

Question No.
प्रसन संख्या

U.P.S.C.

For Practice
Use Only
सिर्फ अभ्यास
के लिए

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Q1

Concurrent Systems Approach.

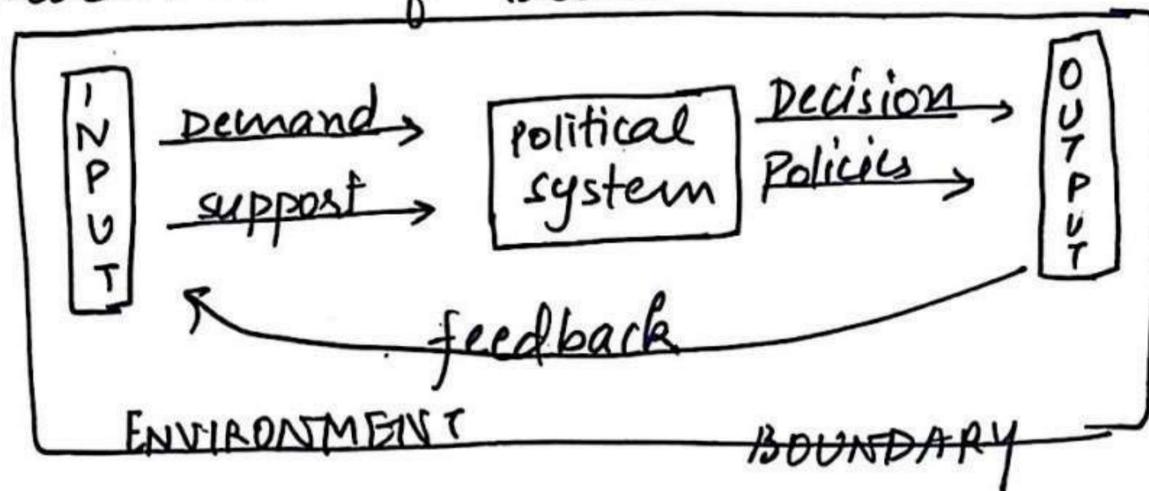
Systems Approach was devised by David Easton in his work "A Systems Analysis of Political life". It was an attempt after the behavioural revolution, to bring discipline of Political science closer to "pure science".

The model speaks of the inter-disciplinary nature of scientific approaches. It was inspired by sociologists Talcot Parson and Robert Burton. The aim was to study politics as a "system".

Political system is a conceptual framework wherein different elements are in a state of interaction. Political scientists through the model attempt to study the pattern of interactions.

According to David Easton political system performs the

unique function of "authoritative
allocation of value."



In the system,
demands enter from public side
as ~~the~~ support; and system responds
with decisions and policies —
which further interact with
environment — and re-enter the
system as Feedbacks.

Systems approach
however is criticised for complicating
discipline with jargons; and its
status-quoism. It is critiqued by
Marxists for propagating the liberal
ideal of political system.

Nevertheless, it is
significant — as it was developed further
by Almond and Verba — enriching
the discipline of Comparative Politics.

9. Comment Feminist Critique of state

Feminism as part of critical school attempts to look at political conceptions from a gendered lens. Different feminist schools have critiqued state variably.

Liberal Feminists

proclaim that state has failed to protect the equal rights of women. But believing in state neutrality, they assert that, if correctly restructured, state can enhance gender justice.

Radical Feminists

sharply disagree and call state an inherently patriarchal institution. Catherine Mackinnon remarked " state appears male to me: law sees and treats women as men do". As a lawyer; she found the institutions of police, laws on abortion, pornography, rape to be rooted in sexual domination.

Carole Pateman in her work "The Sexual Contract" critiques idea of liberal neutrality. she asserts that women's choices and reasoning have been effectively marginalised.

Postmodern Feminists such as Judith Butler blame the state for reinforcing the gender binaries through discourses and law. Inter-sectional feminists highlight how law and state affect women from different class, caste, race, differently.

In the present scenario, there is need of "politics of difference" i.e. the state has to accommodate the diverse experiences of women through affirmative action— as recently done by India through Nari Shakti Vandhan Adhiniyam (Women's Reservation - 106th Amendment).

Q3

Highlight difference between Normative and empirical theories of politics.

Political theory refers to the generalisations about political life - dealing with nature, purpose of state. As a domain of enquiry, normative and empirical approaches reflect different epistemological stance.

Normative politics with its roots in Political philosophy of Ancient Greece deals with the question of good life. It is thus prescriptive, and evaluative dealing with values like justice, liberty, rights. Thinkers like Plato (using the approach) gave idea of Philosopher king. In contemporary times, John Rawls gave his theory of Justice.

