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POLITICAL SCIENCE

TEST SERIES

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TEST: 1

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Political Science Test Series 2019

TEST - 01

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Time Allowed: 3 hrs. *Max. Marks: 250*

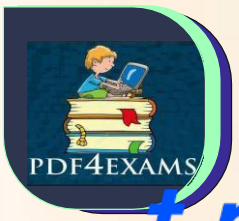
SECTION - A

1. Answer the following questions in about 150 words each:
   (a) Mill's divergence from modern notion of democracy. (10)
   (b) Multiculturalists' perspective on Human Rights. (10)
   (c) Compare Marx and Aristotle on the nature of 'Revolution'. (10)
   (d) Communitarian perspective of justice by Micheal Walzer. (10)
   (e) Notion of Counter hegemony by Antonio Gramsci. (10)
2. Attempt all questions:
   (a) Discuss how Hobbes's theory has elements of both Liberalism and absolutism? (15)
   (b) Lockean theory of property and industrial revolution. (15)
   (c) Michael Sandal's notion of disembodied or unencumbered self vs encumbered self. (20)
3. Attempt all questions:
   (a) Multiculturalism as alternative ideology of Liberalism, Examine. (15)
   (b) Marxist conception of alienation is a humanitarian Crisis of modern Industrial society, Explain. (15)
   (c) Positive liberalism as a challenge to classical liberalism. Discuss. (20)
4. Attempt all questions:
   (a) Revolution from above in context of views of Gramsci. (15)
   (b) Marxist views on liberal democracy. (15)
   (c) How is the approach and viewpoint of Aristotle different from that of Plato? (20)

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SECTION - B

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

   (a) Mill's defence of rights of women. (10)

   (b) Notion of State in views of John Locke. (10)

   (c) Stephen Krasner on Sovereignty (10)

   (d) Post modernism (10)

   (e) Washington consensus. (10)

6. Attempt all questions:

   (a) How is social contract theory of John Locke significantly different from that of Thomas Hobbes? (15)

   (b) Elaborate the concept of 'Contradictions' and 'Antagonisms' developed by Mao in context of Marxist theory? (15)

   (c) Legitimation crisis and response of Liberal democracies. (20)

7. Attempt all questions:

   (a) Relative autonomy model of state. Describe. (15)

   (b) Liberalism as an amorphous ideology. (15)

   (c) Discuss the various aspects of Popper's critique of Plato. (20)

8. Attempt all questions:

   (a) What are the different prepositions advocated by will Kymlicka and B. Parakeh in favour of multiculturalism? (15)

   (b) Amy Guttmann's critique of multiculturalism. (15)

   (c) 'The minimal state is inspiring as well as right'. Explain and provide suitable critique. (20)

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POLITICAL SCIENCE

Answer Hints: Test No.1

SECTION - A

1. (a) Mill's divergence from modern notion of democracy.

Mill is highly appreciative of the merits of the democracy; he never opposed democracy as a political system but warned that all societies are not fit for democracy. In context of democracy in colonies, he was reluctant in the sense that democracy can be dangerous if people are not fit for the democratic way of life. His major concerns with democracy in colonial and developing societies are:

- He is apprehensive of possible tyrannical nature of majority rule and its safeguarding only its own interests.
- Collective mediocrity, general ignorance and incapacity of the members of the governing body will result in poor & mediocre governance.
- There is too much diffusion of power in democracy. Some powers are wielded in the parliament, others by cabinet, and others by ministers and finally others by civil servants. He is afraid that democratic government generally cannot reach a quick decision, nor can it implement it properly,
- The principle "everyone to count for one and nobody to count for more than one "is a principle of false democracy. It ignores that men are not gifted by nature with equal intelligence, virtue and health. In the political system, the men of more intelligence should be given more weightage than less intelligent men.
- Even if the ruling power is apparently exercised by the numerical majority, the real power can be exercised by the selected few for the promotion of the vested interests of the community in supersession of the community as a whole.

Wayper in context of Mill correctly points that **"No one has been less blind to the faults of democracy. No one has insisted more vigorously that it is not suitable for all the peoples. But no one has been more convinced that when it is possible, it is the best of all governments".**

1. (b) Multiculturalists' perspective on Human Rights.

- Multiculturalism is a body of thought in political philosophy about the proper way to respond to cultural and religious diversity. Mere toleration of group differences is said to fall short of treating members of minority groups as equal citizens; recognition and positive accommodation of group differences are required through "group-differentiated rights," a term coined by **Will Kymlicka** (1995). Some group-differentiated rights are held by individual members of minority groups, as in the case of individuals who are granted exemptions from generally applicable laws in virtue of their religious beliefs or individuals who seek language accommodations in schools or in voting. Other group-differentiated rights are held by the group qua group rather by its members severally; such rights are properly called group rights, as in the case of indigenous groups and minority nations, who claim the right of self-determination. In the latter respect, multiculturalism is closely allied with nationalism.

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- While multiculturalism has been used as an umbrella term to characterize the moral and political claims of a wide range of disadvantaged groups, including African Americans, women, gays and lesbians, and the disabled, most theorists of multiculturalism tend to focus their arguments on immigrants who are ethnic and religious minorities (e.g. Latinos in the U.S., Muslims in Western Europe), minority nations (e.g. Catalans, Basque, Welsh, Québécois), and indigenous peoples (e.g. Native peoples in North America, Maori in New Zealand).
- Multiculturalism is closely associated with "identity politics," "the politics of difference," and "the politics of recognition," all of which share a commitment to revaluing disrespected identities and changing dominant patterns of representation and communication that marginalize certain groups. Multiculturalism is also a matter of economic interests and political power; it demands remedies to economic and political disadvantages that people suffer as a result of their minority status.
- Multiculturalists take for granted that it is "culture" and "cultural groups" that are to be recognized and accommodated. Yet multicultural claims include a wide range of claims involving religion, language, ethnicity, nationality, and race. Language and religion are at the heart of many claims for cultural accommodation by immigrants. The key claim made by minority nations is for self-government rights. Race has a more limited role in multicultural discourse. Antiracism and multiculturalism are distinct but related ideas: the former highlights "victimization and resistance" whereas the latter highlights "cultural life, cultural expression, achievements, and the like". Claims for recognition in the context of multicultural education are demands not just for recognition of aspects of a group's actual culture but also for the history of group subordination and its concomitant experience.
- Examples of cultural accommodations or "group-differentiated rights" include exemptions from generally applicable law (e.g. religious exemptions), assistance to do things that the majority can do unassisted (e.g. multilingual ballots, funding for minority language schools and ethnic associations, affirmative action), representation of minorities in government bodies (e.g. ethnic quotas for party lists or legislative seats, minority-majority Congressional districts), recognition of traditional legal codes by the dominant legal system (e.g. granting jurisdiction over family law to religious courts), or limited self-government rights.

1. (c) Compare Marx and Aristotle on the nature of 'Revolution'.

- Aristotle advanced his theory of revolution in the context of ancient Greek city-states when household- centred activity was the predominant mode of production. On the other hand, Marx put forward his theory in an advanced stage of industrial production when conflict between capitalist and workers was brewing up. Aristotle saw revolution as a threat to political stability and wanted to prevent it for the smooth running of society. On the contrary, Marx saw revolution as a vehicle for progress and encouraged it to stop the exploitation of the working class.
- According to historical materialism as propounded by Marx and Engels, forces of production develop slowly but at one stage they become a fetter on the existing relations of production. When their pressure become unbearable, the old relations of production give way, as an embankment is swept away by flood. This process gives rise to a new set of social relations. That is how a revolution takes place. Revolution is 'the indispensable midwife of social change'. Each new epoch of social history is therefore a product of revolution. The capitalist system was established by a revolutionary overthrow of the feudal system, as exemplified by the French revolution. But as the capitalist system itself had become a fetter on the new forces of production, this was bound to be overthrown by the new revolutionary class- the working class –In a revolution.

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- In short, Aristotle as a conservative opposed revolution, but Marx as a radical strongly supported it. Both agreed that social inequality acted as a spur to revolution. Aristotle wanted to maintain inequality; he only wanted to prevent the feeling of injustice arising from such a state of affairs. Marx, on the other hand, exhorted the oppressed classes to rise against this inequality and establish a new social order to put an end to their exploitation.

1. ***(d) Communitarian perspective of justice by Micheal Walzer.***

- **Michael Walzer** in his work **Spheres of Justice** gives an inclusive theory of justice as it deals with different spheres where the question of justice arises. Walzer writes in the beginning, of the book:

- **I want to argue … that the principles of justice are themselves pluralistic in form; that different social goods ought to be distributed for different reasons, in accordance with different procedures, by different agents; and that all these differences derive from different understandings of the social goods themselves—the inevitable product of historical and cultural particularism.**

- The use of the word 'different' six times in one sentence speaks about its significance in his theory. Thus the goods, clientele, reasons and procedures, meanings, involved in just distribution vary. Walzer thus does not subscribe to a difference blind universal conception of justice.

- Another basic assumption of Walzer is that each sphere of justice should-be considered as a separate sphere for distribution of goods. In other words, each sphere is autonomous. Therefore, one sphere should not be allowed to affect the other. He is also concerned with threats to justice. One such threat which he feels always recurs is that one or the few in one sphere take away all the goods. The certainty of which is reflected in his statement regarding the criteria of standards of distribution, which he says 'are often violated, the good usurped, the spheres invaded, by powerful men and women' and he even goes to the extent of saying that these 'violations are systematic'. Therefore, he asserts that state intervention to eliminate such dominance becomes necessary.

