

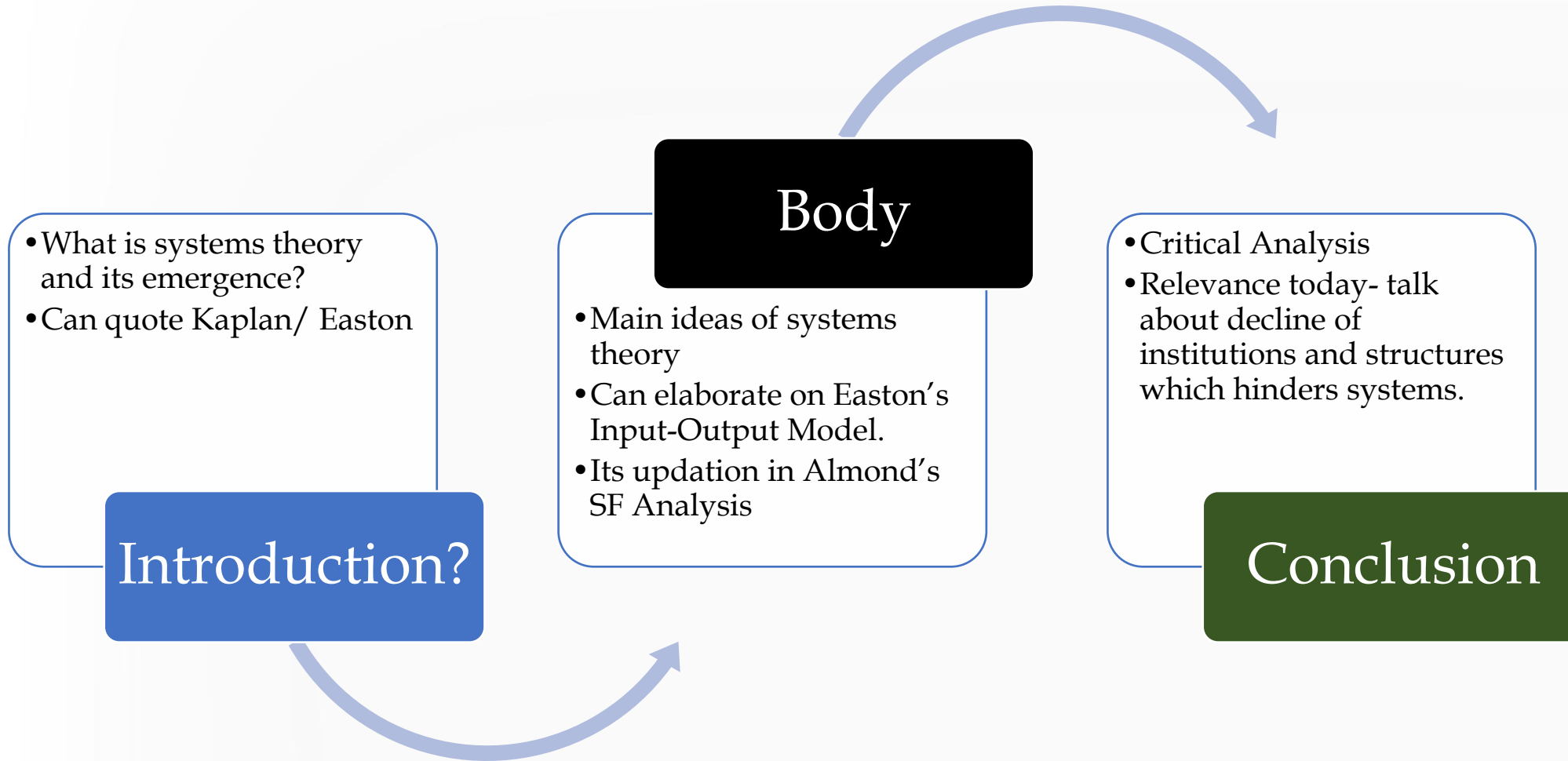
PSIR Paper 1 Part A

Analysis with Structure and Sources

Broad Analysis:

Segment	Number of Questions
Western Political Thought	Locke, Hobbes
Indian Political Thought	Gandhi, Dr. Ambedkar
Ideologies and Theory	Systems, neoliberalism, Maoism, liberal theory of state
Democracy and Power	Power, Elitism
Justice	Rawls, Entitlement
Equality	Equality and liberty
Rights	Human Rights, Relativism

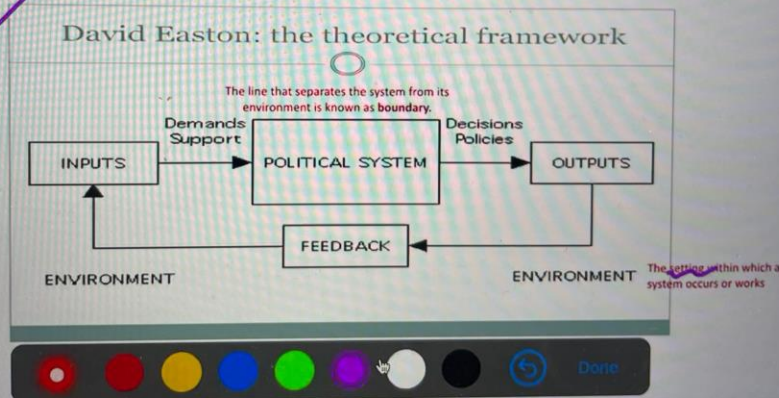
1 a) Systems Theory



Systems Analysis:

- Systems Analysis was one of the earliest models of political analysis and conceives politics in terms of a political system.
- According to Prof. Kaplan it is, the study of a set of **inter-related variables**, as **distinguished from the environment** of the set and of the ways in which this set is maintained under the impact of environment disturbances.
- It focuses on sets of patterned relations involving **frequent interactions and a substantial degree of interdependence** among the members of a system as well as **established procedure** for the protection and maintenance of the system.
- The systems approach traces its origins traced to natural resources, aimed at the unification of science and scientific analysis. The original idea of systems analysis came from biology and was adopted by German biologist Ludwig Van Bertalanffy. It then gained ground in sociology with the work on Talcott Parsons.

- David Easton, Gabriel Almond, David Apter, Karl Deutsch, Morton Kaplan and other leading American social scientists pioneered the systems analysis in Political Science.
- David Easton is regarded as a pioneer of systems analysis. Easton defined politics as the '**authoritative allocation of values**' which broadly constitutes the political process.
- The political system has the '**authority to allocate values or goods that have competition and conflict over**'. Dahl - "Who gets what, when and how."



