.

2(c)

It is said that if anyone is liberal in true sense it is J.S. Mill. It was J.S. Mill who in his On Liberty gave comprehensive idea of 'liberty' - the core value of liberalism.

J.S. Mill was also strong advocate of freedom of speech and expression. He believed that it is essential for human development and also for the benefit of state as he says no state can become great by dwarfing individuals.

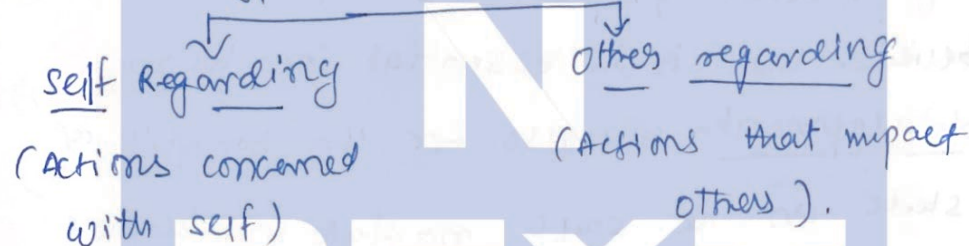
Freedom of speech, for Mill is essential to attain truth and imperfection. Thus, he is critical of all forms of restraints. He suggests, even mad person shall be allowed to speak because we do not know from where truth will come.

Mill puts only one condition on liberty of individual. According to

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the only occasion where individual or state can interfere in liberty of others is when actions of one harm others. Thus he gives his 'harm principle'.

Mill thus divides actions of individuals in two types:



Mill held that, state has no role in self regarding actions, propounding concept of negative liberty. Thus even selfharm is not sufficient warrant for state action.

State can intervene only in others regarding actions. Mill's conception of allowing state interference in other regarding, however is criticised.

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Ernst Barker, in this context called
Mills 'prophet of empty liberty'. Barker is
proponent of positive liberty and advocates
state action for welfare of individual.

Barker, however, says that the
way Mills defines liberty, it creates lot
of scope for state interference. There may
be very limited area of self-regarding.
Thus, he calls Mills scholar of abstract
individualism.

In Real life, our actions impact others.
So, Mills individual is abstract not Real
according to Barker.

It can be understood in contemporary
times, where internet shutdowns can be
justified on other regarding grounds as
our actions impact others.

Also, it can lead to scenario of excessive state intervention in personal sphere. However, mill's restriction of 'other regarding' cannot be seen as complete paradox, as he believes in progressive view of human being.

Human have capacity to understand interest of others thus mill's conception of liberty tries to achieve balance between individual liberty and collective interest.

mill's concept of liberty, democracy, freedom of expression remain foundation of liberal democracy and are relevant even today.

4(a)

Aristotle is considered as father of political science. He was student of Plato, and 1st one to give systematic analysis of subject matter of politics in his work 'Politics'.

Aristotle belonged to Socratic tradition and critic of Sophist view of individual i.e. prior to state. Aristotle held that man is political by nature and established state as a 'natural institution'.

He establishes state as natural by explaining that state arises in need of man. Man created family and society for basic and social needs, and state comes into existence for 'self actualisation'. One who cannot live with state is 'beast or god, but cannot be human' - as per Aristotle.

Thus, for Aristotle, state deserves

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highest obligation, as he calls state as
highest of all associations as no association
can fulfill what state fulfills. He thus talks
about citizenship not in terms of
rights, but duties.

Aristotle talks about participation in
civic affairs as most important duty of
citizens. He gives citizenship to all
natural born, adult men of proper breed
and - who have reason and courage.

Also, for Aristotle, state is justified
in teleological sense, as he says, state
comes into existence for the sake of life,
and continues for the sake of good life.
Chronologically, though man makes
state, logically state makes man.

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Aristotle, unlike Plato, who sees state as family, suggest that state is a family of families. Thus he advocates rule by deliberation, and advocates Rule of law over rule of philosopher king, as suggested by Plato. Authority of state is different from Authority of Plato.

Aristotle's conception of state, as a natural institution is challenged by classical liberals who see state as a necessary evil and social contract tradition scholars who see state as a means.

Nevertheless, Aristotle's ideas remain influential as Whitehead says '...'

"entire western philosophy is nothing but footnotes to Plato and Aristotle"

4(b)

'Socialism is defined as a form of system where means of production are owned, and decisions on production are taken by political authority rather than private players' - as per Schumpeter in his Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy.

Socialism is considered as a hat, which lost its shape because everyone wears it. Utopian and Marxian socialism are two such varieties.