- Walzer claims his theory of justice is 'relativistic' and 'pluralistic'. The need for a good and distribution of goods differ from one sphere to another, from community to community, and from society to society. A universal distributive theory of justice, therefore, is neither possible nor justifiable given these differences. Except the right to life and liberty that originate in common human consideration, the rest originate in the society and, therefore, vary. The idea of justice thus cannot be based on a common principle of humanity like the liberals perceive. As a communitarian thinker, Walzer holds that human-self is not autonomous and independent, but related and embedded. It is the community that shapes the self and hence, conception of Justice. In a nutshell, society and social meanings, occupy a central place in Walzer's theory of justice.

1. ***(e) Notion of Counter hegemony by Antonio Gramsci.***

- Gramsci conceived of two methods for challenging hegemony: a '**war of manoeuvre'** and a **'war of position**,' best understood as points on a continuum rather than mutually exclusive options. A 'war of manoeuvre' involves physically overwhelming the coercive apparatus of the state. However, the success of this strategy depends on the nature of the state's hegemony, that is, its position within civil society. In a comparison of the state in Czarist Russia with that in liberal democracies (referred to as the East and the West respectively), Gramsci notes that the strength of the latter lies in a sturdy civil society [here Gramsci uses the term State to mean government, or political society, as opposed to his more broad definition used elsewhere and throughout this text (i.e. State = political society + civil society)]:

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- In the East the State was everything, civil society was primordial and gelatinous; in the West, there was a proper relation between State and civil society, and when the state faltered, a sturdy structure of civil society was immediately revealed. The State was just a forward trench; behind it stood a succession of sturdy fortresses and emplacements.In modern liberal democracies, direct confrontation (armed uprising, general strike, etc.) will not threaten the dominant groups so long as their credibility and authority is firmly rooted in civil society. **Buttigieg** notes, "**Civil society, in other words, far from being a threat to political society in a liberal democracy, reinforces it—this is the fundamental meaning of hegemony" Perry Anderson, "Gramsci hegemony means the ideological subordination of the working class by bourgeoisie which enable it to rule by consent".**

- However, Gramsci does not give up on the notion of radical change in liberal democracies, he was a writer principally focused on a radical transformation of capitalist society. His central concern was "how might a more equitable and just order be brought about, and what is it about how people live and imagine their lives in particular times and places that advances or hampers progress to this more equitable and just order"

- Consequently, it was his view that "**one should refrain from facile rhetoric about direct attacks against the State and concentrate instead on the difficult and immensely complicated tasks that a 'war of position' within civil society entails**". Described by Gramsci as "**the only viable possibility in the West," a 'war of position' is resistance to domination with culture, rather than physical might, as its foundation**.

- **Cox** succinctly describes a 'war of position' as process which "**slowly builds up the strength of the social foundations of a new state" by "creating alternative institutions and alternative intellectual resources within existing society".** The complex program of radical social change in a modern liberal democracy, as described by Gramsci, involves more than anything, developing a strong and dynamic culture capable of establishing the necessary institutions for a subversion of hegemony.

2. ***(a) Discuss how Hobbes's theory has elements of both Liberalism and absolutism?***

- Absolutism and individualism are two significant political ideas which find an important place in Hobbes's scheme of things. There is, on the one hand, theory of sovereignty which makes the sovereign of Hobbes in all respects. Hobbes has been regarded as the first exponent of the theory of the absolute powers of the sovereign. Philosophers like Bodin, who preceded him, put certain veritable limitations on powers if the sovereign. It was destined for Hobbes to make his sovereign absolute and limitless, and supreme and unrestrained from all sides. As this concept of sovereignty proved to be a revolutionary and transformational theory of its times, the people ignored, in its dust and turmoil, that the philosophy of absolutism of the sovereign was derived from his individualism, which was pure and simple. At the same time, it was a controversial theory.

- His critics failed to analyze that he started with the individual and ended with the individual. The security of the individual is the pivot around which all his other political philosophy, either before or after the institutionalization of civil society, is for the individual, of the individual and by the individual. His critics never penetrated deep into his theory and that was the reason why they got a superficial impression that absolutism is its core. In reality, though, if one tries to analyze his theory profoundly, it is found that absolutism was only his ally, and accompaniment, a subservient idea for another of his ideas – individualism. His absolutism derived everything from individualism.

- From the opinion of the influence that his theory had on subsequent political thought, it is seen that his individualism was more important than his absolutism. His individualism gave rise to the laissez-faire theory which became a powerful tool in the hands of thinkers of

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utilitarianism like Bentham, in the growth of his individualistic doctrines of the twentieth century, and self-interest of an individual came to be regarded as the predominant motive in the individual's life. His absolutism, on the other hand, was forgotten once the dust of the revolution settled down. A wrong impression about him was that he was an absolutist and nothing else, because he belonged to the Royalist camp.

- **Sabine** rightly says, "**The absolute power of the sovereign – a theory with which Hobbes's name is generally associated – was really the necessary complement of his individualism."**
- Even a commentator like **Vaughn**, who is quite critical of Hobbes otherwise, while talking about his individualism, says, **"While Hobbes's theory of sovereignty resulted in absolutism, it was nevertheless based on the doctrine that all men are naturally equal, and on the belief in the desirability of a large measure of individual freedom**." **Professor Wayper** also says, "**The Leviathan is not merely a forceful enunciation of the doctrine of sovereignty, it is also a powerful statement of the individualism**."

2. ***(b) Lockean theory of property and industrial revolution.***

- Locke argues the apportionment of natural resources among men should be determined by the amount of labor mixes with these resources. Thus Locke is the chief exponent of the theory of property as the 'fruit of labor'. Locke's theory of property seems to oscillate between large accumulation consistent with sufficient amount of regulation and determination of land ownership by political authority in the interest of equitable distribution. Though one cannot attribute to him doctrine of differential rationality socially and politically favoring the propertied classes, it can hardly be denied that the whole tenor of his argument goes in favor of those who won large property as compared with ordinary citizens.
- It is worth noting that Locke's philosophical and political beliefs represent the basic tenets of early liberalism which paved the way for rise of capitalism. Locke particularly promoted a line of thinking which was designed to protect the economic interests of the then newly emerging industrialist class of the era of industrial revolution and pleaded for vesting political power in this class. This viewpoint implied two things: firstly, political power is not a gift from God, but the product of rational nature of man; secondly, it focused on an urgent demand for the transfer of power from the feudal class to the capitalist class.
- However Locke's methodology for determining the basis of authority had an enduring effect. Two contemporary American philosophers John Rawls and Robert Nozick, adopted this methodology to investigate the principles of justice, although they arrived at different conclusions.
- Locke's vindication of right to property with consequent economic inequalities is no longer held valid. However, he advanced this view at a juncture when it was necessary to promote the ethos of industrial revolution. Locke sought to make the right to property so sacrosanct and so powerful that it subsequently became the main issue of conflict between the property owning and property less classes.

2. ***(c) Michael Sandal's notion of disembodied or unencumbered self vs encumbered self.***

- Sandal, in his Liberalism and the Limits of Justice (1982), argues that Rawls has presupposed a controversial and defective theory of self-identity: a conception of unencumbered self who can choose to attach to any community at will. Sandal argues instead that personal identity is at least partially constituted by his communal ties and the values he is committed to.
- Sandel says while providing a communitarian critique of Rawls says that this conception of a radically unsituated self, which can be detached from its empirically-given features, is unsuitable. It is also essentially an assumption which goes against our actual moral

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experiences. It is also doubtful that such a self can be the foundation of a moral theory, because it is not intelligible to say that a self completely prior to its aims is capable of rational choice. Any choice made in that situation would be completely arbitrary. In contrast, Sandel suggests that any self is at least partially constituted by its aims and values inherited from its community. To advocate that the community is a product of the contract between fully formed pre-social individuals (members coming into existence before the existence of the community itself) is illogical.

- Rawls believes that the individual should participate politically as a citizen but in his/her personal life, the conception of good should not be promoted or altered by the state only. The state should be neutral between the conceptions of good.Sandel on the other hand wants the state to promote the community's way of life. Sandel primarily disagress with the over emphasis Rawls's puts on individual identity and rights while at the same time disregarding the importance of the community and its underlying ever present influence on the individual's perceptions and choices.

3. (a) Multiculturalism as alternative ideology of Liberalism, Examine.

- Multiculturalism can be a complete option of liberal democracies since the idea given by Will Kymlicka that since diverse cultures present diverse projects and systems of external and internal organization, they provide individuals with substantive options and choices that they may explore as they define what is good and desirable. The freedom to choose how one leads his/her personal and social life is one of the very basic tenets of liberalism. Multiculturalism will in its ideal sense give more liberty to the individual than liberalism can offer since it also encompasses the social aspect of human freedom. The only caution needed here is that state should not condone those practices which are degrading to human life, liberty and property and pose a threat to the traditional authority of the state.

- Liberal nation-state disadvantage minority communities by putting external pressures upon the members of minority communities to assimilate into the culture of the majority. Policies aimed at promoting diversity are seen as ways of curbing the process of homogenization that is engendered by the nation-state. Protecting and promoting cultural diversity is a primary value within multiculturalism and it is strongly favoured for the sake of. 1. Minimizing minority discrimination; ii) creating conditions in which minority cultures survive and flourish

- Liberal democracies offer a common policy framework for all section of society irrespective of needs and problems. Will Kymlicka suggests further that diverse cultures offer concrete alternatives: since diverse cultures present diverse projects and systems of external and internal organization, they provide individuals with substantive options and choices that they may explore as they define what is good and desirable.

