

UPSC 2023

Political Science and International Relations

Paper 1- A

Kinds of questions:

Straightforward- Directly topics of the syllabus asked

Interlinkages/ Derivative- Pushes to interlink with topics and examples from other parts of the paper + builds on an existing concept to be exemplified given contemporary circumstances.

Analytical- Deconstruct a sub-topic/ issue from a larger syllabus topic requiring to be substantiated with examples and scholarly views.

1. a) Normative approach in political science:

- Normative approach linked with traditional approach to political science.
- Focus on what ought to be than what is → stresses on certain values or norms that are seen as universally valid that need to be attained.
- Issues with normative approach and move towards modern approaches with behaviouralism.
- Reaching a middle ground.

Approaches to study politics



The approaches to the study of Politics can be broadly divided into two main categories of **Traditional and Modern approaches** based on the problems being looked at and the **tools and methods** employed to study the same.

A second may be in terms of **Normative and empirical** approaches. Dyke stressed that an approach to the "criteria of selection of both the questions to consider as well as selecting the data."

Traditional approaches:

The traditional approach to the study of politics and political system was widely prevalent till the outbreak of WWII. It is primarily concerned with the study of organizations, activities of the state, principles and the ideas which underlie political organizations and activities.

Characteristics of Traditional Approaches:

- Traditional approaches are *largely normative* and stresses on the *oughts* and what ought to be.
- Emphasis is on the study of different *political structures and institutions*.
- Traditional approaches make very *little attempt to relate theory, research and practice*.
- These approaches believe that since facts and values are closely related in political science *can never be overtly scientific*.

The issue with the normativists is that while professing values which they cherish, they portray them as **universal and absolute**. They do not realize that ethical values are relative to time and space with a heavy subjective content in them.

The exponents of empirical theory take normativists to task for:

- relativity of values;
- cultural basis of ethics and norms;
- ideological content in the enterprise and;
- abstract and utopian nature of the project.

In recent times, again the old sensibility within the normative approach has emerged and the passion for good life and good society has been matched with the logical and empirical astuteness. **John Rawls' A Theory of Justice** is an attempt which attempts to anchor logical and moral political theory in empirical reality.

1. (b) Multicultural perspective of rights

- Rights as claims.
- What kinds of rights? → different waves.
- What is multiculturalism and what kinds of rights does it stress on? → Inter – group and intra-group
- Theories of multicultural rights by scholars → Kymlicka's group-differentiated rights: 1) self-government rights; 2) polyethnic rights; and 3) special representation rights; Iris Marion Young's differentiated citizenship rights.
- At the same time need a foundational base for fostering multiculturalism and mediating conflicts.



Types of models of multiculturalism


Ayelet Shachar gives two types of multiculturalism – strong and weak.

- **Strong multiculturalism** is emphasized on **group identity and group rights** and it gives rights to the group over its members. The central problem for strong multiculturalists is injustice among different groups.
- In contrast, **weak multiculturalism** focuses on **intra-group complexities and accommodation**. The main focus is on how to harmonize individual and group rights.

According to Andrew Heywood, there are three main models of multiculturalism:

- liberal,
- Pluralist,
- and cosmopolitan.



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- Kymlicka suggests a framework through which the demands of national minorities and ethnic groups may be accommodated within a framework of democratic citizenship:
 - By **protecting the common rights of all citizens**, which basically means the protection of civil and political rights of individuals.
 - By **accommodating cultural diversity through special legal and constitutional measures**, with members of specific groups being guaranteed **special rights**, or as Young would call them, group-specific or group-differentiated rights.

Self-government rights recognize some kind of political autonomy or territorial jurisdiction of national minorities, which they claim were not relinquished by their (often involuntary) incorporation into the larger state.

Poly-ethnic rights concern themselves with specific rights of immigrant communities and represent a challenge to the Anglo-conformity model, which assumes that they should abandon all aspects of their ethnic heritage and be assimilated to existing cultural norms and practices.

Special rights have evoked interest amongst national and ethnic ethnic categories – women, the poor and the disabled. This structures of the state by making it more inclusive.


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Waves of multiculturalism

- The first wave discusses differences among various cultural groups and the debate is centred on relevance **of difference-sensitive policies** in a liberal context.
- In the second wave, the writers are **not concerned about justice among various groups but within groups**. They analyze the policies that protect minority cultural rights and their impact on group members. Multicultural policies **may give leaders of minority cultures power for decision making** and institutionalizing practices that persecute the internal minorities.

There have been two waves of writing on multiculturalism.