Utopian socialism refers to ideas of early socialists like Robert Owen, Charles Fourier, Saint Simon; who advocated cause of workers during French Revolution.

They advocated peaceful method, by appealing to conscience of capitalists.

Unlike, Marx, Utopian socialism does not talk about class struggle.

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Karl Marx, calls utopian socialists as utopians as they lacked 'scientific understanding and plan of action to end capitalism.

Marx gives his theory called 'praxis' - which is combination of theory and practice. He says that, capitalism has to be overthrown by violent revolution as he says, violence is the midwife of change.

Marx, thus gives historical materialism, inspired from Hegel's 'dialectical idealism' and states that History of hitherto societies is nothing but class struggle.

And, laws of dialectics suggest it favors exploited class, thus he asks workers to revolt.

Utopian socialism, can be seen in future socialism like Fabian socialism, evolutionary socialism. Marxian socialism, though criticised as 'economic reductionism', can be seen as Guild socialism (G.D.H. Cole) and syndicate socialism (Codel).

In contemporary times, though Marxian conception of revolution has lost relevance, the soaring inequalities — as documented by Thomas Piketty in capitalism in 21st century make socialism relevant for future.

~~Q. 4~~
4 (c).

Mahatma Gandhi is called father of nation. He was lawyer, freedom fighter, and one of the most defining personalities of 20th century. His ideas are reflected in 'Hind Swaraj' and articles written in 'Young India'.

Gandhi was influenced by Greek philosophers like Plato and thinkers like John Ruskin. Gandhi's concept of Sarvodaya draws inspiration from John Ruskin's 'unto this last'.

Sarvodaya is Gandhian socialism. Unlike Marxian socialism, he does not believe in class struggle, does not support violence.

There are three broad components in Gandhi's Sarvodaya.

Broad
labour

Theory of
Trusteeship

constructive
programmes
e.g. charkha,
etc.

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In breadlabor, Gandhi's emphasis dignity
of labor. Thus, he advocates everyone to take
up task of cleaning which will help rich
understand the importance of poor. This
leads to 'change in heart' of people towards
those who do task of cleaning.

In trusteeship, Gandhi's advocates
cooperation between capitalist and workers.
According to Gandhi, capital is social
production. Owner of industry, they keep
only that much which is needed for
running industry, distribute rest to the
workers.

In constructive programme, Gandhi
talks about cottage industries, charkha
economy and social regeneration of
villages.

Thus, Gandhi's sarvodaya is about
both physical and moral upliftment,

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of individual. For Gandhi, change happens by changing consciousness, not by violence or changing economic structure as advocated by Marx.

Thus, while socialism talks about controlling means of production, Gandhi calls industry a trust and people are trustees. He thus advocates an alternate approach to socialist view.

Instead of class conflict, Gandhi advocates cooperation between owner and workers. And, for Gandhi consumption beyond what is needed is a form of violence. Gandhi said, earth has sufficient to fulfill every one's needs, and not to fulfill even one man's greed.

Gandhi's views were criticised by M.N. Roy who called it unpractical and said charaka economy will

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not fulfill needs of poor. Also, he said,
Gandhi's nonviolence leads to more violence
against poor.

However, in contemporary times, as we
see soaring inequalities (OXFAM Report)
Gandhian sarvodaya is ever more relevant.
Schmacker in 'small is beautiful' incorporates
Gandhi's ideas in economics. Mission
Life focusing on responsible consumption
shows Gandhi's ideas are ever
more relevant in 21st century.

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5701) Kautilya was an ancient Indian political thinker. He was advisor to Chandragupta Maurya and considered a strategist, political realist.

Kautilya's Arthashastra belongs to Dandashastra tradition. He is known for his realism and practical perspectives on statecraft.

Kautilya established state to prevent the situation of matsyanyaya (state of anarchy). He gives explicit suggestions to king on use of spies to test the character of Amatyas.

In foreign policy, Kautilya advocates, sama (conciliation), dama (concession), danda (use of force), Bheda (divide and rule) based on capacity of king and other rulers.

Also, like Machiavelli he too

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advocates expansionist foreign policy, as he gives vision of chakravartty Samrat to vijigishu (king).

He also gives, shadgema siddhanta consisting sandhi (peace), viyraha, yana, asana, samskrapa, Dvandvabhava. His mandala Siddhanta is one of the earliest manifestation of geopolitics.

Kautilya rightly dislodges the traditional notion of east west intellectual divide. In the words of Max Weber Kautilya is more Machiavellian than Machiavelli.

However, Kautilya's king is not above dharma, and also, he recommends violating ethics only in abnormal situations.