Critical Analysis:

- Easton's model was put forth as being a universal, standardized system. However, Marxists would argue that the model follows the **advanced western, liberal-democratic set up** not applicable to many other countries.
- Professor S.P. Verma regards it as an **abstraction** whose relation to empirical politics is impossible to establish.
- Traditionalists also pointed out the excessive usage of jargon to prove the scientific nature of Easton's conceptual model.
- O.R. Young points out that Easton is concerned more with questions such as persistence and adaptation of the political system as also with regulation of stress, stability and equilibrium and thus advocates only the **status quo situation**. There is much less, in Easton's formulation, about the politics of decline, disruption and breakdown in political system.

1 b) Cultural Relativism

Introduction

- What is Cultural or Value Relativism?

Body

- Multiplicity of cultures and related values.
- Can invoke communitarian and multicultural theories
- Examples- debates over hijab (Choice), Asian values vs western values etc.

Conclusion

- Cultural relativism and related issues- marginalisation of vulnerable communities.
- Berlin's value pluralism as way out



Is it too individualist?

- In recent times, countries from **Asia Pacific** have pointed out western bias in the human rights doctrine and that western values are sometimes **incompatible with Asian values**.
- **Kishore Mahbubani** describes attachment to family, deference to common good, respect for authority, thrift and conservatism as comprising Asian values.
- Leaders like **Lee Kwan Yew** and **Dr. Mahathir Mohammed** have stressed that providing for basic rights like housing, welfare etc. are more civil and political liberties.
- This **ethnocentrism** in human rights has led to highlighting the issue of **cultural relativism**. According to cultural scholars, cultural identity of an individual. They argue that the 'individual' is not an abstract category but is deeply embedded in his/her culture and all cultures are equally relevant.

Cultural relativism or communitarianism

Western Values

- Importantly **Steven Lukes** points out relativism seeks to avoid or dismiss moral conflict. Pluralism, on the other hand, sees conflicts of values as occurring both within, and across, cultures.
- Berlin holds, most individuals **do make decisions about how to balance, reconcile, or choose between competing values** in light of their existing general commitments and visions of life.
- Therefore, **liberty and tolerance** for Berlin are important to foster pluralism of values.
- Karl Popper- **Paradox of tolerance**- If a society is **tolerant without limit**, its ability to be tolerant is eventually seized or **destroyed by the intolerant**. Karl Popper described it as the seemingly paradoxical idea that, "In order to maintain a tolerant society, the society must be intolerant of intolerance."
- **Rawls** argues under extraordinary circumstances in which constitutional safeguards do not suffice to ensure the security of the tolerant and the institutions of liberty, **tolerant society has a reasonable right of self-preservation against acts of intolerance** that would limit the liberty of others under a just constitution, and this supersedes the principle of tolerance.

- According to Berlin's pluralism, genuine values are many, and they may often **come in conflict with one another**.
- When two or more values clash, it is not because one or another has been misunderstood nor is any one value is always more important than another. Berlin asserts that values are **incommensurable**- there is no common measure to establish relative importance of any two values.
- Given their **incompatibility** and **incommensurability**, there can't be a general procedure to resolve such conflicts- as given by Rawls as lexical priority rule.
- However, pluralism accepts a **basic 'core' of human values** which is what distinguishes it from value relativism. Relativism on the other hand views all values to be plural and subjective.
- Berlin's pluralism committed to the belief that, for human beings, at least some values are **intrinsically rather than instrumentally good**, and that at least some values are **universally valid**.

Liberty
Diff.

1 c) Revolution in Permanence

Introduction:

Maoism and his development of Marx's ideas.



Body:

Mao's concept of Permanent Revolution and its relevance

Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom, Great Leap Forward
Lessons from USSR's new Bourgeoisie



Conclusion:

Certain fallouts of this revolution in permanence-

Can link it to Xi Jinping's anti corruption campaign against 'tigers and flies'.

5: Mao's modification

- Lenin → Socialist phase
→ mixed economy about public.
- Permanent Revolution: Mao realised the need to continuously push the agenda of revolution to avoid the coming up of new bourgeoisie. During 1942-43, Mao consolidated his position in the CPC by eliminating all his possible potential rivals through rectification campaign. 17/9
 - In the early 1950s, Mao gave his famous call of "Let Hundred Flowers Bloom" which allowed different view- points in the CPC to be expressed freely and openly. Later, he attempted collectivization of agriculture followed by a call for a Great Leap Forward to bring about quick transition to communism in China. Cultural Revolution
 - Mao learnt lessons from post revolution Soviet Union and warned against the emergence of the new bourgeois class who were beneficiaries of the transitional period. New class



1 d) Bases of Power

Introduction

- Power as an essentially contested concept- W.B. Gallie
- Steven Lukes- 3 Dimensions of Power-
- Ability to make decisions
- Agenda shaping
- Manipulation of people's thoughts and perception

Body

- Numerous Perspectives/ Bases:
- Power over: Individual level- Dahl's idea of power over
- Collective/ Structural level- Feminist idea of power/ Marxist idea of class power / Elitist Theory of Power
- Power to- Arendt's concept of Acting in Concert
- Legal Basis- Authority- Power + Legitimacy- Weber, MacIver
- Ideological basis- Hegemony
- Knowledge basis- Foucault

Conclusion

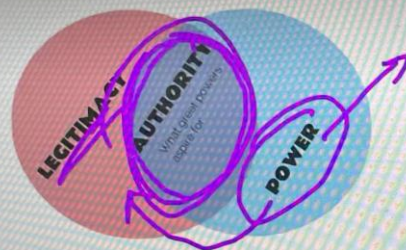
- No fixed definition
- Matrix of power- In today's world multiple bases of power coexist

What is Power?

W.B. Gallie

- Multiple debates regarding meaning of Power—essentially contested concept (Steven Lukes)
- In social and political theory, power refers to the ability to do things and the capacity to produce effects within social interaction
- The most well-known definition of power is given by Robert Dahl — 'A has power over B to the extent that A can get B to do something which B would not otherwise do.' This definition assumes two things about power:
 - power is an attribute of individuals which is exercised over other individuals, and
 - power is domination over others that is, power is used to make others do what one wants, against their own will.