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There are certain institutional preconditions that are a prerequisite for dialogue like:

- equal rights,
- freedom of expression,
- participatory public spaces,
- an accountable authority
- and empowered citizens.

It also calls for political virtues like **tolerance, concern, mutual respect, self-restraint, love for diversity, a mind open to new ideas** and ability to live with unresolved differences. Such a society nurtures wide range of voices and fosters the spirit of dialogue. By doing this, it **draws a line against those who are too dogmatic** and righteous to participate in its conversational culture and accept...

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1.(c) State of Nature as State of War (Hobbes)

- Hobbes' description of state of nature as state of war-anarchic and violent.
- Reasons for the same?
- What is the way out?
- Critical analysis

State of Nature & Natural Law

State of nature is the natural condition of man- **without society or government**. In the state of nature, life is solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short. State of nature is permanent state of war. The lack of **common power/ authority** leads to **bleak conditions** wherein all men are in a state of war.



IMAGES OF ANARCHY
The Furies and Gorgons in Hobbes's Leviathan

In their natural disposition, all **men mistrust one another**. Hacker argues that will to power and security will lead to destroy person and property of the other to gain power and security for themselves. Even the victors can't **consolidate their conquests**.

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According to **Aubrey** for Hobbes there are **three reasons** for war in the state of nature.

The first is **structural rather than psychological**. In the **absence of coercive authority**, so long as some are naturally aggressive, all must be aggressive, all must be aggressive in order to survive themselves.

Another cause of conflict, also **circumstantial**, is **competition for the same goods**.

Third, however, war is directly traced to **ubiquitous egoism**- 'every man thinking well of himself, and hating to see the same in others, they must needs provoke one another'

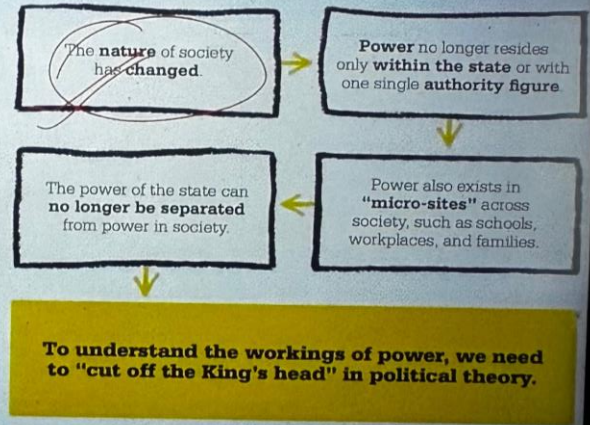
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1. (d) Foucault's concept of power.

- Power as an essentially contested concept.
- Power as oppressive vs structural vs productive.
- Foucault's idea of power as diffused across societies through micro-sites.
- Power as productive- producing identity and subjectivity. Give examples of gender identity, normal vs abnormal etc.
- Power is everywhere- ideas of discourse and governmentality.

The main influences on Foucault's thought were German philosophers **Frederick Nietzsche** and **Martin Heidegger**. Nietzsche contended that truth, knowledge and power are inextricably associated.



For Foucault, rather than being centralized, power was diffused across many "micro-sites".

'Power is everywhere' and 'comes from everywhere' so in this sense is neither an agency nor a structure'. According to Foucault's understanding, power is based on knowledge and makes use of knowledge; on the other hand, power reproduces knowledge by shaping it in accordance with its anonymous intentions.

For Foucault power is a kind of 'metapower' or 'regime of truth', 'discourse' that pervades society, and which is in constant flux and negotiation.

Foucault uses the term 'power/knowledge' to signify that power is constituted through various forms of knowledge, scientific understanding and 'truth'.

Each society has its regime of truth, its "general politics" of truth: that is, the type of truth which it accepts and makes function as true. These are reinforced (and redefined) through education, the media, and the flux of political and economic ideologies.

Foucault points out two main factors regarding power

According to him, **power is not repressive**—that is, in the modern era, power does not operate by preventing us from doing what we want. Rather, Foucault sees **power as productive**—power produces identity and subjectivity.

Further, **power does not emanate from a single source**, whether the state or ruling classes. Power is conceptualized by Foucault as **capillary**—flowing throughout the body like blood in the capillaries of our body.

People are reproduced as the **subjects of governance** through the **governmentality**. Foucault was interested in how the emergence of a broader field of **government of human conduct** through institutions and of the body.

1. (e) Decline of political theory

- Phase of decline since mid 20th century- death/ decline of political theory.
- 2 countering reasons stated- Positivists like Easton contend political theory stopped playing constructive role, those like Germino and Strauss blame over-emphasis on scienticism.
- Regained importance and especially ascendant since 1970's- works of Arendt, Adorno, Marcuse, Rawls, Nozick etc.