- Liberalism mooted the principle of formal equality. All other identities were to be effaced or restricted to the private domain. Multiculturalism challenges this liberal understanding of the self with the argument that membership of a cultural community is valuable to the individual. It defines, at least in part, their personal identity and forms a **"context of experience"**

- Liberalism addressed the issue of social discrimination by disregarding ascribed identities and extending the same rights to all persons as citizens. What here require are special rights for identified minorities that is cultural rights?

3. (b) Marxist conception of alienation is a humanitarian Crisis of modern Industrial society, Explain.

Marx argues that alienation is largely a product of class society in general and of capitalism in particular. Marx's most detailed discussion of alienation is in his *Economic and Philosophical*

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Manuscripts, which he wrote in 1844 and was published in the 1930s. In this work, Marx focuses on what he calls "alienated labour," because he sees alienation at work as the central form of alienation. This is based on the assumption that the need to engage in free, creative labour is a central part of human nature. It's precisely because capitalism systematically frustrates that need, that it is an alienating system. What Marx wrote about blue-collar work in the mid-nineteenth century remains true of much white-collar work at the beginning of the twenty-first.

In capitalist society the creation of objects (production) does not help man to realize himself i.e. to realize its potential.

Capitalism production
↓
Alienating circumstances →objectification→Dehumanization

Alienation as exist in capitalist society has 3 dimensions

(1) Man's alienating from nature (2) Alienation from humanity/fellow workers (3) Alienation from himself.

In capitalist production takes place in alienating circumstances & this makes objectification into domination. The object produced by labourer by his labour, its product, now stands opposed to him as an alien being as a power independent of him. In this way, labour itself becomes object.

Work as→object production→belong to capitalist class
↑↵

- In modern societies, individuals are getting increasingly cut off from their creativity, from nature, from his family and friends and finally from themselves.
- The modern man has been reduced to an animal existence and just for the sake of fulfilment of his biological and material needs, his human tendencies including the taste for literature, art, music etc. have disappeared from his life.
- Even the capitalist himself, no less than the worker, becomes a slave to the tyrannical rule of money.
- People typically experience alienation as an individual problem, and there is a multi-million dollar self-help industry that has emerged offering individual solutions.
- Alienation is leading to psychological stress, family breakages and a rise in tolerance towards fellow human beings and a consequent advance towards chaos and disorder in the whole society in the 21st century.

3. (c) Positive liberalism as a challenge to classical liberalism. Discuss.

'The latter half of the nineteenth century produced a critique of negative liberalism. The theories of non- interference were found to be inadequate to achieve the social and economic aims of liberalism. The Laissez Faire was based on the premise that in the good of the individual, lies the good of the society. Negative liberalism believed that the distribution of wealth into wage, profit and rent was not unjustified.

However, the latter half of the nineteenth century saw the rapid concentration of capital in a few hands, monopolistic control of trade, and emergence of big industrial houses which created many social, economic and political contradictions. It created a sense of frustration and protest among whose livelihood and very life depended upon their new masters - the impersonal corporations.

Another factor which undermined faith in the Ibises faire was unemployment. When millions remained outside the work force for years, men began to doubt whether the free trade economy, if

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left to its own laws and harmonies, actually produced the maximum general good. In fact, the liberal slogan of liberty began to change into the privilege of the few. In England, the report or the Royal Commission appointed to investigate the coal mining industry shocked everyone about the brutality that existed in the mines, the employment of women and children, barbarously long hours of work, the absence of safety devices and the prevalence of revolting conditions, both physical and moral. Classical liberalism became a target of attack from all sides. The humanists criticized it due to its practical consequences such as poverty, inhuman conditions, unbearable exploitation, illiteracy and misery for the majority of the population.

Karl Marx challenged the capitalist system as such and declared that the salvation of the working class lay in overthrowing the capitalist order through revolutionary means and the establishment of a socialist state. In short, liberalism desperately needed revision.

A through going revision of liberal theory required a re- examination of the nature and functions of the state, the nature of liberty and the relationship between Liberty and authority .Such an examination also opened the question of the relationship between individual human nature and its relations with society because the old notions such as self-interest, pleasure and utility proved less convincing.

'This revision is known as 'Positive Liberalism' and was carried out by J.S. Mill, T.H Green. D.G. Ritchie in the nineteenth century and Hobson, Hobhouse, Lindsay, G.D.H Cole, Barker, Laski, Keynes, MacIver and Galbraith in the twentieth century. .J.S. Mill's ideas of liberalism depart from those or the classical model in four ways.

- Firstly, he opined that the value of the personality of the individual can be realized in the actual conditions of a free society.
- Secondly, he accepted political and social freedom as good in themselves. To live one's own life, developing one's own native traits and capacities is not only a means to Happiness, but a substantive part of happiness itself. A good society is one which permits both freedom and opens up the opportunity for a free and satisfying way of life.
- Third, liberty is not an individual good, but a social good.
- And fourth, the function of a liberal state in a free society is not to leave the individual alone, but also to act as a means of creating increasing and equalizing opportunity.

T.H. Green brought, about an idealist revision of liberalism. He made it abundantly clear that liberalism could not be placed on narrow foundations. He inferred that at the centre of liberal philosophy was the idea of the general good or common human well-being which is capable of being shared by everyone and which provided a standard for legislation. This standard could not be individual liberty alone. Choice means opportunity and opportunity means a society that is not coercive beyond need, either in its legal and political structure or in its economic and social structure.

Freedom is really as much social as it is an individual conception; it refers at once to the quality of society and the quality of persons that make up that society. Green defined liberty as 'a positive power or capacity of doing or enjoying something worth doing or enjoying'. Freedom implies not only a legal but an actual possibility. Hence, it is impossible that a government should be liberal merely by standing aside and refraining from legislation or that a liberal society should come into being merely by political inadvertence. The function of a liberal government is to support the existence of a free society and it can remove many of the obstacles that may stand in the way of moral development such as ignorance, lack of education, poverty, illiteracy and unhealthy sanitary conditions.

Green did not claim that legislation could in itself promote moral goodness , nevertheless in many situations, legislative intervention alone could bring into existence conditions in which men could freely exercise their faculties of moral judgement, enlarging the area of positive freedom'.

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At the beginning of the twentieth century, liberalism was concerned with several allied problems in the context of developing capitalism; namely, to seek a theoretical justification for continued state action for the promotion of social welfare, to integrate socialism into the frame of liberalism. This was achieved by writers like Laski, Keynes, and Barker etc. For example, Laski wrote, 'liberty is the power of adding something to common life, a contribution which can only be made if in) there are certain specific conditions that enable the individual to make the contribution, and ii) that institutional obstacles are not in his way" The state as an agency of the community and not of any one section of it, has through the guarantee of rights, ensured the former and through regulating legislation, removed the latter.

However, during the interwar years, when the organic theory of state was abused by the fascist leaders, the neo-liberals were quick to explain the just limits of the state- the promotion of the welfare of the individual. The state was seen at best as adjustor, and a coordinator and the authority exercised by it as morally valid only if it seeks to promote liberty, for this, the liberals maintained, the organization of authority must be democratic, the only form of polity consistent with the view of liberty. The democratic polity is to secure fundamental liberties of individuals, to secure a wider area of autonomy for the vast number of voluntary associations through which the citizens realise their several ends and to secure institutional checks against a possible abuse of power.

During 1929-33, the liberal capitalist state had to face a worldwide economic depression as a result of which the capitalist economy was completely shattered. To cope with the problem of hunger and mass unemployment, liberalism was compelled to re-evaluate its capitalist foundations. To resolve the incompatibility of 'free society and a relatively stable capitalist economy', J.M. Keynes working within the capitalist tradition went further than any other liberal writer. His conclusion was that there is an inherent imbalance within the capitalist economy. As capitalism matures, this imbalance increases and the concentration of capital reaches a limit where profitable investment becomes impossible. This leads to economic crises leading to mass unemployment. To control trade cycles, Keynes argued for the direct interference of the state so that capital investment could be made, which would, in turn, fill the gap between production and consumption, keep the industry working and will eliminate large scale unemployment. To save liberalism and capitalism. Keynes felt that 'the state should have control over the capitalist economy and the rates of savings, Investments, profit, taxation rate and wages were the state subjects. He did not agree with the anti-thesis between capitalism and socialism and thereby, also .rejected the anti-thesis between the individual and the state.

This marked not the end, but the enlargement of the fundamental liberal conception of liberty. After the Second World War, how the problems arising out of the war made the interference of the state all the more necessary was reflected the works of John Galbraith. In his books The Affluent Society and The New Industrial State, he argued for getting rid of conventional wisdom i.e. classical Liberalism and adopt socialist methods, devoid of ideology. He suggested certain socialist measures for the welfare of capitalist societies and warned the developed countries that if they wanted to get rid of the recurring economic crises, then the interference of the state in the economic field will have to be welcomed.

In short, positive liberalism as it evolved during the latter half of the 19th and the first half of the 20 & centuries could be distinguished from classical negative liberalism in many' ways.

- Firstly, although it continued to retain faith in the autonomy, rights and liberty of the individual, now it believed that man is a part of the social whole and the liberties could be secured only so long as they could be reconciled with the social good. Society was considered 'a potential harmonious and ordered structure in which all social classes work for the common good'.
- Society has its own interest, it 'has ethical and moral dimensions and the individual good cannot be achieved without social good.

