

1a

Post Behaviouralism is the contemporary approach to Political Science which combines aspects of political philosophy and the behavioural approach to arrive at what David Easton called "Creative Theory."

Post-behaviouralism is not a negation of behaviouralism as it continues to emphasise on the rigour of ^{the} scientific method and the need for facts, data, ^{and theory} that are verifiable.

However, it is a corrective

against behaviouralism since its first focus it is on relevance.

Under Behaviouralism the discipline saw a "mad craze" for science, a rejection of values-based analysis, ~~extra~~ reducing it to study of electoral behaviour.

Leo Strauss remarked that ~~to~~ behaviouralism failed to differentiate dirty water from clean water.

Thus post-behaviouralism brought back relevance, values to the discipline while retaining empirical rigour. works like Russell's Theory of Justice (1971) and Macpherson's Theory of democracy are a result of post-behaviouralism.

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1b "One who can live without state is not man, but God or Beast"
- Aristotle.

The neoliberal perspective on the state was a response to the Nanny State of post war Western world which had led to stagflation with fears of being left behind by Japan & East Asian Tigers.

It was embodied by Thatcher, Reagan and Helmut Kohl, inspired by Fredrich Hayek, Milton Friedman and Robert NOZICK.

For Neoliberals, a "minimal state is just inspiring and just". The

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State should limit itself to ensuring law and order, protecting private property; as Locke had envisaged (Night watchman state)

They had ^a deep suspicion of state power. Hayek said that state-led planning takes us on the

"Road to Serfdom", for Nozick

"progressive taxation" was bonded labour.

They saw state as inefficient - and market like a central nervous system.
State should not try ensuring social justice which is a mirage.

This perspective has come under criticism for promoting inequality (Sen), casino capitalism (Susan Strange), environmental disasters, rise of xenophobia etc. After COVID-19 it would appear there is roll back of the neoliberal state.

1c John Rawls in his "Theory of Justice" (1971) proposes the "rational choice" method to arrive at lexical principles of Justice.

He believed the rational choice can only be made in the "Original Position" [social contract tradition]

In this position, the Kantian man/woman would lose all specific information about themselves and the world.

They would have basic information about economics, psychology etc.

Thus they would be under the veil of ignorance, from under which they would decide the distribution of primary goods.

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He believed the original position was where man could be most rational.

However this has been criticised by feminists like Carole Gilligan for it assumes an unencumbered man and degrades "ethics of care".

Amartya Sen also does not ~~to~~ think justice can be arrived at by abstract men making abstract decisions in abstract situations.

He proposes "social choice" through public reasoning in a democracy.

Communitarians also see man as situated self - ~~is~~ a theory of justice in original position is impossible.

Yet, as NOZICK said, "all future political philosophers must work within Rawls or

1d) The 'End of Ideology' is a controversial thesis proposed by Western scholars seen as a Cold War conspiracy.

Daniel Bell ~~part~~ held that - we are seeing the end of ideology for all states - whether communists or capitalists - we are seeing the same form of development - urbanisation, industrialization, rationalisation, bureaucratization -.

W.W. Rostow gave various stages of development - to illustrate this.

Lipset showed how democracy has diffused any ideological debate.

in the western world.

The message was to the third world that do not get mixed in ideological debates.

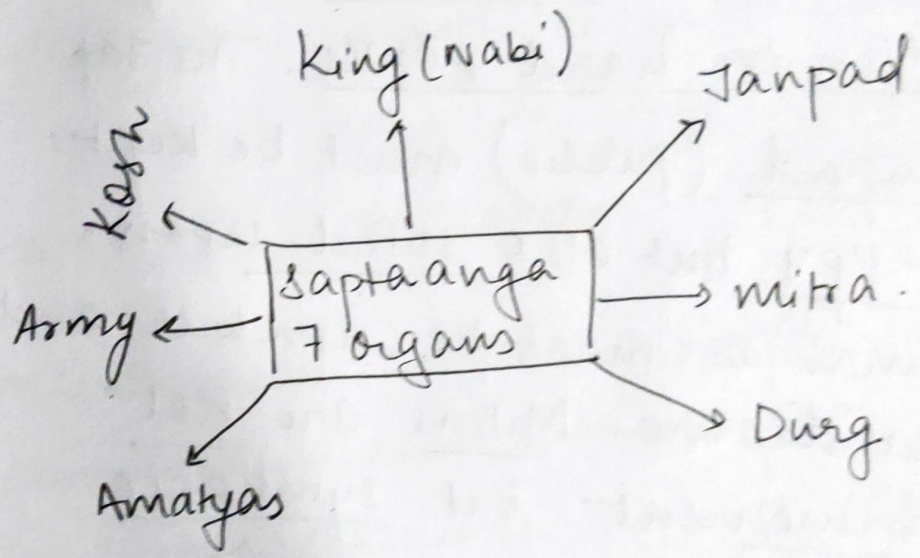
Communist scholars pointed out that end of ideology was itself an ideology. It was a crude acceptance of the status quo, and pointed out that the western had not been able to ensure egalitarian growth. These views were articulated by C Wright Mills, Allistaire MacIntyre etc..