1920-30's
In the middle of the twentieth century, many observers talked of the decline and even death of political theory.

David Easton, an American political scientist, in his *Political System: An Inquiry into the State of Political Science* asserted that the traditional theory was based on mere speculation. Easton also pointed out that there has been no outstanding political philosopher after Marx and J.S.

Easton contends that since political theory is concerned with some historical form, it had lost its constructive role. He blames **Dunning, Charles H. McIlwain, and George M. Sabine** for the decline of political theory.

1950-1960's
Commenting on this debate, Dante Germino in his *Beyond Ideology: The Revival of Political Theory* argued that in most of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century there were two major causes of the decline of political theory:

- o the rise of positivism which led to the craze for science; and
- o the prevalence of political ideologies culminating in Marxism.

The debate on the decline of political theory which appeared in the 1950s was also joined by some other prominent writers.

On the other hand, Leo Strauss argued that the new scientific approach in fact a symptom of the alleged decline of political theory. The positivist approach, it had ignored the challenge of normative political theory.

Easton analyses the causes for decline of Political theory:

- o The tendency among political scientists to conform to the moral propositions of their age.
- o Prevalence of historical approach led to merely understanding ideas in terms of 'origins, content and social impact'.
- o Moral relativism is responsible for the attention a theory received with history.
- o Finally, since the twentieth century, there has been considerable agreement in Western Europe leading to greater unity in political thought.

Political theory in the traditional sense was alive in the works of Arendt, Theodore Adorno, Marcuse, and Leo Strauss. All of them reject political messianism and utopianism in politics.

In 1970's it was back in ascendancy especially with works of Rawls, Nozick and Habermas. Germino identified the new role of political theory as aligned with political philosophy which performs the Socratic function of 'speaking truth to power'.

"The goal of philosophy is to assist men to understand themselves, and thus operate the open and not wildly in the dark." This statement is by Isaiah Berlin. The new role of philosophy as being to help bring clarity of thought. Berlin's conception and function of philosophy is linked to his ideas of freedom and pluralism.

2. (a) Success of contemporary democracy lies in the state limiting its own power . Explain. (20)

- Democracy as an essentially contested concept.
- Procedural democracy may not always lead to substantive democracy.
- Problems and receding wave of democracy in contemporary world- point to issues in the Democracy Index.
- Rise of authoritarianism and State power contrary to principles of constitutionalism.



Constitutionalism & Democracy

Constitutionalism - Rule of Law, Limited government, Accountability.

Democracy- Universal Adult Franchise.

Scholars like **Fareed Zakaria** contend that in countries where constitutionalism precedes democracy, chances of success of democracy become better.

Constitutionalism perpetuates a culture of political values. Democracies survive and thrive e.g. Britain. This looks at substantive democracy to establish and maintain procedural democracy.

The Democracy Index by EUI is an annual survey, which rates the state of democracy across 167 countries on the basis of five measures –

- electoral process and pluralism,
- the functioning of government,
- political participation,
- democratic political culture and
- civil liberties.

This provides a wider range of factors to look at democracy in a more substantive manner rather than just a procedural one. On the basis of the same, it categorises democracies in:

- Authoritarian,
- Flawed Democracy,
- Hybrid Democracy and
- Full Democracy




Amartya Sen contests this thesis and says that it is not supported by satisfactory empirical evidence. He further argues that in poor societies, **democracy has both an instrumental and a constructive role** to play in promoting development.

Political freedoms and civil rights, a free press, the presence of opposition parties – all of these mean that **the actions of the government are subject to the evaluation and criticism** of society and that has a direct impact on the fortunes of those in power.

Importantly, democracy also helps in **understanding economic needs**. Movements like the Narmada Bachao Andolan and the Nuclear power plants contest the claims of benefits. Industrialization and multipurpose river projects are supposed to be beneficial.

2. (b) Rawls' idea of the 'liberal self' is too individualistic. Explain, in this context, the communitarian critique of Rawls theory of justice. (15)

- What is Rawls' liberal self in theory of justice making decisions in the original position?
- A conception of persons as free and equal moral beings that will serve as a basis for constructing a political morality.
- Communitarian criticism of this liberal self as abstract (Idea of self as impoverished and incoherent- Doppelt, abstract- Taylor, disembodied - Sandel, disconnected- Macintyre).
- Rawlsian response and correction.

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Communitarian theories are critical of the abstract individualism promoted in liberalism. They emphasize on particular and social moral traditions that inform the conception of 'good' for individuals.