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- Secondly, liberty, like justice and equality, is not an empty social ideal, but derives its specific content from a particular social) and historical milieu in which it has to be understood. Liberty in the society implied adjustment of mutual claims that are made possible through a system or rights which are both restraints and liberties. 'Liberty was not merely the absence of restraints, but conditions necessary for free and full development of the self which a state, true to its own moral purpose must ensure'. 'Liberty through compulsion' though a paradox was justified as practically valid. Only on this ground it justified social and welfare legislation, also, liberty implied equality. Equality provided the basis through which liberty comes to acquire a positive meaning. Liberty and equality are complementary. Equality is not only equity before law or mere equality of opportunity or of being treated as a human being, but also economic equality commensurable with political liberty - a modification through state action of the excessive disparities of wealth and of opportunity that follow.

- Thirdly, positive liberalism believed in regulated capitalist economy, in the overall interest of society. The state could check the individual capitalist, through economic and social reforms, the conditions of the working class could be improved; poverty, illiteracy, unemployment and exploitation could be checked. The gap between the rich and the poor could be bridged through the positive action of the state.

- Fourthly, at the political level, positive liberalism depended upon the proposition that the sense of public good or general welfare is an effective motive of politics. The state is an instrument for the development of human personality through welfare measures.

The state has a positive character and is capable of performing socially useful functions. The institutional arrangements for achieving the good of the individual and the society are democracy, representative government, constitutionalism, parliamentary methods, universal franchise, and party organization. The liberal government is one which protects the rights of the individual as well as of the community. The state is to coordinate different interests and classes in society. It does not belong to a particular class, but to the society as a whole.

4. (a) Revolution from above in context of views of Gramsci.

- Before Antonio Gramsci, the Marxian philosophy argued that the economic order of the society constituted the base and the political, social and cultural order constituted the super structure. And the nature of the super structure depended on the nature of the economic base therefore any revolution if has to be successful has to begin with the proletariat taking control over the means of production. Gramsci did not accept this position and said that structure of legitimation like family, school, church etc. within the bourgeois society manufacture consent and prevent any challenge to the authority of the bourgeois.

- Therefore the strategy of communist movement should not be confined to the overthrow of the capitalist class but it should make a dent in the value system that sustains the capitalist rule. He calls for fresh efforts to be made for inculcating the socialist values in the minds of the people and in order to achieve this the revolutionaries must infiltrate the autonomous institutions of the civil society i.e. the superstructure and create a new mass consciousness informed by the socialist value system, or as he aptly called it "the revolution from above". In modern industrial capitalist societies it has become a necessary condition for the success of the communist revolution overall. Thus Gramsci , the theorist of superstructure The political and practical implications of Gramsci's ideas were far-reaching because he warned of the limited possibilities of direct revolutionary struggle for control of the means of production.

- Drawing from Machiavelli, he argues that 'The Modern Prince' – the revolutionary party – is the force that will allow the working-class to develop organic intellectuals and an alternative hegemony within civil society. For Gramsci, the complex nature of modern civil society means that a 'war of position', carried out by revolutionaries through political agitation, the

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trade unions, advancement of proletarian culture, and other ways to create an opposing civil society was necessary alongside a 'war of maneuver' — a direct revolution – in order to have a successful revolution without a danger of a counter-revolution or degeneration.

4. (b) Marxist views on liberal democracy.

According to Marx and Engels, 'the executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.' Here the term 'modern state' refers to the prevalent model of liberal democracy.

John Plamenatz, in his Democracy and Illusion –An Examination of Certain Aspects of Modern Democratic Theory, has enumerated four outstanding reasons advanced by Marxists, anarchists and other likeminded thinkers for calling 'bourgeoisie democracy' a sham:

- When there are great inequalities of wealth, there, whatever the form of government, power and influence always belong mostly to the wealthy, if only because they alone can afford to provide their children with expensive schooling needed to fit them for positions carrying power and influence.
- Where the political system, to work effectively, calls for large organizations, power and influence belong to their leaders rather than to the rank and file.
- Where there are great social inequalities , leaders , no matter how modest their social origins, soon acquire the attitudes and ambitions of the privileged and lose touch with their followers
- Power and influence depend greatly on information, and the wealthy are better placed than the poor both to get information and to control the distribution of it.

Functional Critique of Liberal Democracy by Marxists: Key ideas

- Liberal democracy serves exclusively bourgeois interests
- Liberal democracy creates ideological misconceptions
- Liberal democracy tries to perpetuate the economic division of Society

Critical analysis of Marxist notion of Democracy:

- Marxist theory rules out the existence of Democracy itself. There is no question of free choice as the people have to function within the framework of prescribed ideology and an all pervading organization.
- In reality, dictatorship of the Proletariat holds no promise of a classless society
- Hegemony of Bourgeois values poses a challenge to the Marxist road to Social transformation. And this is responsible for the incredible resilience of the bourgeois civilization.

4. (c) How is the approach and viewpoint of Aristotle different from that of Plato?

The onset of western political thought starts with the ideological discourse between Plato and Aristotle regarding the conception of State. The founding arguments and statements in a comparative perspective by Andrew Hacker provide a justification for calling Plato as father of political Idealism and Aristotle as a father of political Philosophy:

- They each had ideas of how to improve existing societies during their individual lifetimes. The main focus of Plato is a perfect society. He creates a blueprint for a utopian society, in his book The Republic, out of his disdain for the tension of political life. This blueprint was a sketch of a society in which the problems he thought were present in his society would be eased. Plato sought to cure the afflictions of both human society and human personality. Essentially what Plato wants to achieve is a perfect society. Aristotle, unlike Plato, is not

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concerned with perfecting society. He just wants to improve on the existing one. Rather than produce a blueprint for the perfect society, Aristotle suggested, in his work, The Politics that the society itself should reach for the best possible system that could be attained. Therefore while the main objective of the former is establishment of an ideal state while the latter prefers sustaining the actual depending upon the political realities of the prevailing times.

- Plato relied on the deductive approach, while Aristotle is an example of an inductive approach. Utopia is a solution in abstract, a solution that has no concrete problem. There is no solid evidence that all societies are in need of such drastic reformation as Plato suggests. Aristotle discovers that the best possible has already been obtained. All that can be done is to try to improve on the existing one.

- Plato's utopia consists of three distinct, non-hereditary class systems. The Guardians consist of non-ruling Guardians and ruling Guardians. The non-rulers are a higher level of civil servants and the ruling is the society's policy makers. Auxiliaries are soldiers and minor civil servants. Finally the Workers are composed of farmers and artisans, most commonly unskilled labourers. The Guardians are to be wise and good rulers. It is important that the rulers who emerge must be a class of craftsmen who are public-spirited in temperament and skilled in the arts of government areas. The guardians are to be placed in a position in which they are absolute rulers. They are supposed to be the select few who know what is best for society. Aristotle disagrees with the idea of one class holding discontinuing political power. The failure to allow circulation between classes excludes those men who may be ambitious, and wise, but are not in the right class of society to hold any type of political power. Aristotle looks upon this ruling class system as an ill-conceived political structure. He quotes "It is a further objection that he deprives his Guardians even of happiness, maintaining that happiness of the whole state which should be the object of legislation," ultimately he is saying that Guardians sacrifice their happiness for power and control. Guardians who lead such a strict life will also think it necessary to impose the same strict lifestyle on the society it governs.

- Aristotle puts a high value on moderation there is so much of Plato's utopia that is undefined and it is carried to extremes that no human being could ever fulfil its requirements. Aristotle believes that Plato is underestimating the qualitative change in human character and personality that would have to take place in order to achieve his utopia. Plato chose to tell the reader of his Republic how men would act and what their attitudes would be in a perfect society. Aristotle tries to use real men in the real world in an experimental fashion to foresee how and in which ways they can be improved.

SECTION - B

5. (a) *Mill's defence of rights of women.*

- Mill was convinced that the moral and intellectual advancement of humankind would result in greater happiness for everybody. He asserted that the higher pleasures of the intellect yielded far greater happiness than the lower pleasure of the senses. He conceived of human beings as morally and intellectually capable of being educated and civilised. Mill believed everyone should have the right to vote, with the only exceptions being barbarians and uneducated people.

- Mill argues that people should be able to vote to defend their own rights and to learn to stand on their two feet, morally and intellectually. This argument is applied to both men and women. Mill often used his position as a Member of Parliament to demand the vote for women, a controversial position for the time.

- In Mill's time a woman was generally subject to the whims of her husband and/or father due to social norms which said women were both physically and mentally less able than

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men, and therefore needed to be "taken care of." Contributing to this view were both hierarchical religious views of men and women within the family and social theories based on biological determinism. The archetype of the ideal woman as mother, wife and homemaker was a powerful idea in 19th century society.

- At the time of writing, Mill recognized that he was going against the common views of society and was aware that he would be forced to back up his claims persistently. Mill argued that the inequality of women was a relic from the past, when "might was right," But it had no place in the modern world. Mill saw that having effectively half the human race unable to contribute to society outside of the home as a hindrance to human development.
- **"The legal subordination of one sex to another – is wrong in itself, and now one of the chief hindrances to human improvement; and that it ought to be replaced by a system of perfect equality, admitting no power and privilege on the one side, nor disability on the other."**
- Mill attacks the argument that women are naturally worse at some things than men, and should, therefore, be discouraged or forbidden from doing them. He says that we simply don't know what women are capable of, because we have never let them try – one cannot make an authoritative statement without evidence. We can't stop women from trying things because they might not be able to do them. An argument based on speculative physiology is just that, speculation.
- **"The anxiety of mankind to intervene on behalf of nature...is an altogether unnecessary solicitude. What women by nature cannot do, it is quite superfluous to forbid them from doing."**
- In this, men are basically contradicting themselves because they say women cannot do an activity and want to stop them from doing it. Here Mill suggests that men are basically admitting that women are capable of doing the activity, but that men do not want them to do so.
- Whether women can do them or not must be found out in practice. In reality, we don't know what women's nature is, because it is so wrapped up in how they have been raised. Mill suggests we should test out what women can and can't do – experiment.
- **"I deny that any one knows or can know, the nature of the two sexes, as long as they have only been seen in their present relation to one another. Until conditions of equality exist, no one can possibly assess the natural differences between women and men, distorted as they have been. What is natural to the two sexes can only be found out by allowing both to develop and use their faculties freely."**
- Women are brought up to act as if they were weak, emotional, docile – a traditional prejudice. If we tried equality, we would see that there were benefits for individual women. They would be free of the unhappiness of being told what to do by men. And there would be benefits for society at large – it would double the mass of mental faculties available for the higher service of humanity. The ideas and potential of half the population would be liberated, producing a great effect on human development.
- Mill's essay is clearly utilitarian in nature on three counts: The immediate greater good, the enrichment of society, and individual development.
- If society really wanted to discover what is truly natural in gender relations, Mill argued, it should establish a free market for all of the services women perform, ensuring a fair economic return for their contributions to the general welfare. Only then would their practical choices be likely to reflect their genuine interests and abilities.