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1e Saptanga Theory was given by Chanakya Kautilya in Asthashastra for the purposes of power management to his Chakravartin Samrat



The King (Nabi) is the most important anga. A strong king can make other angas stronger but a weak king cannot employ even strong angas properly. However, a chariot cannot run

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on one wheel alone, so the king must give due importance to ~~the~~ other angas.

The army and durg (fort) show the empire's offensive and defensive hard power. The Jay

Jampad (public) must be kept happy but also spied upon.

Amatyas must be capable and handsome. Mitras are not permanent but symbolic

The Vigjeshu must analyse his own Saptangas & that of his enemies in order to decide whether to attack.

In contemporary times, Saptanga theory can help understand & enhance comprehensive National Power

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3a Political science ~~system~~ is an endeavour to gain systematic knowledge about the ends, and means of political action, political processes and ideologies.

Two of the oldest approaches to studying the discipline are the normative and empirical approaches.

(philosophical)

Plato and Aristotle both employed these approaches.

The normative approach deals with the study of ideas like justice, equality. While the ~~empirical~~ It is forward looking, and prescriptive. It puts an emphasis on values.

and the duty of political scholars to the larger society. ^{It employs} ^{methods like} dialectics, logic

The empirical approach, on the other hand, believes in gaining knowledge through observation of facts (John Locke's Tabula

Rasa). They see the world as it is and describe it. Thus, it is a descriptive approach that does not make value judgements.

Which approach is more suitable?

Politics is a bottomless, borderless sea, said Quasneott. Thus it is not possible to employ one

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approach to get to the truth.

Both approaches hold value. Without empiricism, the normative approach would remain like "imaginations of ~~par~~ armchair philosophers", and unverifiable. Without any philosophical reasoning, empirical approach would do injustice to the nature of the disciplines and the responsibility of political scientists to the society. Without philosophy, it would not be a "creative theory".

We can give reference to the works of Aristotle who believed golden mean is the golden

rule. He employed both empirical and normative approaches.

His 'Theory of Constitutions' observes ~~employs~~ the 154 constitutions, and his theories of citizenship, justice etc. employ normative approach. The world of ideas is important but we cannot ignore the world of matter.

In contemporary times, post-behaviouralism employs the best of both approaches. For eg. John Rawls's Theory of Justice (1971), Amartya Sen's Capability approach.

3b) The ideology of Fascism can be traced to the inter-war period in Europe; with the rise of the Nazi Party in The Third Reich and Mussolini's Fascist Party.

* ~~The~~ some basic features of fascism can be found in the work of Mussolini's "Philosophy of Fascism", and the actions of his party. there is still a question mark on the status of Fascism as an ideology.

Fascism is understood as being against modernity, human rights, internationalism, and calls for instituting a totalitarian state. ~~comes~~ scholars,

however, tend to use the term to denote ideologies that they oppose.

Thus, Harold J Laski, a ^{Fabian} socialist and then a social liberal, considered Fascism as a form of capitalism to which capitalism undergoes a crisis situation, it morphs into fascism in order to protect itself.

In Nazi Germany, communists were exterminated like Jews, while Hitler enjoyed the support of German capitalists and even American capitalists like Henry Ford.

However, Laski has been contested

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by Hannah Arendt. She sees Soviet
communism as a form of fascism.
Stalin undertook mass executions,
gulags etc.