A. MacIntyre ridiculed the liberal notion of individuals as 'autonomous moral agents' operating in an atmosphere where they are disconnected from social context. **Michael Sandel** in *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice* criticizes individuals in Rawls' original position as being disconnected and disembodied.

Sandel asserts that liberal theories have failed to recognize our 'embeddedness' in time, place and culture. He urges that political theory should help in generating institutions and practices that are genuinely good for us and instrumental in creating society.

In *Democracy's Discontent*, Sandel reiterated his argument and even claim democratic politics in the United States in the late twentieth century. He argued that the ordering of priorities between the self and its ends.

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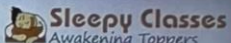
In his next work, *Political Liberalism*, Rawls tries to accommodate some of the arguments of communitarians. Rawls holds that the need to impose a unified law on a diverse citizenry raises two fundamental challenges:

The first is the challenge of legitimacy: the legitimate use of coercive political power to make people follow a single law/principle.

The second challenge is the challenge of stability: Citizens will only obey a law made by those with opinions dissimilar to his/her own leading to lack of stability.

A fundamental change that Rawls brings about is that instead of presenting a comprehensive doctrine or philosophical worldview that he presents it as a **political conception of justice specific to societies with a particular culture.**

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Charles Taylor pointed out that human agency, rights and freedom exist only in their social context whereas modern (i.e. liberal) political theory failed to account for the reciprocal relations among individuals and between individuals and society.

Michael Walzer in his celebrated work *Spheres of Justice* argued that the quest for a universal theory of justice was misguided, because it was futile to look for a theory of justice outside the community – particularly its history and culture. The requirements of justice could only be identified in the context of a particular community, its practices and its values.

According to Walzer, the shared understandings in our society are the principle of 'complex equality' (as distinguished from simple equality) of goods. It implies a system of distribution that does not try to equalize goods across all spheres to ensure that inequalities in one 'sphere' do not permeate other spheres.

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2. (c) 'Credo of Relevance' in post-behaviouralism advocates the importance of action science. Analyze. (15)

- Emergence of post-behaviouralism?
- How it corrects shortcomings of behaviouralism.
- Relevance and Action as the war cry of post behaviouralism.
- Need to address political problems and social change as goal of the discipline. Go beyond tools and techniques → substance.
- Restoration of action based on credible research → calls for political action to solve socio-political crises of contemporary societies.

Post-Behavioural Approach

Post behaviouralism emerged in the 1960/70's as a result of the dissatisfaction with the method employed by the behavioural approach. This new approach believed that mere use of sophisticated techniques and research tools would not solve the social and political problems of the world.

Sheldon Wolin

Critics like **Leo Strauss** argued that the rise of *behaviouralism* was symptomatic of *decline in political theory* because of its failure to come to grips with *normative issues*. In 1969, David Easton himself called for a new revolution in political science – 'a post-behavioural revolution' – that called for a shift of focus from *strict methodological issues to a greater concern with public values of the discipline and with political problems*.

According to post-behavioralism, the political scientists should find *relevant and effective* means to solve the social problems. *Relevance and action* were the key features of post-behaviouralism. Post-behaviouralism seeks to reintroduce a *concern for the public interest and the approach itself*.

Easton enumerated 7 major traits of post-behaviouralism:

- *Substance must come before technique*. That is to say, unless the scientific research was relevant and meaningful for contemporary urgent social problems, it was not worth undertaking.
- Political scientist should put their *emphasis on social change and not on social preservation*. Behavioural political science was criticized for being "an ideology of social conservatism tempered by modest incremental change."
- The need for political scientist to *address the pressing social crises within societies* was a new drive of the study.
- *Restoration of value in political science*. The post behaviouralist argued that value played an important role in politics and research.
- Post behaviouralist maintained that the *political scientist has a very central role in the human civilization*.
- Post behaviouralism *calls for political action* to engage in reshaping society.
- The post-behavioural approach stress that it is *desirable to politicize the professional way* to be relevant and active.

3. (a) Fascism displays an ambivalent stance towards parliamentary democracy. Explain. (20)

- Fascism not a systematic doctrine.
- Mixture of incongruent elements.
- Create mass appeal + mass mobilization → control of political and economic power by a single leader/ party.
- Widespread uncertainty and crisis among people → Search for a messiah → demagoguery (Invoke Aristotle's disdain of democracy turning to mobocracy and eventually leading to tyranny).