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- Mill felt that the emancipation and education of women would have positive benefits for men also. The stimulus of female competition and companionship of equally educated persons would result in the greater intellectual development of all. He stressed the insidious effects of the constant companionship of an uneducated wife or husband. Mill felt that men and women married to follow customs and that the relation between them was a purely domestic one. By emancipating women, Mill believed, they would be better able to connect on an intellectual level with their husbands, thereby improving relationships.
- Mill attacks marriage laws, which he likens to the slavery of women, "**there remain no legal slaves, save the mistress of every house.**" He alludes to the subjection of women becoming redundant as slavery did before it. He also argues for the need for reforms of marriage legislation whereby it is reduced to a business agreement, placing no restrictions on either party. Among these proposals are the changing of inheritance laws to allow women to keep their own property, and allowing women to work outside the home, gaining independent financial stability.
- Again the issue of women's suffrage is raised. Women make up half of the population, thus they also have a right to a vote since political policies affect women too. He theorises that most men will vote for those MPs who will subordinate women, therefore women must be allowed to vote to protect their own interests.
- **"Under whatever conditions, and within whatever limits, men are admitted to the suffrage, there is not a shadow of justification for not admitting women under the same."**
- Mill felt that even in societies as unequal as England and Europe that one could already find evidence that when given a chance women could excel. He pointed to such English queens as Elizabeth I, or Victoria, or the French patriot, Joan of Arc. If given the chance women would excel in other arenas and they should be given the opportunity to try.
- Mill was not just a theorist; he actively campaigned for women's rights as an MP and was the president of the National Society for Women's Suffrage.

5. (b) Notion of State in views of John Locke.

- According to him, man lived in the State of Nature, but his concept of the State of Nature is different as contemplated by Hobbesian theory. Locke's view about the state of nature is not as miserable as that of Hobbes. It was reasonably good and enjoyable, but the property was not secure. He considered State of Nature as a "Golden Age". It was a state of "peace, goodwill, mutual assistance, and preservation". In that state of nature, men had all the rights which nature could give them. Locke justifies this by saying that in the State of Nature, the natural condition of mankind was a state of perfect and complete liberty to conduct one's life as one best sees fit. It was free from the interference of others. In that state of nature, all were equal and independent. This does not mean, however, that it was a state of license: one is not free to do anything at all one pleases, or even anything that one judges to be in one's interest. The State of Nature, although a state wherein there was no civil authority or government to punish people for transgressions against laws, was not a state without morality. The State of Nature was pre-political, but it was not pre-moral. Persons are assumed to be equal to one another in such a state, and therefore equally capable of discovering and being bound by the Law of Nature. So, the State of Nature was a 'state of liberty ', where persons are free to pursue their own interests and plans, free from interference and, because of the Law of Nature and the restrictions that it imposes upon persons, it is relatively peaceful.
- The State of Nature therefore, is not the same as the state of war, as it is according to Hobbes. It can, however devolve into a state of war, in particular, a state of war over

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property disputes. Whereas the State of Nature is the state of liberty where persons recognize the Law of Nature and therefore do not harm one another, the state of war begins between two or more men once one man declares war on another, by stealing from him, or by trying to make him his slave. Since in the State of Nature there is no civil power to whom men can appeal, and since the Law of Nature allows them to defend their own lives, they may then kill those who would bring force against them. Since the State of Nature lacks civil authority, once war begins it is likely to continue. And this is one of the strongest reasons that men have to abandon the State of Nature by contracting together to form civil government.

- Thus, state of nature was all good, co-operative and harmonious and people were leading their life in light of reason. But, the major problem was identification of laws, interpretation of laws and implementation of laws. Besides these, there was problem of a well-recognized authority to deliver justice according to law. Thus, Locke's state of nature was state of inconvenience. So, to remove/overcome these inconvenience, people set to have social contract in order to establish a state which can rule according to the wish of majority of people. Locke transferred only the right of interpretation of laws and authority to the state, not their natural rights. This contract is at first level among the masses in which they leave their rights and give these rights to a political community which were the cause of inconvenience.
- This contract is majoritarian in nature. It is irrevocable. It is applicable to the next generation because it contains the silent consent of next generation, although Locke believed that a child is subject of no country or government. Under this agreement people leave some rights, not all natural rights and these rights were transferred to whole society, not a group or individual and the whole society is authorized to choose government, According to Locke, through agreement, it is end of state of nature, not natural laws.
- There is a controversy about the number of contracts. Scholars like Vaughn and Sabine believed that there are two contracts- one is original which is among the masses to create the state, and the other was with the government, in Locke's words "which creates fiduciary trust". John Locke considered property in the State of Nature as insecure because of three conditions; they are:-
  - Absence of established law;
  - Absence of impartial Judge; and
  - Absence of natural power to execute natural laws.
- Thus, man in the State of Nature felt need to protect their property and for the purpose of protection of their property, men entered into the "Social Contract". Under the contract, man did not surrender all their rights to one single individual, but they surrendered only the right to preserve / maintain order and enforce the law of nature. The individual retained with them the other rights, i.e., right to life, liberty and estate because these rights were considered natural and inalienable rights of men.
- Having created a political society and government through their consent, men then gained three things which they lacked in the State of Nature: laws, judges to adjudicate laws, and the executive power necessary to enforce these laws. Each man therefore gives over the power to protect himself and punish transgressors of the Law of Nature to the government that he has created through the compact.
- According to Locke, the purpose of the Government and law is to uphold and protect the natural rights of men. So long as the Government fulfills this purpose, the laws given by it are valid and binding but, when it ceases to fulfill it, then the laws would have no validity and the Government can be thrown out of power. In Locke's view, unlimited sovereignty is contrary to natural law.

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- Hence, John Locke advocated the principle of - "a state of liberty; not of license". Locke advocated a state for the general good of people. He pleaded for a constitutionally limited government.

5. (c) Stephen Krasner on Sovereignty

In contemporary parlance, Stephen Krasner identifies four major usages/notions of sovereignty.

1. **Interdependence sovereignty:** It refers to the capacity of states to regulate movement across their borders. In a globalised world, it-bas been, argued that states have limitations and constraints in terms of their ability to effectively regulate the flow of people, capital and ideas in particular. The Contention is that globalisation has to a large extent eroded the-ability of states. To Manage their borders.

2. **Domestic sovereignty:** It is a reference to authority structures within states, and their ability to effectively regulate the behaviour of their citizens. Theorists like Jean Bodin and Thomas Hobbes were primarily' focused on domestic sovereignty of states. A major dimension of domestic sovereignty is 'acceptance' and 'recognition'. In other words, it is the organisation of sovereignty within a particular polity.

3. **Westphalian sovereignty:** It refers to the 'exclusion' of external sources of authority both de jure and de facto. In other words, within the boundaries, the state has monopoly over authoritative decision-making. At the international level, this would translate into a scenario of non-intervention in the internal affairs of states. It emphasizes the exclusion of external authority.

4. **International legal sovereignty:** It refers to 'mutual recognition' to juridically independent territorial entities.

Krasner is one of the major defender's of the continuing importance of sovereignty However Stephen Krasner argues that the rules institutions and practices associated with the above four dimensions of sovereignty are neither "logically nor empirically linked in some organic whole": Hence he argues that states can enjoy international legal sovereignty, mutual recognition without having Westphalian sovereignty, as it-happened in the case of the East European states during the cold war. There can also be cases of states voluntarily agreeing to do so as in the case of the European Union. This has been the outcome of intense and complex negotiations., As Weiler and many others argue the mosaic is highly complex. The European Union has territory, recognition, control, a court structure, monetary union, national authority, extra-national authority and supranational authority. In short, the European Union liar curtailed the Westphalian sovereignty attributes of its members. This has a bearing on the domestic structures of the member states. Krasner's major argument has been that sovereignty has never been either `complete' or 'unchallenged'.

5. (d) Post modernism

When listing the chracteristics of postmodernism, it is important to remember that postmodernists do not place their philosophy in a defined box or category. Their beliefs and practices are personal rather than being identifiable with a particular establishment or special interest group. The following principles appear elemental to postmodernists:

- There is no absolute truth - Postmodernists believe that the notion of truth is a contrived illusion, misused by people and special interest groups to gain power over others.

- Truth and error are synonymous - Facts, postmodernists claim, are too limiting to determine anything. Changing erratically, what is fact today can be false tomorrow.

- Self-conceptualization and rationalization - Traditional logic and objectivity are spurned by postmodernists. Preferring to rely on opinions rather than embrace facts, postmodernist spurn the scientific method.