Introduction to Power and its Types



- Robert M. MacIver has aptly defined power as 'the capacity in any relationship to command the service or compliance of others'. Power may involve use of 'force', but service or compliance of others will best be obtained when they regard the command as 'right', 'good' or 'beneficial'
- Weber was concerned to explain why, and under what circumstances, people were prepared to accept the exercise of power as rightful or legitimate. He distinguished between three kinds of authority—rational-legal, traditional, and charismatic.

domination over power over Feminists → Patriarchal structure dominating.

However counter views of power were put forth by other scholars who locate power at the collective level and attribute it to collectivities and structures.

The second assumption is challenged by theorists who view power not simply as domination; that is, not only as power over but as power to — power as an enhanced capacity emerging from collective action.

Hannah Arendt

It is also important to differentiate between 'power' and what is thought of as 'influence'. Power is here seen as the capacity to make formal decisions which are in some way binding upon others, parents in the family or by government ministers in relation to the whole of society.

Influence, by contrast, is the ability to affect the content of these decisions through some form of external pressure, highlighting the fact that formal and binding decisions are not made in a vacuum.

[P.S.]

He maintained that the state is the result of this tendency towards the government of conduct. By governmentality he refers to the increasing homogenization and organization of society in modern times—through a huge bureaucratic machinery that evolves endless ways of classifying people (Nivedita Menon).

Foucault saw governmentality as a rationale of governing that takes the form of a series of mundane, daily practices of social ordering. Governmentality operates through normalization, by which Foucault means the processes through which every individual is made to conform to the dominant norm.

Foucault goes on to insist that are always and necessarily interdependent. A site where power is enforced is also a site where knowledge is produced and vice versa.

Power = Knowledge

Power/Knowledge edge.

Discourse

Other (regimes of truth)

1 e) Locke's Social Contract

Introduction

- Consent as a basis of Political Societies and authority
- Dismisses idea of divine right in Patriarcha

Body

- Unlike Hobbes' single, Locke's dual stage contract- first for civil/ political society; second- political authority
- Endurance through tacit consent
- Relevance- Govt. party to contract, idea of civil trust, constitutional limited government, SoP, Good of the governed, right to revolt (popular sovereignty)

Conclusion

- Sabine's critical analysis- Locke's contract unlike Hobbes' sovereign is not ultimate but limited by 4 levels:
- Original power- Individuals and Rights
- Community/ Civil Society
- Legislature
- Executive

free
equal

→ Reason → Natural law.

Locke's Social Contract and Political Authority:

- Locke's analysis begins with individuals in a state of nature where they are not subject to a common legitimate authority with the power to legislate or adjudicate disputes. From the natural state of freedom and independence, Locke stresses individual consent as the mechanism by which political societies are created and individuals join those societies. Unlike Hobbes' single contract, Locke has two contracts:
 - The first contract causes the creation of a civil/ political society; → realm of freedom
 - The second contract establishes a political authority/ government. → Power with right
- Locke argues that all men unanimously agree to incorporate themselves in one body and conduct their affairs by the opinion of the majority. The purpose of creation of civil society is the preservation of the life, liberty and property of the members of this new civil/political society.
- After they have set up a political or civil society, the next step 'is to appoint a government or 'legislative' to declare and execute the natural law. This Locke calls the 'supreme' authority established by the commonwealth or civil society.
- The relationship between society and the government is expressed by the idea of trust because it obviates making the government a party to the contract and giving it an independent status and authority.

US ©. → Peace, goodwill, prosperity

- Laslett argues that the trust theory is to underline "that all actions of governors are limited to the end of government, which is the good of the governed." Locke claims that legitimate government is based on the idea of separation of powers (further developed by Montesquieu).
- Besides the 'legislative' which is the supreme authority, Locke mentions two other powers of the commonwealth, the executive (including judicial) and the federative (foreign affairs).
- Importantly, Locke stresses that the government does not enjoy original power, which rests with the people (trustees), but derived power. Therefore, government can't go against wishes of the people. Locke admits that behind the authority of the legislature there is an ultimate consent of people which later writers termed as popular sovereignty.
- George H Sabine points out four levels of authority in Two Treatises, the last three being represented as successively derivative from the first.
 - First, there is the individual and his rights, the foundation of the whole system.
 - Secondly, there is the community; the custodian of individual right and the authority standing behind the government,
 - Thirdly, there is the government or the 'legislative' which is constitutionally the 'supreme power'
 - And finally, we have the executive, or the King, which also enjoys some kind of independent status and discretionary power while remaining subservient to the 'legislative', or parliament.

Consent and Resistance:

limited
accountable
derived power → P

- Government based on consent is the fundamental principle of Locke's theory of political obligation. The literature on Locke's theory of consent tends to focus on how Locke does or does not successfully answer the following objection: few people have actually consented to their governments so no, or almost no, governments are actually legitimate. This conclusion is problematic since it is clearly contrary to Locke's intention.
- Locke's most obvious solution to this problem is his doctrine of tacit consent. Simply by walking along the highways of a country a person gives tacit consent to the government and agrees to obey it while living in its territory.
- This, Locke thinks, explains why resident aliens have an obligation to obey the laws of the state where they reside, though only while they live there. Inheriting property creates an even stronger bond, since the original owner of the property permanently put the property under the jurisdiction of the commonwealth.
- John Plamenatz subjects it to a searching critique and comes to the conclusion that it serves no useful purpose. Dunn states that while "consent is a necessary condition for the legitimacy of a political society, but the consent which creates such legitimacy is not a sufficient condition for the obligatory force of any particular act of authority in such a society."

2 a) Factors like community, culture and nation weaken the hegemony of neo-liberalism today. Discuss.