Normative approach was however critiqued by Empiricists for producing 'arm-chair' theories. Inspired by Behavioural Revolution 1950s, attempt was made to 'scientificise' the discipline.

David Easton championed the cause and pushed for systemisation, purity of technique to devise reliable theories in politics. This was captured in Lord Bryce's words "We need facts, facts and facts". It led to good research in voter behaviour, comparative analysis, etc.

But over-emphasis on technique and data led to neglect of values — leading to what Alfred Cobban called "decline of political science"; and Leo Strauss called "Crisis of modernity".

To arrest this decline, Post-Behaviouralism put emphasis on Creative Theory — with focus on Action and Relevance. It was realised that discipline has moral responsibility — even more so in today's complex world.

To confront challenges of AI, populism, digital surveillance, climate crisis — normative and empirical theories need synergy; former providing framework rooted in justice; and latter providing data for feasibility and impact assessment.

Q 9

Examine the place of "political obligation" in political theory.

The concept of 'political obligation' is placed at the heart of political theory dealing with normative question - "why should individuals obey the state?".

In the Ancient Greek tradition, there prevailed concept of absolute obligation - even if the law was unjust. This explains why Socrates drank the hemlock refused to disobey the state.

In medieval times political obligation could not be doubted upon because of Divine Theory of kingship. Any disobedience was considered blasphemy.

In modern times, Thomas Hobbes rooted emergence of political obligation in the social contract. Thus, consent

emerged as basis of political obligation. In the Hobbesian contract, individuals obey the state to escape "state of war" and live a life of security. In the Lockean contract, individuals do so to best protect their 'life, liberty and property.'

Rousseau theorises general will and asserts that people must obey the state as they all formulated this will by participation.

In the liberal theories, it was felt ~~to~~ right to disobey the state only when terms of contract were violated.

Presently, John Rawls introduced concept of "natural duty" and 'fair play' to obey state - as it would benefit all.

The concept has been critiqued variably. Anarchists assert that obligation and autonomy are incompatible. Marxist and Feminists assert that theory marginalises class interest and gender voices.

Nevertheless, the idea of political obligation is placed centrally in theory of state and informs modern democratic ideals as well.

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Q5.

Contextualise the present conception of justice in modern political theory. How is justice related to liberty and equality?

Justice occupies a central normative position in modern political theory. It is so because it deals with questions of fairness, distribution and rights.

Originating in the Platonic works, justice then represented functional specialisation - wherein each man has to do work as per his virtues - in favour of just state.

In modern political theory, John Rawls is credited for devising "Justice as fairness".

In this, individuals standing behind a veil of ignorance in their original position devise 3 principles of justice -

- 1.] Equal Liberty to all
- 2.] Equality of opportunity
- 3.] Difference Principle.

These are in a lexical

order - rational person would want to maximise his liberty; and would want equal opportunity to do what one wishes.

But he would also minimise disadvantages. This is difference principle - any inequality resulting out of first two principles is just and is to be used to offset the disadvantages of the least man in society.

Rawls' theory revolutionised the basis of public policy and informed the affirmative action debates. But his conception was further expanded by ~~liberal~~ Amartya Sen - who is social liberal.

Sen devised Capability Approach - distribution of primary goods is not enough important is Functional freedom. Teaching a kid how to read is more important than simply giving him the book.

The present idea of justice is thus a balancing act between liberty and equality. Liberty enables an individual to engage in endeavours — economics, politics, art. But it is just ; when all have the equal right to do so.

Further in the social sphere — liberty has to be limited (reasonable restrictions) to positively discriminate against some in order to address historical injustice and present marginalisation.

The relationship is best captured by [B.R. Ambedkar] Liberty without equality will lead to supremacy of few over others. Equality without liberty will kill individual initiative.

Thus justice attempts as fair balance between the two to inform the public policy — ensuring that dignity of each person is safeguarded.

Q6.

PSC is master science, "architectonic in its character, from which all other practical sciences take their cue."
- Ernest Barker.

Political science owes its origin to the Ancient Greek tradition of Political Philosophy.

It was particularly Aristotle who called the discipline "Master-science".

It is called so because it deals with the study of state. For Aristotle, man is zoon politicon and hence state is the highest institution to fulfil human needs.

It is master science also, because it deals with question of good political leadership.

Barker's assertion that Political science is architectonic in character signifies that roots of major practical sciences are intertwined with it.

This is primarily because as a normative discipline

it gives a purpose and a direction to other sciences. It thus encompasses within it — jurisprudence (law), economy, sociology and public administration, etc.

It integrates the disciplines towards the realisation of a normative political order ^{and social}. It is archi-tectonic in a sense also because it is an arena where plurality ~~is~~ finds expression.