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- Traditional authority is false and corrupt - Postmodernists speak out against the constraints of religious morals and secular authority. They wage intellectual revolution to voice their concerns about traditional establishment.
- Ownership - They claim that collective ownership would most fairly administrate goods and services.
- Disillusionment with modernism - Postmodernists rue the unfulfilled promises of science, technology, government, and religion.
- Morality is personal - Believing ethics to be relative, postmodernists subject morality to personal opinion. They define morality as each person's private code of ethics without the need to follow traditional values and rules.
- Globalization – Many postmodernists claim that national boundaries are a hindrance to human communication. Nationalism, they believe, causes wars. Therefore, postmodernists often propose internationalism and uniting separate countries.
- All religions are valid - Valuing inclusive faiths, postmodernists gravitate towards New Age religion. They denounce the exclusive claims of Jesus Christ as being the only way to God.
- Liberal ethics - Postmodernists defend the cause of feminists and homosexuals.
- Pro-environmentalism - Defending "Mother Earth," postmodernists blame Western society for its destruction.

5. (e) Washington consensus.

- The Washington Consensus refers to a set of broadly free market economic ideas, supported by prominent economists and international organisations, such as the IMF, the World Bank, the EU and the US.
- Essentially, the Washington consensus advocates, free trade, floating exchange rates, free markets and macroeconomic stability.
- The ten principles originally stated by John Williamson in 1989, includes ten sets of relatively specific policy recommendations.

1. Low government borrowing. Avoidance of large fiscal deficits relative to GDP;
2. Redirection of public spending from subsidies ("especially indiscriminate subsidies") toward broad-based provision of key pro-growth, pro-poor services like primary education, primary health care and infrastructure investment;
3. Tax reform, broadening the tax base and adopting moderate marginal tax rates;
4. Interest rates that are market determined and positive (but moderate) in real terms;
5. Competitive exchange rates;
6. Trade liberalization: liberalization of imports, with particular emphasis on elimination of quantitative restrictions (licensing, etc.); any trade protection to be provided by low and relatively uniform tariffs;
7. Liberalization of inward foreign direct investment;
8. Privatization of state enterprises;

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9. Deregulation: abolition of regulations that impede market entry or restrict competition, except for those justified on safety, environmental and consumer protection grounds, and prudential oversight of financial institutions;

10. Legal security for property rights.

The Washington consensus was important for determining policy towards economic development in Latin America, South East Asia and other countries. Some implications of the Washington consensus.

Implications of Washington Consensus

- Support of free trade through WTO and NAFTA – reduce tariff barriers.
- IMF bailouts tended to involve free market reforms as a condition of receiving money.
- Belief in free trade suggests countries, should specialise in goods/services where they have a comparative advantage. This may mean developing economies need to stick with producing primary products.

Criticisms of the Washington Consensus

- **Strategic trade theory**. Some economists argue that free trade is not always in the best interest of developing economies. A strict adoption of free trade and comparative advantage can leave developing economies producing low-income growth and volatile priced primary products. If countries promoted new industries, it might require both selective tariffs on cheap imports and also government subsidies. For example, the Brazilian government's support and development of Embraer, helped Brazil become successful in airline manufacturing.
- **Low government borrowing is not always appropriate**. Implementing fiscal rules can cause unnecessary economic hardship if the government cuts spending at an inappropriate time. For example, fiscal consolidation during the great recession has caused low growth rates, and a failure to reduce debt to GDP ratios. If governments are pressured to cut spending it can also cause welfare support programmes to be hit, increasing poverty. However, in the long term, most economists would suggest it is prudent to reduce structural borrowing to manageable levels.
- **The Chinese approach**. An interesting development in recent years is that Chinese firms have invested substantial sums in developing economies, such as Africa and Latin America. An FT report, suggests China has lent $110 bn to developing countries in past two years – more than the World Bank. The interesting thing about the Chinese approach is that it involves substantial investment in infrastructure and public sector investment – showing that for economic development, an interventionist approach can have a bigger return than leaving it to free markets.
- **Problems of privatisation**. Privatisation can increase efficiency and improve the quality of the product/service. However, for key public sector industries, privatisation may mean companies ignore wider social objectives. For example, in the 1990s, under World Bank pressure, Bolivia privatised its water industry. But, this led to water supplies being cut off from the poorest members of society.
- **Mis-interpretation**. The second point about redirecting of public spending towards public sector initiatives like primary education, primary health care and infrastructure investment, has often been ignored. Instead the 'Washington Consensus' has come to refer to more market oriented policies, which have focused on less government intervention.

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- The macro-economic crisis of Latin America in the 1980s and South East Asian crisis in 1990s made these free market policies unpopular in the countries where they were implemented.
- Credit crisis and instability of free markets. The credit crisis beginning in 2007 has illustrated the potential for free markets to create instability and high unemployment. Financial deregulation has created the potential for financial instability.

Conclusion

The Washington consensus has diverged somewhat from the original intention of John Williamson. Despite the failings of the free market, there is still merit in considering each of the 10 principles. However, there needs to be greater discrimination and less blanket implementation. The privatisation of state owned car industry may be good, but water supplies may not. Perhaps the most interesting development is the rise of the Chinese and Indian economies. In particular, Chinese investment is playing a considerable role in enabling economic development within developing economies. The Washington consensus is partly tied to the strength of the US economy. But, the US economy is likely to decline in relative terms. Perhaps in a few decades, we will be talking about the 'Chinese consensus' – whatever that may turn out to be.

6. (a) How is social contract theory of John Locke significantly different from that of Thomas Hobbes?

Issue	Locke	Hobbes
The Social Contract	We give up our right to ourselves exact retribution for crimes in return for impartial justice backed by overwhelming force. We retain the right to life and liberty, and gain the right to just, impartial protection of our property	If you shut up and do as you are told, you have the right not to be killed, and you do not even have the right not to be killed, for no matter what the Sovereign does, it does not constitute violation of the contract.
Violation of the social contract	If a ruler seeks absolute power, if he acts both as judge and participant in disputes, he puts himself in a state of war with his subjects and we have the right and the duty to kill such rulers and their servants.	No right to rebel. "There can happen no breach of covenant on the part of the sovereign; and consequently none of his subjects, by any pretence of forfeiture, can be freed from his subjection." The ruler's will defines good and evil for his subjects. The King can do no wrong, because lawful and unlawful, good and evil, are merely commands, merely the will of the ruler.
Civil Society	Civil society precedes the state, both morally and historically. Society creates order and grants the state legitimacy.	Civil society is the application of force by the state to uphold contracts and so forth. Civil society is a creation of the state. What most modern people would call civil society is "jostling", pointless conflict and pursuit of selfish ends that a good government should suppress.

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Rights	Men have rights by their nature	You conceded your rights to the government, in return for your life
Role of the State	The only important role of the state is to ensure that justice is seen to be done	Whatever the state does is just by definition. All of society is a direct creation of the state, and a reflection of the will of the ruler.
Authorized	Authorization is meaningless, except that the authorization gives us reason to believe that the use of force is just. If authorization does not give us such confidence, perhaps because the state itself is a party to the dispute, or because of past lawless acts and abuses by the state, then we are back in a state of nature.	The concept of just use of force is meaningless or cannot be known. Just use of force is whatever force is authorized

6. (b) Elaborate the concept of 'Contradictions' and 'Antagonisms' developed by Mao in context of Marxist theory?

- In Marxist theory, the main vehicle of all changes in society is contradiction. Mao further elaborated this idea. For him, contradictions or the unity of opposites (thesis and anti-thesis) leading to a higher level and transforming quantity into quality (synthesis) was the fundamental law of historical development.
- But he did not fully endorse the Marxist position on contradiction. It may be mentioned that Marx, in his writings, seems to have used the terms contradictions and antagonisms almost interchangeably. However, Lenin began to distinguish between the two. He expressed the view that contradictions would remain even in a socialist society, but antagonisms would not. Mao immensely enriched the debate. In his famous essay titled "On Contradictions (1937), he formulated the notions of antagonistic contradictions and non-antagonistic contradictions.
- According to him, antagonistic contradictions are those which can be resolved peacefully. In his 'On Correct Handling of Contradictions' (1957) Mao further elaborated this view. He argued that the contradictions between the peasantry and the proletariat were non-antagonistic; the contradictions between the peasantry and the proletariat on one hand, and the petty bourgeoisie on the other were non-antagonistic; the contradictions between the peasantry, the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie on the one hand and the national bourgeoisie on the other were non-antagonistic. Contradictions between the various communist parties were non-antagonistic, but contradictions between the Chinese people and the comprador bourgeoisie were antagonistic.
- Contradictions between the socialist and the capitalist camp were antagonistic. Contradictions between colonial countries and were antagonistic. He also argued that at any one point of time, one contradiction becomes the principal contradiction whereas the other contradictions become minor.
- Further, he argued that even a principal contradiction has a principal aspect and several minor aspects. For example, in the era of imperialism the contradiction imperialist the imperialist camp on one hand and the socialist camp and colonial countries on the other is a principal contradiction and contradiction between the Soviet Union and the US was a principal aspect of this principal contradiction.

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- However, he also added that which contradiction is to be treated as antagonistic and principal and which as minor and non-antagonistic or which aspect is to be treated as principal wouldbe contingent on relative historical tactical considerations.

6. (c) Legitimation crisis and response of Liberal democracies.