Introduction

- What is Neo-Liberalism?
- Main features

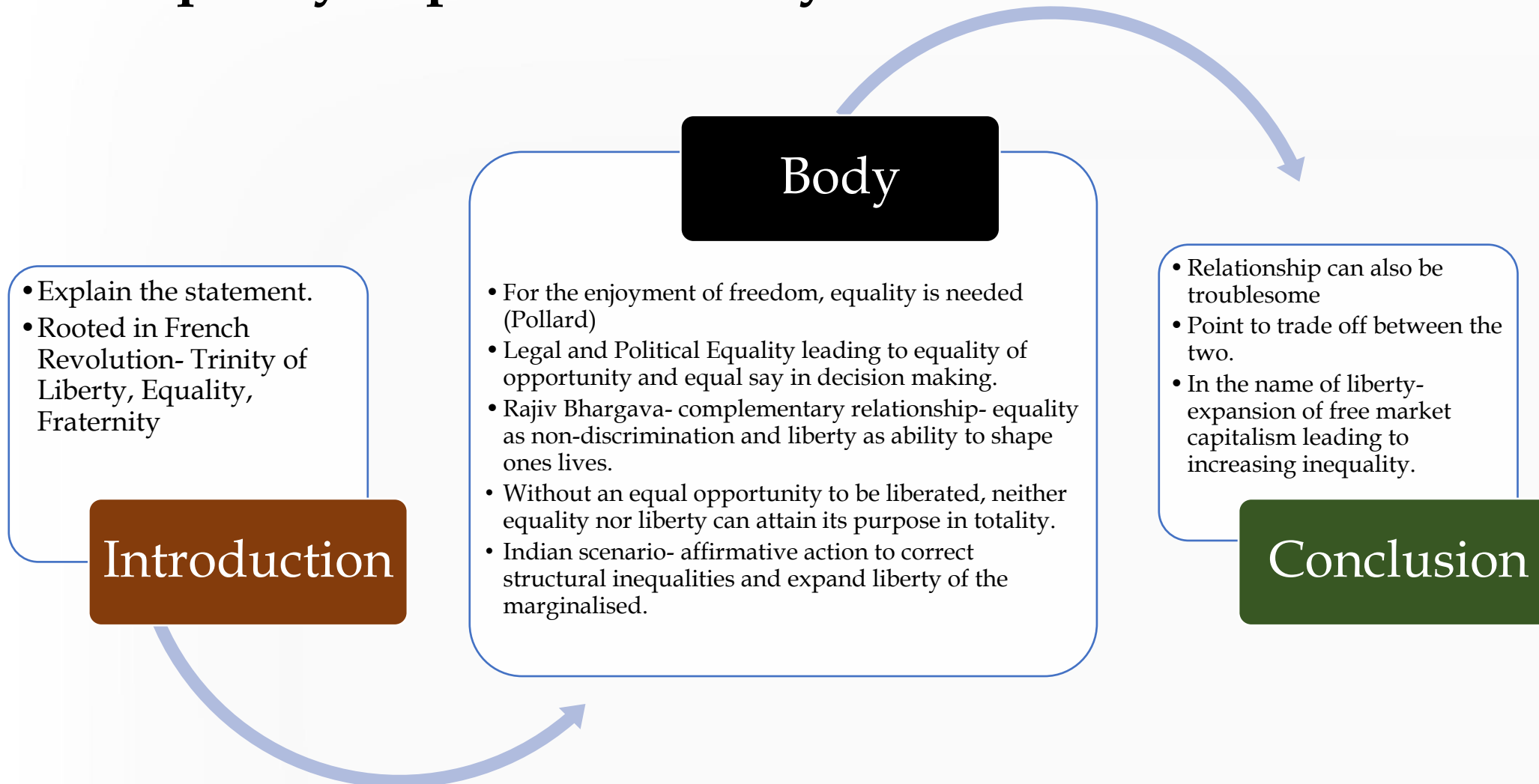
Body

- Issues concerning it- Neoliberalism both domestically and internationally through globalisation and Institutions of Washington consensus.
- Communitarians- community vs atomism- quote Sandel, Taylor, Macintyre
- Multiculturalists- culture pluralism vs monism- Marion Young, Kymlika, Parekh
- Nationalism- Revivalism across political, economic and cultural domains- Trump's American Great, Aatmanirbhar Bharat, Putin's assertiveness, Brexit, Decline of Pax Americana and Rise of the Rest (Fareed Zakaria), Dangerous Decade for world in crisis (Haas)

Conclusion

- Way ahead- Fukuyama- Liberalism and Its Discontents
- Problems with neoliberalism- rogue financialisation, increasing economic inequality, no solidarity and rise of identity politics, polarisation and populism. Underlines need for social democratic policies.

2 b) “Equality of estates caused equality of power, and equality of power is liberty”. Comment.



2 c) Elitist theory of democracy denies the possibility of democracy as “rule of the people”. Elucidate.

Introduction:

What is elitist theory of democracy-politics is history of elite domination, the nature of the elite may change from time to time though.

Since Plato, Aristotle, Machiavelli. Added by Mosca, Pareto and Michels

‘History is a graveyard of aristocracy.’



Body:

Elite democracy and denial of rule of people: Pareto- In all societies- **a small governing elite, a non-governing elite (more intelligent and capable), and the mass population or non-elite (lack leadership and equality).**

Mosca- more democratic but still no rule of people- Can emerge anywhere but only those with superior organizational skills control power in modern bureaucratic States.

Michels- Iron Law of Oligarchy- majority of human beings are apathetic, indolent and slavish- Tug of war between old and new elites

C.W. Mills- Power Elite- politics, corporations and military against apolitical masses.



Conclusion: Limited understanding of democracy- can't ignore social demands completely due to electoral democracy.

Pluralists- modern democracy too complex and heterogenous to be dominated by few- Laski and MacIver- multiplicity of associations that assert control

Fukuyama on advent on social media and democratisation- Backlash against elites such as Arab Spring, power to people through increasing social movements across the world.

- Elite theorists contend that the history of politics is history of elite domination, the nature of the elite may change from time to time though.
- Mosca writes that in all societies, **two classes of people appear**- a class that rules and a class that is ruled. Plato, Aristotle and Machiavelli in their thought acknowledge that a **small group shall manage and control the government**.
- Elite theory is generally associated with three main thinkers- **Pareto, Mosca and Michels**. Elite theory rejects the contentions of majority rule of both liberal democratic model and classless Marxist society and consider elite rule to be inevitable. The term 'elite' was derived from the French where it meant to be something excellent.
- While power is concentrated in the polit-bureau of Communist parties, in liberal democratic societies elites contend to win favour of the masses through campaigning and policies. The presence of competitive party system and freedom of press leads to some accountability and responsibility in the liberal model.

people participation

E1 E2

- 'Governing elite' is one that **wields power** for the time being while 'non-governing elite' constantly endeavours to replace it by showing greater ability and excellence. This leads to constant competition between the two creating a closed loop, **circulation of elites**.
- Masses on the other hand are characterized by **the lack of qualities of leadership and the fear from responsibility**. They feel that it would be safe to follow the elite. Masses have no chance of entering the ranks of elites.
- 'History is a graveyard of aristocracy.'
- Pareto is clear about the fact that in cases where the majority of the elites occupy their status not due to their own achievements but due to their **ascribed status**, the society becomes degenerate. It is replaced by elites who have vitality and imagination.
- In this way Vilfredo Pareto's concept of circulation of elites is also related to his distinction between two types of human beings, the **lions and the foxes**. Pareto borrowed these concepts from Machiavelli.