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5(b)

J.S. Mill in his 'on Subjugation of women' says that 'we have eliminated all forms of slavery, except slavery of women'.

After Plato, J.S. Mill is only second philosopher in western political thought who talks about Right of women. Mill thus, suggests equal participation of women in politics including Right to vote. This, he says, will address the negative qualities associated with women. Women participation will also improve administration as it will make men work harder, according to Mill.

Thus, Mill aims to address the inequalities faced by women in society, politics and economy.

through greater political participations.

The idea of 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments, leading to women's empowerment is one such example.

Mills' ideas, thus were revolutionary for his times, highlighting gender equality for development of all.

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Q(1) Antonio Gramsci is a Italian Marxist.
His status is next only to Marx in
Marxism. He is considered father of
Neomaxxism.

Gramsci, like Lenin, wanted to know
why communist revolution as predicted
by Marx had not occurred in capitalist
societies. Influenced by study of
Benedetto Croce in role of cultural factors
in shaping history, he modified
Marxian base-superstructure model.

Gramsci explains in his
Prison notebooks that, elements of super-
structure are not just reflection of base
but structure in themselves. They generate
consent in favor of values of dominant
class. Here comes the role of intellectuals.

Gramsci, gives two kinds of
intellectuals: ① organic ② Traditional.

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Traditional intellectuals are those who have origin in precapitalist society like Church fathers, men of letters. They supported precapitalist dominant class and with emergence of capitalism they coopted and recreated with capitalist class. They have 'interclass aims' and they are conservative, status quoist.

Organic intellectuals emerge with particular class. They are product of capitalism - like scientists, bankers, bureaucrats. They are deputies of dominant group with specific role of 'propagating ideas of dominant class'.

Norman Crampton's the role of intellectuals is influenced by Gramsci's views.

Gramsci's analysis modified Marxism from 'economic determinism' and enriched Marxism.

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5(d)

Aristotle is considered as father of politics science. His study of constitutions and analysis of revolutions is one of his everlasting contributions to discipline.

Aristotle studied 158 constitutions and gives different forms of govts and causes of revolutions.

Forms of govts

Rule of	ideal	perverted
one	monarchy	Tyranny
few	Aristocracy	Oligarchy
many	polity	democracy

Aristotle, who believes in path of Golden mean, suggests polity as best form of govt. It is golden mean of Rule of rich (Oligarchy) and rule of poor (democracy). He also establishes Rule of law instead of philosopher king.

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In contemporary politics, as we see democratic slump (Larry Diamond), Aristotle's emphasis on rule of middle classes is relevant. Aristotle sees, inequality as cause of all revolutions.

Rising inequalities, and feeling of alienation is leading to protests and attraction for strong leaders. So, rule of law with emphasis on civic participation, advocated by Aristotle is crucial in contemporary societies.

5(e) Marxism is a broad philosophy which talks not only about analysis of economic system, but emphasises on philosophical aspects and alienation.

Karl Marx's analysis of alienation can be traced from Hegel's and F Feuerbach's ideas of alienation.

Hegel suggests, alienation ends in state as state is march of god on earth.

F Feuerbach suggests to reject god and religion to end alienation. Marx, however reaches different conclusion. He links alienation with capitalism. He gives four types of alienation

(i) Alienation from process of production.

With capitalism, man is a cog in machine and he does not get the

kind of happiness, earlier person use to get by making using local products. Now, machine has overpowered man.

(ii) Alienation from product of labor

In specialised system of production, man does not know final shape of his product.

(iii) Alienation from the social nature

because of low of wages and working conditions, where worker does not get time to pursue social nature.

(iv) Alienation from self - cumulative result of all alienation is alienation from himself.

Thus, Marx suggest ending of capitalism and from classless communist society. In communist society, man is free from reversities and alienation ends.

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6(a) Marxism is social-economic-political philosophy based on ideas of Karl Marx. It is said that no other thinker has influenced theory and practice of politics the way Marx did.

Leninism is based on ideas of Lenin, who was influenced by Marx's 'Communist Manifesto'. He was the 1st one to introduce, implement Marx's ideas on ground in Russia.

Lenin in his 'Imperialism - The highest stage of capitalism' modified Marx's view.

Lenin wanted to understand why 'Communist Revolution' as predicted by Marx has not occurred in advanced capitalist countries.

Lenin held that capitalism has become 'world system', going beyond national boundaries. Thus, colonies provided outlet for surplus capital, avenue for

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investment and market for ~~raw~~ finished goods. Thus, he said a spark against capitalism will occur in colonies - not industrial societies.