Reason for the emergence of fascism

The emergence of 'reactionary' ideology of Fascism in Europe was a result of a number of factors that permeated the region during the time:

1) Democratic government had only recently been established in many parts of Europe, and democratic political values had not replaced older, authoritarian ones. Eberstein has tried to show that the conditions of capitalism do not give rise to fascism, but it arises only where democracy is particularly weak.

2) The regimes were still weak and unstable, hinging on a coalition of political forces.

3. European society had been disrupted by the experience of industrialization, which had **particularly threatened a lower middle class of shopkeepers, small businessmen etc.**

MacIver notes how fascism particularly appealed to small businessmen, such as individual shopkeepers, who felt their livelihood threatened on the one hand by the **rising working class with its revolutionary socialism, and on the other by the monster of monopoly capitalism.**

But fascist militia were recruited from a subclass of the tradeless working class without class loyalty or self-respect. In fact, fascism sought to **muster support from diverse sections of society** through promises, appeals and tactics.

Laski argues that fascism created the **myth of the nation**, **concentration of economic and political control in the hands of a small number of persons** and to demand unquestioning obedience from the masses to the authority so created.

Leadership and Elitism- The Dictionary of Political Science states how Fascism sought to reject equality in the favour of the principle of hierarchy, focussing on a supreme leader whose will is law. Fascists believe that society is composed, broadly, of **three kinds of people:**

1. First and most importantly, there is a **supreme, all seeing leader** who possesses unrivalled authority.
2. Second, there is a **'warrior' elite**, exclusively male and distinguished, unlike traditional elites, by its heroism, vision and the capacity for self-sacrifice.
3. Third, there are the **masses**, who are **weak, inert and ignorant**, and whose unquestioning obedience.

The fascist approach to leadership, especially in Nazi Germany, was crucially influenced by Friedrich Nietzsche's idea of the Übermensch, the 'overman' or 'supernatural' supremely gifted or powerful individual. The role of the leader was to awaken the masses to their destiny, to transform an inert mass into a powerful and irresistible force.

3. (b) Affirmative action policies draw as much strong criticism as strong support. Analyze this statement in the context of equality. (15)

- What is Affirmative Action?
- Give reasons for the same with examples and its working in India.
- How it seeks to build a complementary relationship between liberty and equality to ensure justice.
- Criticism + Issues with affirmative action- both theoretical and substantive.
- May violate liberty and equality, issue of criteria for reservation, increasing demands from groups, politicization and divisive policies, does not address issues of poverty and injustice, cornering of benefits etc.
- Look at the way forward by devising proper criteria example model put forward by Yogendra Yadav.

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The **group-disadvantage** argument makes the case for the strongest version of affirmative action, viz., quotas or reservations. When we speak of disadvantaged groups, we are referring to the objective and experiential conditions of disadvantages that are fairly concentrated and cumulative in the group e.g. African-Americans in USA, and Dalits in India.

First are reservations – in the sense used here they denote a broader category than affirmative action – which cover:

1. special representation rights of SCs and STs by way of reserved seats in legislatures, and
2. quotas in government jobs and educational institutions.

Second, preferences target a few groups – SCs, STs, and women – with regard to the provision of certain expenditures, services, and ameliorative schemes such as scholarships, grants, loans, land allotments, health care, and legal aid.

Third, certain preferences take the form of special protections that safeguard vulnerable groups from oppression and exploitation, like measures to prohibit untouchability, forced labour, and others.

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Views of Scholars

Andre Beteille argues that the reservation policy was a product of the **exploitative policies** of colonial government rather than the caste system. He further points to the Congress led national movement which saw them as being socially and politically divisive.

Beteille argues that in the Constitution there is a **distinction between mandatory provisions** (Article 330 for representation) and **enabling provisions** (Article 16 (4)). In course of time the **distinction between mandatory and enabling provisions has come to be blurred** due to the rhetoric of electoral democracy and social justice.

Pratap Bhanu Mehta is also critical of present system of reservation which he believes is **"not about equal opportunity, it is about distributing the spoils of state according to caste, thus perpetuating it"**. In other words, he concludes that reservation is the opposite of its stated aim.

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Why Differential Treatment

Since ages, societies existed as a stratified, hierarchical society where a particular segment of society faced discriminatory social practices leading them to live their lives without the realization of basic human rights.

Accordingly, the judiciaries across the world have provided various institutional arrangements for social empowerment of the weaker sections of society. One significant measure among them is the practice of protective discrimination which involves the deliberate act of preferential treatment by the state in favor of particular groups of people by race, religion, gender and even spatial location.