- **Robert Michels** was a student of Max Weber and is best known for his work, 'Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies' of Modern Democracy, in which he propounded his **'Iron Law of Oligarchy'**.
- He believed that majority of human beings are apathetic, indolent and slavish. They are permanently **incapable of self-government**.
- Michels found that, regardless of the vision and goals of the organization, and its quality of leadership initially, inevitably every organization developed an elite who took full control over all its affairs.
- Michels attributed the development of such oligarchies as due not to personal flaws in those who took positions of leadership, but rather due to the nature of the social structures themselves, which **necessitated division of labor** in order to be efficient and effective.
- The leaders are **professional experts** who specialize in various tasks, and their specialized knowledge and skill makes them indispensable—they can threaten resignation if the organization seems to be on the point of making a wrong decision.

- C.W. Mills is an American sociologist, presented a new version of elite theory in his famous work, ***The Power Elite***.
- Mills was extremely **critical of the power structure of U.S. society** at mid-twentieth century. He was also known for critiquing academia for its role in reproducing power structures of domination and repression.
- While Marxian concept of 'ruling class' implied that an economic class would exercise all political power in society, Mills' concept of 'power elite' implied a **combination of several groups who exercised all power** by virtue of their high status in all important spheres of social life. It signified an inner circle of powerholders in modern American society.
- His concept, "power elite," refers to the interlocking interests of elites from three key aspects of society—**politics, corporations, and the military**—and how they had coalesced into one tightly knit power centre that worked to reinforce and steward their political and economic interests.

3 a) Examine the liberal theory of State in contemporary politics.

Introduction

- What is State?
- Multiple liberal theories of state- neo-liberal State and Welfare State.
- Common to all- based on consent, limited government and rule of law, SoP and fair elections to ensure accountability, Focus on Rights and Freedom, Economic freedom

Body

- Welfare/ Liberal Egalitarian State- Focus on justice and equality, increased role of state- Rawlsian democratic equality. Briefly talk about views of TH Green, Laski, MacIver. (Canada, Scandinavia)
- Minimal State- Roll back of the State and free hold to market capitalism, Night Watchman State (Nozick, Hayek). Friedman- separate economic and political power

Conclusion

- Critical analysis- Minimal State- Stiglitz neoliberalism dead in developed and developing world, John Gray- expansion of State even with neo liberalism (2008 recession)
- Welfarism- Dahrendorf iron cage of bureaucracy, failure to deal with recession, pandemic, rising inequality



- MacIver and his "Modern State" are considered one of the most crucial works on State. For MacIver, State is an "An association which, acting through law as promulgated by a government endowed to this end with coercive power, maintains within a community territorially demarcated the universal external conditions of social order." There are four essential elements in this definition:
 - ☐ that people have formed an association to create and preserve social order *plural*
 - ☐ that the community comprising the state is clearly defined in territorial terms;
 - ☐ that the government representing the people acts according to promulgated laws;
 - ☐ and that it has power to enforce these laws.
- MacIver looks at society as pluralist in nature with the State at par with other associations. In his "Web of Government," MacIver makes a distinction between two types of organisations- emotional and cultural ones which can't be regulated by the State, and those which serve economic interests of the State and should be regulated by the State. Law is seen as the basis for furthering public order and welfare of the masses. At the same time, "State is both the parent and child of the law." State is the guardian of law and seeks compliance from people on the basis of their utility.

3 b) Human Rights are complex and contested social practice that organise relations between individuals, society and the state. Comment.

Introduction: Human Rights doctrine (UDHR)- essential rights as humans- universality and individuality as principles. Increasing debates- not universal but contextual, based on plurality of types of relations between individuals, society and state.

Body: Criticism of Human Rights- Based on liberal individualist ideas of freedom and rationality; Focus on civil, political, social and economic right; no inclusion of group rights.

Ethnocentric; Conflict with Asian Values (Lee Kwan Yew, Kishore Madhubani)

Interference in State Sovereignty and domestic policy (R2P)

Debates on contested practices of Human Rights- Multiculturalism- specificity of the different circumstances (Iris Marion Young on group membership, kymlicka on group differentiated rights)

Conclusion: Many problems but also important- Contemporary world facing wide scale issues- Rohingyas, Ukraine crisis, Iran etc. Not just third world but also Developed countries- issues of African Americans, hate against Asians, indigenous population.

Need to include cultural pluralism, devise methods of ensuring human rights with interference as last resort with approval of UNGA, teeth to UNHRC, expansion of notion of human rights.

Concept of Human Rights:

Rights → citizens
State, nationality

- Human rights are political norms dealing mainly with how people should be treated by their governments and institutions.
- Macfarlane believes human rights are **moral rights** which are owed to each man and woman solely by the reason of **being human being**. They have five distinguishing features:
 - Universality**: They belong to all people.
 - Individuality**: Accepts the notion of free individual, human dignity and individual moral choice.
 - Paramountcy**: A denial of these is affront to justice.
 - Practicability**: Feasibility of attaining these rights.
 - Enforceability**: Enforceable by state by legal and constitutional machinery.
- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) adopted by UN General Assembly in 1948 guarantees right to life, liberty, equality before law, privacy, fair trial, safeguards against torture etc.

Is it too individualist?

Cultural relativism or communitarianism

- In recent times, countries from **Asia Pacific** have pointed out western bias in the human rights doctrine and that western values are sometimes **incompatible with Asian values**.
- Kishore Mahbubani** describes attachment to family, deference to common good, respect for authority, thrift and conservatism as comprising Asian values.
- Leaders like **Lee Kwan Yew** and **Dr. Mahathir Mohammed** have stressed that providing for basic rights like housing, welfare etc. are more civil and political liberties.
- This **ethnocentrism** in human rights has led to highlighting the issue of **cultural relativism**. According to cultural scholars, cultural identity of an individual. They argue that the 'individual' is not an abstract category but is deeply embedded in his/her culture and all cultures are equally relevant.

Western Values

Debates and Issues:

HR.

- The expansion of doctrine of human rights has also raised some crucial debates.
- Sovereignty** both in the internal and external sphere provides state complete authority over its population and territory. However, the concept of human rights comes in conflict with the idea of sovereignty.
- As there is **no world state/government**, the responsibility of enforcement of human rights lies with the states. However, if states refuse to abide by the same, it becomes the responsibility of the international community to protect them.
- That leads to **interference in domestic policies of states** leading to interference in sovereignty, where state is the only source of law. On the other hand, pluralists believe that there are plural sources of law, including international law and needs to be respected.