- Jurgen Habermas has developed an alternative to the Weberian approach to legitimacy.
- He concentrated on the machinery through which legitimacy was maintained viz., the democratic system, the party system, social and welfare reforms etc.
- At the same time, Habermas pointed out the difficulties of legitimation, which would invariably be faced in a political process that produced and sustained unequal class power.
- In his work, Legitimation Crisis (1973), Habermas identified these difficulties as 'crisis tendencies' within capitalist societies.
- Capitalist societies, based on the pursuit of profit and producing class inequalities, have to sustain political stability by invoking a normal claim to rule.
- In such a system, legitimacy is secured by democratic processes, which lead to further demands for social welfare provisions, increased popular participation and social equality.
- This in turn puts pressures on the state to expand its social responsibilities, and raises demands for state intervention for removing inequalities, forcing it to increase expenditure on welfare (non-profit) measures.
- These pressures lead to increase in taxation and public spending, and constrain capitalist accumulation by restricting profit levels and discouraging enterprise. Forced either to resist popular pressures or risk economic collapse, such societies find it increasingly difficult and eventually impossible, to maintain legitimacy.
- Thus, a capitalist society is constantly in the grip of crisis tendencies, which test its ability to sustain itself through the legitimacy that it can elicit through various democratic institutions.
- According to Habermas, capitalist democracies cannot permanently satisfy both popular demands for social equality and welfare rights and requirements of a market economy based on private profit. The implication of such 'crises' involves a disturbance of integration or cohesion of society and the regulatory structures of the capitalist system.

Response of Liberal Government to these pressures:

In such scenarios of legitimation crisis, the modern state, according to Habermas, takes recourse simultaneously to 'system steering' and ideological measures to legitimize and stabilize the existing structures. This involves an 'uncoupling' or dissociation of the economic (wage labour and capital relations) and the political spheres (institutions of governance). This means that the exploitative relationship between wage labour and capital is no longer part of the political sphere. The political sphere in turn becomes less participatory and more impersonal, bureaucratised, and distanced from the ruled. Such a system would, however, be held together ideologically by legitimizing 'universalist' discourses of rights, justice and citizenship which give the rulers the moral claim to rule.

7. (a) Relative autonomy model of state. Describe.

Poulantzas defines the "**participation of several classes and class fractions in political domination**" by the concept of a power bloc. There are two noteworthy things about this concept.

- First, Poulantzas defines the power bloc as a "contradictory unity of dominant classes or fractions" whose interests are antagonistic rather than monolithic.

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- Second, the power bloc is dominated internally by a hegemonic class or fraction that politically polarizes the economic interests of the other classes or fractions of the bloc in order to establish its own economic interest as the least common denominator in the political field and to make itself the representative of the general common interest of the power bloc as a whole.
- From this privileged position within the power bloc, the hegemonic class or fraction indirectly reproduces its own privileged place within the relations of economic exploitation and political domination with the exploitation and domination of the masses by the power bloc as a whole.
- Poulantzas defines the hegemony of the dominant class or fraction in terms of "class alliances" and the "unity of state power." Following Gramsci, he maintains that the hegemonic class or fraction exercises class leadership and holds political power: political power is neither shared nor distributed within the power bloc. The non-hegemonic elements of the power bloc are "incapable (through their own organizational means) of transforming their specific interests into the political interest which would polarize the interests of the other classes and fractions of the power bloc".
- Because the classes and fractions that make up the power bloc have contradictory interests, they cannot "raise themselves" to the level of a political "unity," where power is shared among the various classes and fractions, but only to the level of a political "alliance," where power is held as a unity by the hegemonic class or fraction.
- In short, the relations between the various classes or fractions of the power bloc "cannot consist of a sharing out of institutionalized political power, such that the hegemonic class or fraction simply possesses a more important share than the others".
- By means of the concept of the power bloc, Poulantzas has established the class basis of the capitalist state. However, his description of hegemony and the political power of the hegemonic class or fraction comes very close to eliminating the relative autonomy of the state altogether. By referring to the state as the "univocal expression of the dominant fraction within the power bloc," for example, Poulantzas seems to have reduced the specific effectively of the state to the pertinent effects of economic class.
- In Political Power and Social Classes, everything of importance seems to occur outside the state and, perhaps even more significant, independently of the practices of the exploited and dominated classes. This latter point is clearly brought out in the distinction Poulantzas draws between political practice (a concept pertaining to the power bloc) and the political scene (a concept pertaining to the state apparatuses, that is, political parties and the state bureaucracy).
- The power bloc exists outside the state, yet its pertinent effects seem to determine the very structure of the state; the two are so strongly identified that the dissolution or transformation of the power bloc necessarily entails the transformation of the form of the state itself. The power bloc constitutes the field of political practice and political power, while the state proper, that is, the actual state apparatuses and their structured relationships, exists as a distinct yet distinctly secondary field of political representation.
- Despite its tendency to devalue the political scene, Poulantzas's notion that the class power of the power bloc limits the particular rhythms of the political scene (political parties and organizations of class representation) has undeniable explanatory power. Among other things, it explains why political regimes may change in capitalist societies without a significant change in the power bloc and perhaps more important, why the dominant fraction of the power bloc need not correspond to the class (or fraction) that is actually the "ruling" class

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on the political scene (for example, how a petty bourgeois movement occupies the dominant place in the political scene under the Nazi regime while monopoly capital is nevertheless able to organize itself as the new hegemonic class).

- By means of his concept of the power bloc and its pertinent effects on the political scene, Poulantzas is able to explain how agents on the political scene (politicians and bureaucrats) may end up acting in the interests of the power bloc even when such actions run counter to their own objective class interest (if they are not themselves members of the hegemonic fraction).
- Because of the way the dominant class or fraction projects its interest as the interest of the power bloc as a whole, because of the pertinent effects exerted by the power bloc within the political scene, and because of the isolating effect and unifying function of the state within capitalist social formations, Poulantzas insists that a distinction be made between class interest (the objective effect of the collective of structural determinations) and class position (the hypothetical place defined by a specific instance or practice, in this case the political scene).

7. (b) Liberalism as an amorphous ideology.

- Both as a doctrine and as a movement, liberalism is an amorphous ideology. Liberalism is commonly used by everyone: who talk in public for every divergent and contradictory purpose.
- As Bottomore writes 'one can remain liberal and be for, and the other remain liberal and be against, a vast range of contradictory political propositions'.
- People from all walks of life and more from 'antagonistic 'classes, all speak in terms of liberalism, defending their interest and making their demands.
- Similarly, Bullock and Shock write that no student of modern political philosophy would reasonably deny the name of liberal to any of the men represented in this connection, yet each of them, Fox and Bentham, Richard Cobden and Lloyd George Russell, Macaulay and Acton, Herbert Spencer and T.H. Green, Gladstone, Mill and Keynes held views widely different In some respect from those of others.
- And these differences are differences not only of policies and programmes-those are more easily explained, but also of principle, for example of the role of state, the vexed question of Laissez faire. This means that as a political policy, liberalism is without a coherent policy, that its goals have been made as formal and abstract as to provide no clear moral standard, that in terms genuine conflict of interests, classes, parties ad ideals can no longer be stated clearly. Used virtually by all, it lacks political, moral and intellectual clarity.
- This very lack of clarity is exploited by all interest. It calls its indecision as open-mindedness, its absence of moral criterion as tolerance, and formality of criteria as 'broadly speaking'.

7. (c) Discuss the various aspects of Popper's critique of Plato.

Professor **Popper** who has launched the bitterest attack on Plato in his book *the open society and its Enemies. Vol 1.* He says that the political programme of Plato's is totalitarian because it vests 'the monopoly of things like military virtues and training 'in the ruling class and excludes the producing classes completely from any participation in political activities. Popper regards Plato as a totalitarian because the latter identifies 'justice with the principles of class rule and class privilege'; because Plato's principles that every class should attend to its own business is interpreted to mean' briefly and bluntly' that the state is just if the ruler rules, if the worker works and if the slave serves'.

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Justification of Popper's criticism

- Popper finds further justification for his charge in the fact that by Justice Plato does not mean anything similar to what we generally understand by the term in current parlance. There is no reference in his theory to anything like
  - An equal distribution of the burden of citizenship,
  - equal treatment of the citizens before the law provided, of course that
  - the laws themselves neither favour nor disfavour individual citizens or groups or classes
  - impartiality of courts of justice
  - an equal share in the advantage which their membership of the state may offer to the citizen
- Pluto subordinates the individual to the state with the fact that in his scheme the individual has meaning and significance only in so far as he performs some functions in the state. The members of the upper two classes are not allowed to enjoy family life; they are denied the pleasures of the senses. They have to give up all their private interests for the sake of the state. The members of the producing class are denied all political power, but are given the right to enjoy life and earn wealth. Every member of the state is thus called upon to live for the state and not for him.
- He was no democrat either, he took little note of the producers who always form the great majority of the population in every state.

Defence of Plato against Popper's criticism

- Plato does not regard the individual as an isolated unit whose good may be opposed to and independent of the society. **His individual is a part of a whole;** his life acquires value and significance only in relation to the whole. The rights which he can demand and which society should secure to him are those conditions of life which enable him to discharge his function as a part of the whole and contribute to its welfare. The only right in which Plato is interested is the right which enables one to perform one's duties; it covers all other rights. This conception does not destroy the individuality of the individual; on the contrary, it deepens it.
- For Plato justice and injustice are conditions of states of human psyche expressing themselves in the corresponding conditions of the psyche of the society. Very naturally therefore an enquiry into the just life of the individual becomes an enquiry into order and disorder in society. Since disorder in society can destroy the human soul, nothing can be objects of greater concern for the individual, than to see that the polis or state is ruled by the men with well-ordered souls.
- The rulers are not united together by the pursuit of any common interest-economic, dynastic or personal. There are no class interests which they are expected to promote; their only concern is the welfare of the polis. Far from enjoying any privileges, they are denied what the common man cherishes the most-the pleasures of the family and amassing wealth. Whatever else the rule of the philosopher's kin may be it is certainly not rule by a privileged class.
- In the last place, we may point out that in as much as the fundamental purpose of Plato was to delineate an ideal state in which the individual could fulfil himself in the highest sense of the term, he could not think of subordinating the individual of the state ; this runs counter to his purpose. It should be always borne in mind that for Plato the state is not in end in itself; it exists for the perfection of the individual. Its purpose is the production of

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noble characters, According to Plato the worth of a state should be measured by the type of character it produces in its citizens; by the virtue of its rulers, the courage of its warriors and the temperance of its producers and not by its size, wealth or army.