Hannah Arendt

asserted that politics is foundational in Human Condition. It allows freedom to be expressed.

In contemporary times, the view of Barber has also drawn criticism as it places in hierarchy various disciplines and sidelines the autonomy and expertise in fields like — economics, technology and environmental science.

In pluralist societies, the assumption of one singular political "good" may appear paternalistic.

But the relevance of Barker's view of political science is resurging. In the face of global challenges — climate change, data privacy, biotechnology, AI ethics and pandemics — it is political science that can help with solutions.

By offering normative comparative and empirical tools: it is possible to devise institutions and governance processes to navigate complex realities.

Q7

In political theory, the right to property is significant not merely as an economic convenience but as a litmus test of how societies conceive freedom, equality and legitimate reach of state.
Discuss

In ~~the~~ Political theory, property has always taken ~~the~~ significant attention - from Ancient Greek to Modern societies it is looked at variably.

In the works of Plato, property accumulation is looked at as pleasure and work of the producer class. The rulers and soldiers were expected to shun it off to achieve real happiness and work for justice and good life.

Aristotle discarded this radical view and looked at it as an economic convenience and a necessary factor to inspire people to work and also do charity.

In modern liberal theories, property is looked at as part of identity.

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For John Locke, right to life, liberty and property were fundamental to an individual. In his "Two Treatises", he presented the case for safeguarding property for mutual peace and growth.

This ushered in an era of capitalism and mercantilism - where even colonies were established for nation's economic growth.

While liberal societies look at preservation of property as an expression of freedom, Marxists critique this point of view.

In Marx's 'Communist Manifesto' - private property was looked at a hindrance to the realisation of true equality. In their view - capitalism was exploitative and labour was appropriated leading to alienation.

Thus in socialist VSSR, all private property was nationalised.

While it did lead to some growth initially; but it turned totalitarian thereby ~~is~~ violating the legitimate reach of the state.

Whereas in western societies; need was felt to make the operation of capitalism more humane. This ushered in era of welfare liberalism wherein through policies like progressive taxation, etc. attempt was made at re-distribution of wealth.

In "Anarchy, State and Utopia" - Robert Nozick calls this as illegitimate move - violating the freedom of the rich. Neoliberalism brings back classical view of property as intrinsic to identity.

Social liberalism ~~is~~ makes an attempt to balance the two by integrating social justice in the policy debates. Recently, Indian supreme court in Property owners Association case ruled that under Article 39(b) and (c) not all private property can be included. Thus, debate on property is dynamic and changes in response to progress.

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~~Discuss~~ critical Review of Kamez Alvi's formulation of over-developed state.

Kamez Alvi's formulation of over-developed state is a significant contribution in theorisation of post-colonial states.

In his work, "The state in Post-colonial societies"; Kamez Alvi analyzed the nature of state. He asserted that state in these countries is not a result of organic ~~evolution~~ evolution towards modernity.

It is rather an imported institution — imposed by colonial rulers to serve their own interests. This is the reason why the state is over-developed in contrast to the society and economy which is still feudal in character.

The colonial rulers established strong bureaucratic - militaristic style of government.

This is still continuing in Pakistan where democracy could never come in true substantive sense.

Belonging to the structuralist school, Hamza Alavi analyses the structure and concludes that ^{over-developed} state is relatively autonomous; and works in its own self-interest rather than in conculinting^{to} the class interests. This is evident from rampant corruption and strong fold of military in Pakistan.

This formulation is incomplete without referring to other post-colonial theories of state that can offer a critique.

Emmanuel Wallerstein devises world-systems theory wherein he asserts that post-colonial states continue to be dependent on the core countries in forms of supplier of raw material and neo-imperialism. This also is hindering the growth of post-colonial states.

Looking at post-colonial states from Modernisation perspectives of F.W. Riggs brings to light the prismatic nature of these societies.

In Riggs' view, these states reflect the features of both modern and traditional authority.

Gunnar Myrdal in his work, "Asian Drama" calls post-colonial states as "soft state". This is because of their inability to enforce laws and control corruption.

In the present times, however ~~that~~ theory of Maxi is still relevant in understanding the internal weaknesses of state. Overcoming these require consistent effort towards democracy and social justice.

29.

critically examine the Marxist theory of the state, contrasting its instrumentalist and relative autonomy interpretations. Assess the contemporary relevance of Marxism.

Marxism as a theory emerged from the works of Karl Marx. It became an ideology later when it inspired the lives of Friedrich Lenin and others.

Marxism is a critique of liberalism and capitalism. Using historical materialism, Marx exclaimed that history of world is nothing but class struggle.