Multicultural Citizenship and Rights:

equally + universally
immigrants
citizens? Standard?
Rule of Law

- One of the main issues of our age is the problem of reconciling the aspirations to political equality with the fact of social and cultural differences within liberal democratic states.
- The ideal of universal citizenship in which each person is treated with 'equal concern and respect' has been criticised by multicultural scholars for being formal and **'difference-blind'**.
- Real equality, according to the theorists of multiculturalism, is ensured not through **'uniformity of treatment'** but by keeping in mind their social and cultural location.
- Multiculturalism has raised important questions about the status of minorities within the nation-state. They have revealed the other side of the so-called neutral politics of liberal democracies as being biased against minorities.

Tolerance

melting pot → Assimilationist

3 c) Individualism is inherent in Hobbes' absolutist ideology. Comment.

Introduction

- Hobbes as the first liberal thinker
- Front runner of theory of individualism and contractualism- Hacker- first thinker of political individualism

Body

- Problem- Starts of Individualist but ends up an absolutist
- How is individualism inherent- Individual level- Human Equality and rationality, Men as active creatures due to will, psychological egoism
- Structural- State and society based on individualised consent, separation from Church, obedience to law, ensure peace, safety and well being of individuals (Oakeshott- Hobbes' mixed obligation), rule of law and minimal state.

Conclusion

- Critical Analysis- Dunn- Hobbes' philosophy contained both liberal and illiberal features.
- Absolutist, no renewal of consent, no checks and balances, no space for freedom and rights
- captures the essence of his age brilliantly



enlightenment

Foundations of Hobbes' Thought:

Radical
Plato + Aristotle

- According to Hacker, Hobbes is one of the first thinkers to come up with the politics of individualism. In terms of previous thinkers like Plato, St. Augustine, Machiavelli prepared to say what is good for the community is good for the individuals as well.
- Hobbes describes the general characteristics of all humans - rulers and the ruled. All have common physiological and psychological qualities that differences of class, status, power don't alter. According to Hacker two main characteristics arise out of in his first two chapters, "Of Man":

Human - equal worth

Human Equality: According to Hobbes, everyday experience states all men are equal. This is not a result of theological deduction but an empirical fact. **Nature has made all men equal.** Hobbes states that as men's differences are not considerable, no individual can claim preferred treatment. Most men believe them to be as intelligent as those around him. Thus, subjective belief in intellectual equality is more important to Hobbes than object test. Hobbesian man can be seen as an arrogant, proud creature.

From Individualism to Absolutism:

- Wolin writes that individualism and absolutism the two sides of the same coin in Hobbes' political theory. **"Absolute sovereignty"** was the logical complement to riotous anarchy. According to Dunn, Hobbes' philosophy contained both liberal and illiberal features.
- The premise of Hobbes' theory is **individualistic and liberal**. He is regarded as a modern thinker as he basis his philosophy on the idea of human equality who were equally free, selfish, egoistic and power seeking which was a huge departure from previous thinkers.
- Importantly, Hobbes state and society, unlike Plato and Aristotle was not an organic entity, but in fact the result of **consent of rational beings**. The political authority was not an end in itself, but in fact was formulated to fulfill the purpose of human life and safety. Thus, the self of individual for the first time is placed prior to that of the state.

Human Right

Deep Classes
Awakening Toppers

- Hobbes' political theory marks the **breakdown of traditional institutions and values and denotes the decline of metaphysical wisdom**. It heralds the age of instrumental reason, material pursuits, secular norms, power politics and utilitarian ethics. Under these condition what holds man's ambition and avarice is the supreme power of the sovereign, not the bond of human sympathy and natural harmony.
- His theories reflect political ideology of the **incipient capitalist market** society characterised by the doctrine of "possessive individualism" and the ethic of cut-throat competition and self-aggrandisement.

Plato

- The sovereign existed for the **protection of right to self preservation** and was not resisted against till it continued to protect this right. Importantly, Hobbes puts into focus the idea of rule of law and rejects arbitrary use of power. The individual is given a private sphere of thoughts and economic activities. The individual did not merge in the all powerful sovereign but retained his identity.
- However, unlike liberal thinkers like John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer in the 19th Century and Nozick and Dworkin in the 20th century, Hobbes does not espouse individual's right to limit or resist the authority of the state. Importantly while supporting equal application of law, Hobbes does not offer a check against **tyrannical use of power**. His critics felt the need to control the government by a strong civil society or law (Lawson and Whitehall).

- Thomas Hobbes, rightly credited to be the **first liberal thinker**, fills the void by theorizing politics using Galileo's methods of theorizing the physical universe. With materialistic explanation of politics, Hobbes transported the source of validity of governance from God to **peoples' consent**.
- This was a revolutionary theoretical act as in the civil war between Puritans and the royalists in England the issue was not the God but different readings of the scripture. **Brian Nelson** has rightly said that "**Machiavelli was Copernicus of the political theory and Hobbes the Galileo who carried Machiavelli's revolutionary insights to their logical conclusion.**" Marx regards Hobbes as **"the father of all of us."**
- Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan* is commonly described as **one of the greatest masterpieces of political theory in the English language** and the first of the **great social contract treatises**. The interest of Hobbes's theory lies, instead, in his effort to show how cooperative civil society can develop and exist among human beings if we are assumed to be selfish and egoistic by nature.

How to make people obey?

Social Contract

Robert Filmer → Patriarcha
Divine Rights

4a) Dr. Ambedkar's idea of social justice leads to 'egalitarian justice' as compared to Rawls' 'justice as fairness' which aims at the notion of 'pure procedural justice'. Comment.

Introduction

- Social Justice's varying interpretations (David Miller):
- According to needs;
- According to rights;
- According to deserts.

Body

- Ambedkar's social justice as egalitarian justice- **Bidyut Chakrabarty**- protagonist of the idea of social justice as an in- alienable part of the constitutional democratic framework in India to ensure dignity.
- Legal basis to ensure egalitarian justice.
- Criteria to ensure measures to remedy it- political representation, affirmative action, welfare measures. Workable principles based on Indian reality and transform it.
- Rawls' justice as fairness also moral dignity (Kant)- pure procedural- no universal perfect principles but fair procedure.
- Justice is about rules/procedure that govern a social practice, **not the outcome**. Regardless of the outcomes yielded, if the procedure is followed correctly, the outcomes are morally acceptable.