The practice of protective discrimination or differential treatment was introduced to uplift the deprived sections of the deprived sections to bring them at par with the mainstream of society. This action is also called reverse discrimination because it guarantees differential treatment to the deprived sections just as overtly as it was used or discriminated against them.

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He is especially critical of the **10% quota for EWS** which he believes opens a Pandora's box- it denies the historical specificity of the experience of Dalits, breaches the 50 per cent ceiling on reservations and driven by majoritarian politics. **P.S. Krishnan** also criticises the move as it "reduces reservation to a poverty alleviation programme."

He points to the **Arjun Sengupta Committee Report** data that poverty exists in much larger measure among SCs, STs and Socially and Educationally Backward Classes and Muslims than among the SACs. The measures to remove poverty are different. Reservation cannot remove poverty.

On the other hand, many scholars have argued for the continued relevance of reservation. **S. Thorat** underlines the need for affirmative action to correct the imbalance in terms of access to capital assets, employment, education, political participation and other spheres for backward communities. Thorat supports **legal protection against discrimination** in the form of EWS, Employment Opportunity Laws. He also makes a case for **reparation or compensation** to the deprived sections for past injustices.

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3. (c) Eurocentrism is both the target and the motive force of the post-colonial political theory. Discuss. (15)

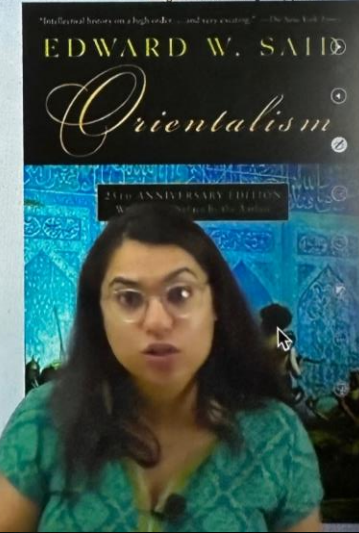
- Emergence of Post-Colonialism as a school of thought.
- Motive force?- Colonial experiences by many third world countries and encountering both the values and experience of Western Civilisation.
- Spivak- 'Worlding'- space constituted by Eurocentricism.
- Target? Obviously! Said's Orient vs Occident debate, Works of Spivak and Bhabha, Fanon.

Orient vs Occident:

- Foucault's idea of discourse can be used to look at the idea of **orientalism**. Edward Said in his work on orientalism points to the specific manner in which the East and Islam is constructed and theorized by the **West**.
- Edward Said tried to view "**civilizing mission**" in the context of **knowledge-power relationship**.
- In post-industrial Europe, the **myth of backwardness** of the Orient was purposefully created by colonialist historiography to **justify the need of the capitalists** to establish various colonies around the world on the basis of absolute force.
- Binaries between East as being barbaric, feminine, childish and West as being civilized, masculine and mature. This exaggerated view of the East based on stereotypes by the west is called Occidentalism.
- Said's work on Orientalism led to the development of Post-Colonialism as a distinct school of inquiry.



- Post-colonial school argues that the portrayal about the **'Orient'** is not a true discourse about the 'Orient'.
- Said particularly emphasized the "**Eurocentric**" bias against **Arab-Islamic** (Middle East) world in particular.
- Edward Said argues that the whole business of 'knowing the orient project' was nothing but a way to **control the masses of the Orient** by showing that their culture is subordinate to **European culture**.
- Edward Said has used Michael Foucault's understanding of discourses as a "form of knowledge that is not used instrumentally in service of power but rather is itself a form of power".



What is Post-Colonialism?

- After the Second World War, post-colonial school of thought developed in response to the Liberal and Marxist understanding of colonialism.

The term 'post-colonial' commonly refers to "political, linguistic and cultural experiences of societies" of former European colonies.

- Post-colonial school of thought believed that **power discourse** is the **understanding of colonialism at large**.
- Scholars, associated with this school of thought, adopted the analysis method of post-modernist/post-structuralist. For example, Edward Said has used the style of Michael Bhabha style was influenced by Althusser's and Gayatri the method of Derrida.



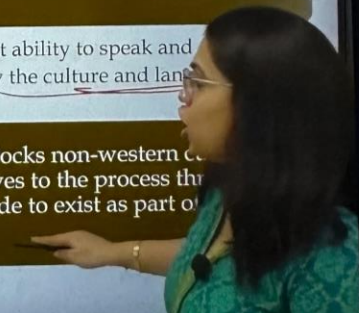
Another major contribution to the post-colonialist theory is related with the Gayatri Spivak's 'Can Subaltern speak?'

Spivak questions the Antonio Gramsci's views about subalterns, where Gramsci's subaltern can have their autonomous voice, independent from others.