Lenin also believed that, not just workers, but peasantry can also be revolutionary class. In Russia, which was not industrialised fully, Lenin included peasantry in communist revolution.

Also, he held that proletariat has not been able to get consciousness and revolutionary potential due to interference of state. Thus, he advocates communist party consisting of 'middle class intellectuals'. He describes its role in his paper 'what is to be done' as 'vanguard of revolution'. He thus wanted to manufacture consciousness.

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He also saw, imperialism has natural extension of capitalism. Thus, fight against imperialism is also fight against capitalism.

Lenin's views were criticised by Trotsky and Rosa Luxemburg, who advocated not to play with ideas of Marx. Also, Russian revolution led by Lenin, led to extremely authoritarian state.

However, Lenin has expanded the Marxist ideas. He paved way for Marxist school of international political economy. Analysis such as core-periphery in understanding neo-colonialism is inspired from Lenin's views.

6(b) Virginia Wolf describes feminism as the belief in principle that men and women should be treated equally and have equal opportunities. Feminism is a meta-ideology.

There are different streams of feminism which evolved over the period of time - from Liberal feminism to Radical feminism.

Liberal feminism focused on civil and political rights of women advocating subordinate rights. Mary Wollstonecraft's 'Vindication of Rights of Women' is considered first textbook on feminism.

During this phase, scholars, feminists like Elizabeth Taylor fought for right to vote.

Socialists' feminists tried to understand link between women exploitation and capitalism - Friedrich Engels in origin of property family state, advocated

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women to fight capitalism, as a source of exploitation.

In 2nd wave of feminist movement, post 1960, they were influenced by ideas of Radical feminism. It differentiated between 'sex' and 'gender' and advocated -that the reason for subordination of women is 'patriarchy character of society'. Thus, Shulamith Firestone advocated dialectics of sex.

Simone de Beauvoir in her second sex says 'one is not born woman, but becomes woman'. She explains, how religion and science gives 'essence' to women. Woman is not just 'second sex', it becomes 'secondary sex'.

Betty Friedan in 'feminine mystique' addressed various myths associated to women.

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Third wave of feminism, highlight intersectionality of feminism with other structures like caste, race, poverty.

The different discourses on feminism offered understanding of various forms of discrimination, including within four walls (personal is political - carole Hanisch).

It also noted exploitation at international level, an Ann. D. Tickner proclaimed 'personal is international'. Feminism also highlight disproportionate impact of climate change on women.

Different streams of feminism, this helped mainstreaming gender issues, as Hillary Clinton said

'women Rights are human Rights, and human Rights are women Rights'

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6(C)

In the words of Ambedkar, democracy is not just a form of government. It is a form of associated living. J.S. Mill was, also, advocated of democracy in his on Representative govt!

J.S. Mill was passionate advocate of freedom of speech and expression. He also provides freedom to articulate one's views, freedom to form associations as fundamental democratic Rights. For him, democracy provides opportunity for human development!

Mill, however, is concerned with future of democracy. For him, democracy was not a free gift. Generations have struggled to achieve democracy. And, if it is not managed properly and democracy turns into mobocracy, it may put question mark on democracy itself.

His views were also, influenced by

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Alexis-De-Tocqueville's views on Democracy in America, where he raised concerns about democracy turning into tyranny of majority. Thus, J.S. Mill suggests that democracy should be introduced where people are rational, have civic sense and committed to democracy.

Thus, he does not advocate democracy to 'barbarians'. He justified despotism in India, and China on this ground. Also, to make democracy work he suggests reforms such as plural voting, voting in multiple constituencies, participation of women, house of lords along with elected.

For his views, J.S. Mill was called reluctant democrat. Similarly, Foxwell Zacharia does not support introduction of democracy anywhere. For him too,

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constitutionalism should preclude democracy.

In contrast, leaders like Pundit Nehru advocated democracy from dem on. For them, people should not be made fit to democracy, but through democracy.

Amartya Sen also argues that democracy is essential for development and thus concurs Lee Kuan Yew's views.

However, Mills' concerns can also be linked to current decline of democracy worldwide which Larry Diamond calls 'democratic slump'. Loss of relevance of 'ideology' and 'catch all parties' are turning democracy into game of numbers and masses becoming 'superfluous' (Hannah Arendt).

Thus, democracy is strengthening as

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emphasised by Mill requires, seeing it as a way of life not just form of govt. The need is deliberative and participative democracy - with people's participation at all levels. Habermas calls this 'communicative action'.

Democracy, thus has to respond to the challenges highlighted by Mill. Mill's advocacy of freedom of speech and expression makes him 'liberal in true' sense, which is essential principle of democracy.