Conclusion

- Interplay between the two.
- Both give importance to individual and moral dignity.
- Focus on ensuring development of the weakest links in the society.
- Combine the two- can compare it to Sen's capability model.



Social Justice

- According to Heywood, while legal justice has much older roots, the concept of social justice is attributed to 19th century. It is 'social' in the sense that:
 - It is concerned not with legal penalties and punishments so much as with social well-being. *welfare*
 - It deals with distribution of benefits or rewards in society, evaluated in terms of wages, profits, housing, medical care, welfare benefits and so forth.
- In 'Social Justice', **David Miller** accepted that the concept is essentially contested and socially relative, but tried to identify a number of contrasting principles of justice. These are
 - 'to each according to his needs',
 - 'to each according to his rights' and *liberal*
 - 'to each according to his deserts'.

- Rawls refers to his conception of justice as pure procedural rather than perfect procedural and imperfect procedural.
- Within the pure procedural theory, Rawls accepts there are no perfect, universal principles, but only the existence of perfect or 'fair/just' procedure.
- For Rawls justice is about rules/procedure that govern a social practice, **not the outcome**. Regardless of the outcomes yielded, if the procedure is followed correctly, the outcomes are morally acceptable.
- This he does, as there can be no independent criteria with regard to a just result.
- Next as an ideal theory, Rawls makes two types of idealizing assumptions about its subject matter.
 - First, ideal theory **assumes that all actors (citizens or societies) are generally willing to comply with whatever principles are chosen.**
 - Second, ideal theory **assumes reasonably favourable social conditions**, wherein citizens and societies are able to abide by principles of political cooperation.

109th CAA Ambedkar's approach to social justice.

- According to **Bidyut Chakrabarty**, Ambedkar was a protagonist of the idea of social justice as an in- alienable part of the constitutional democratic framework in India.
- Ambedkar insisted on providing statutory basis to measures of social justice so they become the policy compulsion of the government towards depressed classes.
- He developed a complex set of criteria to determine disadvantage of which untouchability was only one of the great social disadvantages. With regard to a scheme of safeguards he advanced three types of measures:
 - He demanded an autonomous political representation to the disadvantaged groups not merely to ensure their political presence. *Poona Pact*
 - He sought reservation/ affirmative action for the disadvantaged groups in public employment.
 - He sought extensive supportive policy measures towards these groups so as to extend to them the benefits of various developmental and welfare measures that a state undertakes.

Natural Rights → Legal rights Ambedkar's Political Ideas:

- As a firm believer in an egalitarian and democratic socio-political system, Ambedkar believed individual rights could be ameliorating agent for the oppressed. *claims society, equality, freedom, dignity*
- Ambedkar was a hardcore believer in the value of constitutional democracy having irrevocable elements of democracy. Importantly he saw political democracy based on the foundation of social and economic democracy.
- Ambedkar repeatedly expressed himself in favour of a social order based on the ideals of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Ambedkar argued they "form a union of trinity in the sense that to divorce one from the other is to defeat the very purpose of democracy." *Positive Institutions*
- Ambedkar stressed upon the autonomy of the state. State needs to transcend the parochial interests galore in society which often tend to reduce the state as an instrument of their purpose.

4 b) “The Panchayat with Gram Sabha should be so organised as to identify the resources locally available for the development in agriculture and industrial sectors”. Examine the statement in the context of Gram Sabha.

Introduction:

Gandhi's idea of village development linked to India's development.

Gram Sabha as cornerstone of PRIs since ancient times

Body:

Gram Sabha as the primary unit of democratic decentralisation and Swaraj (Gandhi).

Symbol of popular sovereignty and participatory democracy (Rousseau)

Gandhi- Village Panchayats based on the principal of "simple living and high thinking".
Vehicle of political and economic democracy.

Use local sources- material sources which are locally available to ensure sustainability and self-reliance, human and technical resources- artists, craftspersons, farmers, technicians. Well versed with best use, market for goods and services locally required.

Gram Sabha based model of village republics- also ensures social audit

Influenced Balwant Rai Mehta Committee, Community Development Programme etc.

Relevance today- Aatmanirbhar Bharat starts at Gram Sabha;

Pandemic and Recession- fragilities of international economic system;

Problems- World has moved to large scale, capital intensive development- need to combine principles to ensure social justice and sustainability.

Swaraj:

→ Republic

 Sleepy Classes
Free. Regular. Quality.

Rule over oneself
of oneself

→ spiritual freedom

Rousseau

Actual Will → transient

Real Will → free int / stable freedom

Thiruv
Promoting well-being

Swaraj

- Swaraj, for Gandhi, existed in **oceanic circles of village republics** ensconced in organic proximity to nature. It was a civilization that abhorred coercive power and functioned through moral persuasion.
- This was linked to the **classical concept of Thoreau**, which says 'that **government is the best which governs the least**, and political power could be used for the sake of reforms to enable people to better their condition in every sphere of life.

- There was a great disparity between the rich and the poor and a great **conflict between labour and capital**. This disparity and conflict could be easily removed if everyone put in labour enough to win his bread. *charkha*
- Gandhi felt that the conflict between labour and capital can be eliminated only when everyone voluntarily takes to some useful physical labour. He felt that **agriculture, spinning, weaving, carpentry, etc.** which are connected with some primary needs will flourish if all take to physical labour of the productive nature.
- The love for Bread labour will not only provide work to the unemployed manual labourers but will also solve the problem of educated unemployed.
- Schemes like MGNREGA are apt examples of Gandhi's ideas.

Swaraj:

→ Centralised Authority
State → People → Panchayat

 Sleepy Classes
Free. Regular. Quality.

- Swaraj was viewed by Gandhi as a multidimensional concept that beyond throwing off the colonial yolk. On the other hand it includes:
 - a) national independence; → *throw out Coloniser*
 - b) political freedom of the individual; → *Democracy / Village Rep*
 - c) Societal freedom from evils like untouchability; → *Caste system*
 - d) economic freedom of the individual; and → *Indus X, Cottage / Khadi*
 - e) spiritual freedom of the individual or self rule.
- These different characteristics of swaraj are **complementary to each other**. Of these, the first four are negative in character while the fourth one is positive in its connotation.