8. *(a) What are the different prepositions advocated by will Kymlicka and B. Parakeh in favour of multiculturalism?*

- **Bhikhu Parekh's prepositions:** Parekh argued that no cultures can "ever expresses the full range of human potentialities", and each articulates 'only one aspect of it. Consequently, the presence of many cultures contributes to the "overall' richness of society". Different cultures enable us to experienced different ways of living and thinking, and this makes us aware that our cultural horizon is only one of the many that have given meaning to lives of countless men and women.

- Multiculturalism is more than a statement of value pluralism. It does not merely suggest that different value systems exist in society and individuals may favour or commit themselves to any of them. Instead, multiculturalism argues that each culture incorporates a distinct value, different from that which is expressed in another culture. Further, the life of an individual is shaped to a considerable extent by the value framework of the culture to which he belongs. The customs and institutionalized practices of that culture structure his preferences and judgments

- Excluding a cultural community from the political and public domain, denying it recognition or misrecognizing it, causes **grievous injury to individual .They become nervous and diffident and are unable to perform successfully in society .It creates inter generation conflicts** and deprives the individual of a secure social environment that is necessary for proper growth and development. For the multiculturalism secure cultural context is an essential condition for leading a reasonably autonomous existence and exercising choices.

- **Will Kymlicka's prepositions:** In his earlier writings regarding cultural identify, he holds that cultural membership should be considered as *primary good* in Rawlsian sense because culture provides a context where individuals make choice. The freedom to make a choice is a liberal value. Collective rights he argues, promote individual freedom and autonomy which are the crore values of liberalism. Only by exercising the rights to choose what one considers good can one lead a good life and cultures provide this choice. The right to choose implies the right to rethink and revise the choice made. Kymlicka firmly believes and argues that 'culture provides a context of choice'.

- According to Kymlicka, 'societal culture' gives the group a legitimate claim for rights. For him, "societal culture provides its members with meaningful ways of life across the full range of human activities, including social, educational, religious, recreational, and economic life, encompassing both public and private spheres. These cultures tend to be territorially concentrated and based on a shared languages." Thus culture becomes an 'intergenerational community with its own history and language with a territory'. This definition restricts the type of groups considered for special right. Only two group fulfil the condition: the immigrants and national minorities

- The above statement makes it clear that only two groups, the immigrants and national minorities, according to Kymlicka are profoundly different' and, therefore, it is necessary to treat differently. He notes 'these two categories are of course not exhaustive although they do capture the main forms of ethno-cultural pluralism in many. Western democracies', He advances different arguments in support of these two broader groups. For example the argument of self-respect and self-government applies only to national minorities.

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- There is difference in the nature, desire, requirement and demand of these groups. Immigrants try to integrate into the mainstream of the recipient society they demand the lowering of the barriers on the way of integration and, therefore, the group rights they demand are concerned with removal of these barriers. They are entitled to Polyethnic Rights, which facilitate accommodation and integration. *Multiculturalist group rights for immigrants, then, reflect a desire to achieve fairer terms of integration. Without such multicultural policies, government pressures on immigrants to integrate into common institutions would simply be unjust.*

- The 'national minorities, on the other hand, have lost their land involuntarily and, therefore, 'these groups do desire a high level of self-government, and seek to maintain a wide range of separate institutions which are conducted in their own language'. The rights that they demand are not absolute unlimited rights but they need to be exercised within the liberal frame. These multiculturalist group rights endorse the liberal principle of social equality and individual freedom. To put in Kymlicka's phrase they are desirable and virtually inevitable feature of a just liberal democracy. Kymlicka recognizes three types of cultural rights:

  - special group representation rights for minorities in the mainstream political institutions,
  - self-government rights to the aboriginals,
  - And polyethnic rights to the immigrants.

Thus Kymlicka emerges as a great defender of group rights within a liberal paradigm.

8. (b) Amy Guttmann's critique of multiculturalism.

- **Views of Amy Gutmann:** Since each culture has its own, way of 'seeing, doing and thinking about things', it has its own set of `social understandings', hence differences are bound to be there. What, is just and true, with one culture/group need not be the same for the other. This leads to `different ethical standards that yield conflicting judgments, concerning social justice in a multicultural society where people belonging to different culture live together and interact with each other.

- Cultural relativism and lack of universal consensus within a culture, regarding ethical standards become major hurdle in arriving at a single view on social justice. Amy Gutmann rejects the idea that the dominant social understanding should govern by virtue of its dominance'. On two grounds the rejects this position. She makes a bold statement "While presupposing a single shared cultural understanding is false, relying on the dominate understanding is dangerous." Thus Cultural relativism to use her expression' fails to 'dissolve 'multicultural conflicts'.

- The second solution, political relativism, Gutmann feels is more adequate that cultural relativism because the sphere it covers is wider than a single culture: Political community as a whole consists of different cultures. What is good for the whole is decided through the process of discussion and negotiation, to that extent social agreement is achieved. The limitation of political relativism is that is overemphasizes 'social agreement' regarding standards and ignores substantial justice.

- Having discussed two alternatives Gutmann suggest the third alternative, i.e. deliberative universalism. Deliberative universalism is a combination of the universal principles and deliberation, the one fulfilling the normative requirement, and the other the contextual requirement. The process of discussion and deliberation provides a way to solve the problem of cultural differences that plagues multicultural society. Fundamental moral conflicts are dissolved and an understanding emerges.

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8. (c) 'The minimal state is inspiring as well as right'. Explain and provide suitable critique.

- A powerful definition of the libertarian view of the minimal state has been developed by Robert Nozick in his book Anarchy, State and Utopia. Nozick talks about the state in the context of individual rights. Following the tradition of John Locke, Nozick speaks of prior and inalienable rights of the individual possessed independent of society.
- He says that rights are the property of the individual and are so strong and far reaching that they raise a number of basic questions such as: what, if anything, the state may do? How much room do individual rights leave for the state? What is the nature of the state? What are its legitimate functions and what is its justification?
- The state, according to Nozick, should be a minimal state, limited to the narrow functions of protection against force, theft, fraud, enforcement of contract and so on. Any more extensive state will violate the person's right not to be forced to do certain things and as such would be unjustified. 'The minimal state is inspiring as well as right'. What is important is that the state must not use its coercive apparatus for the purpose of getting some citizen to aid others, and prohibit activities of people for their own good or protection.
- Since Nozick strongly believes in the rights of the individuals, he seriously considers the anarchist claim that the monopoly of use of force by the state may violate the individual's right and hence, the state is immoral. Against this claim, Nozick argues that the state will arise from anarchy even though no one intends this. Individuals in the state of nature would find it in their interest to allow a 'dominant protective agency' to emerge which would have de facto monopoly of force and could constitute a state like entity. The formation of such an entity, if done in an appropriate way, may violate no one's rights, i.e. if it does not go beyond its legitimate power of protection, justice and defence.
- Justifying the minimal state, he categorically asserts that liberty must get absolute precedence over equality. He opposed the policies of progressive taxation and positive discrimination and asserts that realization of liberty should not be inhibited by the policies of the government in providing public health care, education or minimum standard of living. He argued that those who own wealth may voluntarily adopt some redistribution. He is against any redistribution of property by the state because it may transgress the liberty of those who have property.
- For Nozick, the state is no more than a night watchman, protecting the inviolable rights of the citizens. He asserts that the welfare notion which advocates that it is the society which allocates resources is not only wrong, but illegitimate because there is no such thing as ' society' except in the minimal sense of being an aggregate of the individuals. 'There are only people with their own individual lives' and society is no more than the sum of its individual components. State intervention means appropriation of both 'one's resources and one's self'. And 'seizing the results of someone's labour is equivalent to seizing hours from him and directing him to carry on various activities. Thus welfare state is a threat to liberty and independence of the individuals because individual is the sole owner of himself and his talent.

Critical estimate of Nozick's views

- A feature of the modern state is that it has recognized a range of individual rights which were not recognized by ancient Greek or medieval society. Rights are socially and historically constituted. In fact, the right which Nozick defends are actually those rights which were historically specific to the market and were defined and constituted in the context of capitalist relations. They were neither natural nor prior to the state.

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- Secondly, if the resource allocation is to be done by the market it cannot be equal because in a capitalist society, the market also privileges some groups over others within the system of production and exchange. Hence the idea of a free and sovereign individual choosing what to do with his resources is a myth.
- Nozick's account of the minimum state fails because it contains no theory of taxation. For this reason, other libertarian scholars insist that taxation be according to general rules, uniformly applied. For example, Hayek and Friedman have argued that only a system of proportional taxation is fully consistent with the libertarian requirements. Proportional taxation would prevent the imposition of redistributive taxation on wealthy and unpopular minorities and would thereby remove a major area of arbitrariness from public policy. They advocate that the taxation policy be governed by general rules so that governments are prevented in their service activities from curbing economic freedom in subtle and covert ways.

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