Spivak argues that everywhere power exists "even in language itself, so transparency and authenticity are impossible". This led to two main issues:

- The **ability of the subaltern** to have an autonomous, transparent ability to speak and
- The **agreement of West to listen** as the mainstream is shaped by the culture and language of dominant power.

Spivak takes 'the third world' to be a creation of the west that locks non-western countries into an imperial representation. '**Worlding**' is the name she gives to the process through which '**colonized space**' is '**brought into the world**'; that is made to exist as part of essentially constituted by Eurocentrism.



4. (a) Buddhist thought on Dhamma facilitates the emancipation of political action. Explain. (20)

- Buddhist thought not merely socio-religious but also political in nature- Illiah.
- Buddhist conception of Dhamma- to uphold certain principles and teachings.
- However, encourages constant questioning. Middle path rather than ritualism or doctrinal binding. Focus on removal of suffering and happiness.
- Focus on equality allows Kings to emerge from anywhere. Frees them from the dominance of Brahmins and priestly class.
- Allows for action that ensures yogakshema in society.
- Emphasises the duty of care owed to others (not just individual freedoms), and its environmental sustainability ethos.

The list of qualities was further expanded by Ashoka:

- o King should live as per Dhamma
- o King should serve humanity
- o Promote religious tolerance
- o Non-aggression towards neighbours
- o Send ambassadors with messages of peace
- o Construct public utilities
- o Forbid cruelty towards animals

Digha Nikaya also goes on to offer a narrative of **King Dalhanemi** and his sons who anticipated the decline of the righteous state in due course when the dharmachakra (Divine Wheel) 'sunk or slipped from its place' and contrived a **rescue operation by a would-be Universal Emperor (Chakravartin)**.

Through his deeds and speech, he conquers hearts of the people and rescues dhamma through compassion. This gives perfect opening for the Mauryan Ashoka the Great.

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Dharma in Indian political thought. (10 M)

Introduction

- Dharma as an essentially contested concept.
- Centrality of the idea of Dharma

Body

- Horizontal and Vertical application of Dharma in ancient IPT.
- Importance of Dharma across philosophical schools and timelines

Conclusion

- Enduring relevance and understanding of Dharma in contemporary India.

• One of the concrete aspects of Indian political thought is its emphasis on dharma. To define, dharma has been variously interpreted as cosmic law, laws of right...

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War, Violence and Righteousness

Unlike Hindu traditions encompassed in **Mahabharata and Arthashastra** that glorified war, Buddhism is against war as it is seen as bringing suffering to both the victor and the vanquished.

purifying mechanism

"Victory breeds hatred; the defeated live in pain. The peaceful live happily, giving up victory and defeat."

Immanuel Kant -> Perpetual peace

India's doctrine of **panchsheel** that guides its foreign policy may be seen as embodying this principle. This is reflected in **article 51 of DPSPs** that calls for promotion of international peace and security and maintain just and honourable relations between nations.

Dharma is to be upheld in more positive ways. The principle of **righteousness** is different from the Brahminical conception of dharma. It is closer to the Western conception of virtue.

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to define, dharma has been variously interpreted as cosmic law, laws of righteousness, code of conduct, path to guide right action and social harmony (essentially contested concept in Indian tradition). As justice is viewed to be the overarching virtue tying the Greek idea of ideal state and society (**Plato**), **Dharma plays the central role in the Indian context**. **Annie Besant** comments on Dharma, thus: **'That is India's word to the world'**.

- **Bhikhu Parekh** in his analysis of ancient political thought underlines that in the two dominant traditions of Hindu literature- Dharmashastra and Arthashastra- there is no clear separation between Dharma and Danda, but only of degree. Dharma as a concept is seen as applied both vertically and horizontally in ancient Indian society **from the universal to the individual**:
- **Individual level**: Citing **Raghavan and Dandekar** approvingly, **Emree** finds an overarching philosophy of life in the classical Hindu concept of **Purushartha** (goals of life) that lends unity to the enormously varied streams of Hinduism. The **'tetrad' (chaturvarga)** of purushartha is dharma (the code), artha (the matter), kama (love), and moksha (liberation). This gave rise to the idea of ashram dharma giving rise to a system of stages of life with a specific goal for development of individual. Brahmacharya (student), Grihastha (householder), Vanaprastha (forest walker/forest dweller), and Sannyasa (renunciate).
- **Family and Private sphere**: Apart from individual, dharma also provided for regular duties in the personal sphere. **Kuladharm** provided for a framework for duties to be performed...