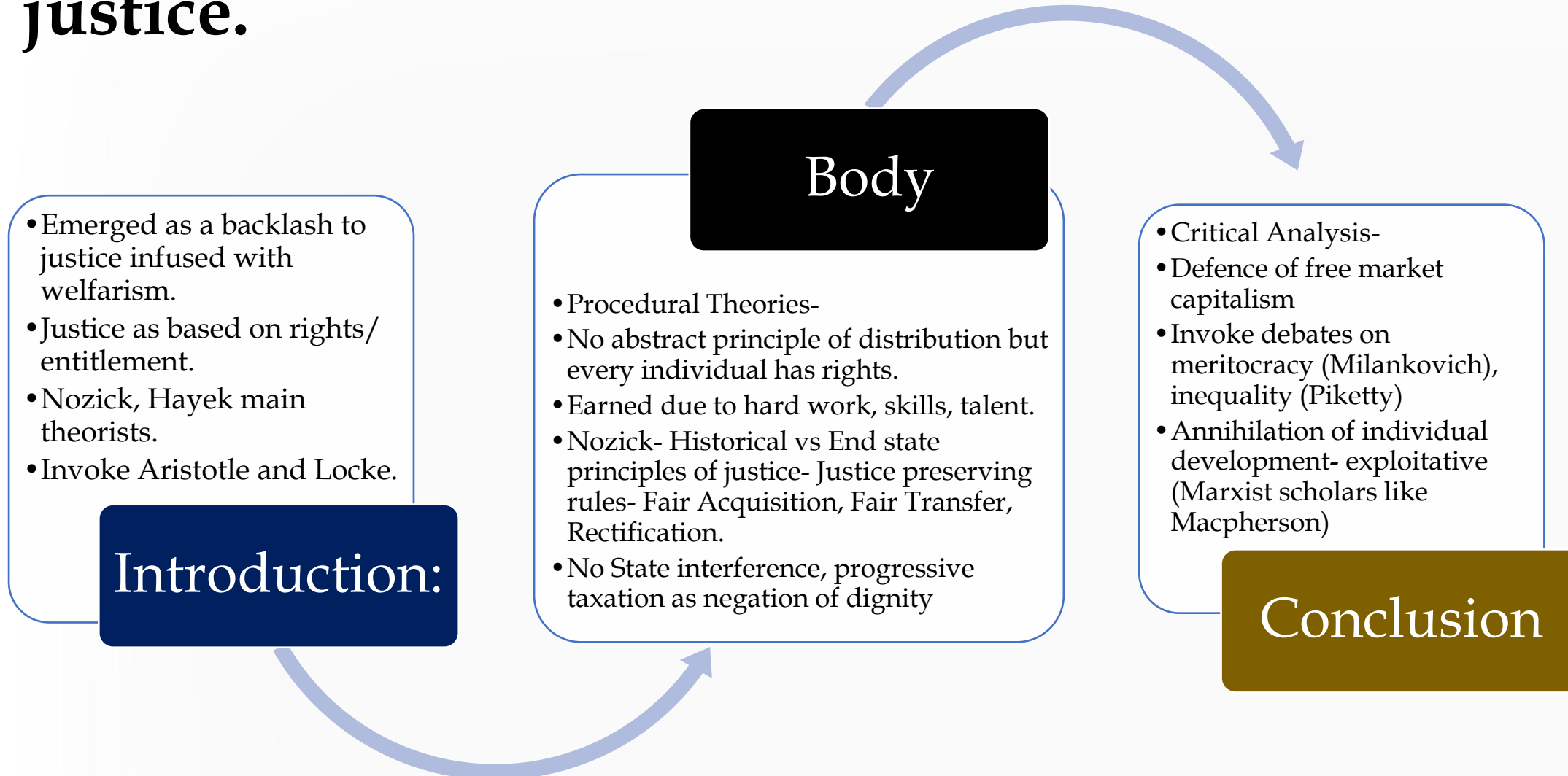
→ labour dependent, limited goods.

 Sleepy Classes
Free. Regular. Quality.

- Gandhi argued that not only does **industrialism undermine the foundation of India's village economy**, it 'will also lead to passive or active exploitation of the villagers as the problems of competition and marketing come in'.
- For Gandhi, India's economic future lay in *charkha* (spinning wheel) and *khadi* (homespun cotton textile). In addition to these, cooperative farming or dairying was to be promoted in the national interest. *Amul*
- Gandhiji was critical of the path both capitalist and socialist economies had taken, America harbours massive poverty amidst abundant wealth while socialism had snatched away a human's individuality turning them into a cog in a wheel.

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4 c) Examine the entitlement theory of justice.



Libertarian critique- Robert Nozick

- The late twentieth century has witnessed a right-wing backlash against the drift towards egalitarianism, welfarism and state intervention.
- The Libertarian accounts criticized Rawls' theory and proposed an alternative that justified the idea of a minimal state.
- Led by scholars like **Robert Nozick** (*Anarchy, State and Utopia*) championed a principle of justice based upon the idea of 'rights' or 'entitlements'.
- These are procedural theories. Herein, **each individual is on his or her own and has entitlements** that are individual in character and not dependent on any abstract principle of distribution that takes the whole society into account.
- This also implies that the **state would have no authority** to interfere in the matter of individual entitlements; in fact, it would be terribly unjust if the state was to do so.

Patterned
Unpatterned
Procedural theory

- Nozick's objective was to identify a set of historical principles through which we can determine if a particular distribution of wealth is just. He suggested three 'justice preserving' rules:
- **Fair Acquisition:** First, wealth has to be justly acquired in the first place as per the prevailing law, that is, it should not have been stolen and the rights of others should not have been infringed. The fair way of acquiring things is by use of labour.
- **Fair Transfer:** Second, wealth has to be justly transferred from one responsible person to another. It should be based on free choice and no fraud or force should have been used.
- **Rectification:** Third, if wealth has been acquired or transferred unjustly this injustice should be rectified. Nozick allows for rectification if unfair practices have been followed in the acquisition of property.



- Rights' are **moral entitlements** to act or be treated in a particular way- earned due to hard work, or exercise of skills and talents.
- Libertarians invoke theorists like Aristotle (proportionate equality) and John Locke (**theory of property**). He upgrades Lockean theory by justifying the appropriation of un-owned subject not worsening situation of others.
- Nozick even applied Kantian idea of human dignity and primacy wherein no person should be used as a means. He looks at progressive taxation as negation of the same.
- In his work, Nozick distinguishes between **historical and end-state principles of justice**. He argues that the historical principle holds that an individual's past actions determine the deserts s/he would be entitled to, and since actions are different so would be the entitlements to deserts.
- The end-state principle suggests that there would be a set of goals to which the distribution pattern should conform, which he believes is Rawls' theory.

Lockean proviso

Possession
Labour