This view leads marxists to critique the notion of state neutrality that liberals impose. In the words of Karl Marx, state represents "executive committee of the bourgeoisie". [Communist Manifesto]. Lenin also writes "state represents irreconcilability of class antagonism".

This first view is called

the INSTRUMENTALIST view — as it looks at state as a means to further the interests of rich and elite.

Antonio Gramsci slightly alters the simplistic class reductionism of the above. In his "Prison Notebooks", he asserts that state is shielded by the civil society apparatus that establishes the hegemony of the bourgeoisie.

In contrast to this view is the structuralist or Relative Autonomy school.

Marx in his work — "The eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" — asserts that state sometimes can APPEAR relatively autonomous in times when different classes are competing amongst themselves.

But when there is a crisis, the state always sides with the bourgeoisie. This was shown in marxist analysis of the ~~not~~ financial crisis in USA, when then president Obama.

came to the rescue of the banks and financial sector.

The debate between instrumentalist and structuralists was reignited in the Post Capitalist Societies analysis.

Ralph Miliband - instrumentalist - asserted that even in welfare states labour's condition was not better, and that Managerial Revolution was a myth. Power was still concentrated

Nicos Poulantzas - relatively autonomy school - said that state was working in interests of masses since there is universal adult franchise. There was balancing of interests by the state.

However the Marxist perspective of the state is critiqued by scholars for selectively looking at data and using the lens of class. Feminists feel that gender voices are marginalised. Also, there were other identities at play - caste, race, ethnicity, etc.

Nevertheless, Marxism as a theory is ever-relevant.

It has inspired the Post moderns and Post colonialists to critique the regimes and their hegemony.

For instance, Edward Said's "Orientalism" is post-colonial critique of Civilising Mission. Marxism through Gramscian hegemony and Althusser's interpellation - has become a tool to challenge the dominant discourses (Michael Foucault) and Paradigms (Thomas Kuhn).

Most importantly, as a critique of capitalism, it has greatly contributed in making capitalism humane. As states worldwide further the cause of social-justice through affirmative action policies, corporate social responsibility, wealth tax - it echoes the marxist voice of establishing equitable society and respecting the dignity of labour.

Q10

critically evaluate John Rawls' conception of justice — particular reference to Difference Principle, Democratic Equality, the contractual-cum-distributive² character of his theory, and his defence of limited "discrimination"⁴ (affirmative action) to secure liberal justice.

John Rawls is regarded as one of the greatest philosophers of the 20th century. In the age of New social movements (1960s), Rawls' concern was stability and democratic social justice.

Inspired by the social contract tradition of John Locke and Kantian human dignity, Rawls derived his theory of "justice as fairness". He gave three principles in lexical order:

(1) equal liberty to all (2) equality of opportunity (3) Difference Principle.

In his view, rational man would want to maximise his liberty to engage in endeavours; he want no hindrances — hence an equal opportunity. But, in case he is

in a disadvantaged position because of first two principles - he wants to minimise his disadvantages - hence the difference principle. This allowed the states to pursue positive discrimination for the last man standing.

The principle is critiqued by Neoliberals such as Hayek and Nozick who look at policies such as progressive taxation as 'bonded labour' on rich.

Nevertheless, Rawls' idea is to establish Democratic Equality - wherein liberties of all are safeguarded, rights are guaranteed and differences are minimised.

This is critiqued by the Marxists who blame Rawls' for propagating liberal idea and abandoning the Marxist maxim of Equality of ~~opportunities~~. Outcomes

Further, social liberals such as Amartya Sen assert that Rawls' idea falls short of enhancing the functional freedom of individuals.

The contractual-un-distributive character of Rawls' theory is critiqued by feminists. Carole Pateman in "Sexual Contract" asserts that women's concerns were sidelined ^{behind} ~~in~~ the veil of ignorance and their consent was taken for granted.

Similarly, marxists critique that it is not possible to go back to original position where one is unaware of their particular facts.

Rawls' idea of limited discrimination stems from his rational liberal attitude. He believes that any inequalities resulting from liberty and equal opportunity would be acceptable and just, and thus only require limited corrections.

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This was critiqued by Ronald Dworkin as he believed in idea of Equality of resources. In his view, need is to offset only the brute luck and Rawls' was offsetting also option luck.

As noted before; Sen's critique is once again significant along with Martha Nussbaum. They propose the capability approach to expand the liberties and achieve realisation-focused view of justice.

Lastly, the communitarian critique of Rawls by Michael Walzer and Sandel attack at the individualist perspective of man. Individual is an embedded self; any formulation of justice is thus inspired by community.

This led Rawls to alter the theory in "Political Liberalism" - to devise overlapping consensus - based on which ideals of modern democratic life are to be organised.