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4. (b) The legal subordination of one sex to another is wrong in itself, and now one of the chief hindrances to human development." (J. S. Mill). Comment. (15)

- Mill as the first feminist.
- Subordination of one sex to other both morally wrongs + against principles of utilitarianism.
- Hinders human development + Social benefits- how? Relate to contemporary examples too- ILO report etc.
- Need for education, suffrage and employment opportunities for women.
- Issues with Mill's thoughts on Feminism.

Mill applied his principles of liberalism to the question of women and advocated improving their position by providing them with education, suffrage and employment opportunities. This he regarded as a concern of entire humankind, rather than women alone.

Second Sex - Simone De Beauvoir

Liberty and self-determination were two themes that figured prominently in Mill's writings. In this context, women were the subjugated sex denied their own potential, and subjected to the unquestioned prejudices and biases of men.

The most pressing need for reform in this situation, Mill thought, was the removal of the structures of discrimination and oppression against women. Mill's character is wholly a product of upbringing. As such, he was susceptible to the common claim that women had a different nature from men—and that they were therefore naturally suited for different roles within the family and society.

Criticism of Mill feminist views

- As per Kamnick and Pateman Mill has been recommending that women continue being confined within the family and home, which implied that they would not be able to develop the sense of justice to sustain public spirit, and continue to be selfish and narrow in their outlooks.
- As per Okin and Coole, his focus was also restricted only to middle class women. Further Mill furthers the cause of women equality and suffrage for its utility rather than for its own sake.
- According to Tulloch, Mill did not tackle the public-private dichotomy between family versus the civil sphere.
- In the Principles, Mill observed the need to open industrial occupations to both sexes, but a shortcoming of 'The Subjection' was the neglect of how women of all classes could find and keep their jobs.

Mill detailed four social benefits of women's equality.

- The first advantage would be that the family would no longer be "a school of despotism".
- Another advantage, Mill pointed out, would be the "doubling of the mass of mental faculties" available to society. This would lead to more doctors, engineers, teachers and scientists (all women); and healthy competition among men.
- Third, women enjoying equality would have a better influence on mankind.
- Finally, by giving women the opportunity to satisfy their happiness would be increased manifold, and the utilitarian principle of the greatest happiness of the greatest number.

4. (c) Sri Aurobindo's idea of Swaraj has deep significance in the Indian social, political and cultural history. Analyze. (15)

- Sri Aurobindo as one of the most important thinkers on Indian nation and nationalism.
- Swaraj constitutes not only has political but also socio-cultural freedom for India.
 - For national life;
 - Overall development;
 - Retrieve Vedantic wisdom;
 - Spiritual wisdom for India and World.

Ghosh on Freedom

Ghosh developed a detailed theory of freedom which evolved over time starting from swaraj for the nation. Aurobindo gave four reasons in favour of political freedom:

First, liberty is necessary for the national life and therefore worth striving for in itself.

Secondly, it is indispensable for the overall development of the nation.

Thirdly, freedom was essential to accomplish and retrieve the Vedantic wisdom of India.

Fourthly, and finally, Indian independence was essential for the spiritual emancipation of the humanity at large.

Aurobindo Ghosh responded to the request for a message to his countrymen by speaking of five dreams that he had worked for, and which he now saw on the way to fulfilment. His Five Dreams included:

- "... a revolutionary movement which would create a free and united India."
- "... the resurgence and liberation of the peoples of Asia and her return to her great role in the progress of human civilization."
- "... a world-union forming the outer basis of a fairer, brighter and richer life for all ...[people]."
- "... the spiritual gift of India to the world."
- "... a step in evolution which would raise ...[humans] to a higher and more conscious state of consciousness and begin the solution of the problems which have perplexed and vexed [...them] since [...they] first began to think and to dream of individual perfection and a perfect society."

He wanted freedom but freedom was meaningless if it was not followed by religious and cultural regeneration of the nation. Freedom is related to achieving supreme happiness (satchitananda) through integral yoga.

This will lead to the development of 'supermind'. Integral yoga combines earlier Hindu yogic paths of bhakti (worship), jnana (knowledge), and karma (action) of the Bhagavad Gita. It is also called "Integral" because it embodies and integrates all aspects of life.

Unlike Charles Darwin's evolutionary model, Aurobindo did not focus on physical evolution of beings from micro-organisms to humans. Instead, he focused on a spiritual evolution, from existence pervaded with a material nature to existence pervaded with a spiritual nature.

What Next?

Have extensive and comprehensive one stop notes.



DEEP
UNDERSTANDING
is key.



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and contemporary
EXAMPLES to your
notes to set yourself
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