Ortega Gasset has called fascism
as the revolt of the middle classes.
Workers were being mobilised by
Communists / socialists, leaving
middle classes feeling insecure.
This led to dictatorship by
democracy.

Thus, we can see that a phenomenon
like fascism cannot have a mono-
causal explanation. Eric Fromm
saw it as ^{a manifestation of} fear of freedom in man.

We must remember that fascism
was not rejected by the people.

As Arendt says, we must not cede the
public sphere to prevent the resurgence of
totalitarianism.

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c / Upinder Kaur in "Political Violence in modern India" points out that though Nehru has called Kautilya "Indian Machiavelli", in reality, Machiavelli should be called "Italian Chankaya". We can thus find immense parallels between the two.

Both Kautilya and Machiavelli were driven by a desire to consolidate their motherland and gave primary to national interest.

They did not differentiate between the ends and means, and advocated different approaches to get to the desired ends. For

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instance, Kautilya gives "four upayas"
in dealing with foreign powers
(Sam, Daam, Dand and Bhed).

Both Machiavelli and Kautilya
law the state as an organism that
has to expand in order to survive.

They give advises on management
of power, so that the national
monarch can expand his territories
and rule with an iron hand.

They both recognise the importance
of soft power and hard power
but give primary to ~~so~~ hard
power. For instance, Kautilya
advises that the state's mitra

is a symbol of its soft power, and Machiavelli says ~~the~~ soft power should be employed in the first instance.

However there are also differences-

For Machiavelli, religion should not matter to the Prince, he should

use it only for appearances.

But Kautilya saw protection of Dharma as a duty of the Chakravartin Samrat.

Kautilya's advise is also more specific than Machiavelli's.

Thus while there are many parallels, we can say ~~that~~ Kautilya is more Machiavellian than Machiavelli (^{max} Weber's "Politics as vocation").

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एक घण्टे में उत्तर
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59 MN Roy, the founder of Communist Party of India gives the Radical Humanist Perspective.

Radical human is one who is free from wants, from superstitions (spiritually free). He lives according to the laws of nature.

MN Roy was critical of both Communism and Nationalism. The former subsumes man in the consciousness of class & the latter subsumes man in the consciousness of the nation. Parliamentary democracy also does not allow for adequate participation.

To be radically free, man has to employ reason & rise above the constraints of existence.

MR Roy's ideas were constantly evolving and for Sudipta Kaviraj calls him a remarkable failure as his ideas never took root in Indian society in a big way.

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5b Indian National Movement evolved over time as per the context and preparedness of the Indian masses. The moderates were Gokhale, Naoroji, Badruddin Tyabji, dominant from 1884 to 1905. They were followed by the extremists (Lal-Bal-Pal).

Moderates used constitutional methods like prayers, petition, participation in assemblies through resolutions, questions etc. They abjured violence.

Extremists used more direct methods like boycott of British goods and institutions, protests, demonstrations.

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They did not see the British as benevolent and hence did not "appeal to their sense of justice."

They struck at the economic heart of the empire.

During the Swadeshi movement led by Extremists, various indigenous industries, shops, educational institutes were set up. However, they too did not support violence.

~~At~~ Both moderates & extremists made their respective contributions.

Those of the former were more 'ideational' like the Drain Theory.

The methods of the latter were taken forward by MK Gandhi.

c) Rajya Sabha or Upper House or council of elders is the second chamber of the Indian Parliament.

It consists of representatives of various states and union territories (with legislatures) elected through single transferable votes. Thus it is ^{an} important federal feature.

It also consists of nominated members excelling in fields like science, arts, etc.

Thus it is seen as a dilatory house which can dilute the passions of the Lok Sabha for deliberative law-making.

It is also a way to ensure meritorious candidates in the council of ministers

~~In recent years~~ Rajya Sabha is also seen as a way to counter majoritarian trends that may be displayed by the executive in the Lok Sabha.

In recent years, Rajya Sabha has added to the substance of laws by recommending to committees.

However it has also been threatened by using money bill to bypass it, for smooth passage of legislation. This practice needs to be reversed to preserve the sanctity of the upper house.

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Qd) The Doctrine of Basic Structure ^(DoBS) is ~~the~~ a doctrine to be applied upon judicial review of any constitutional amendment. It was given by the Supreme Court in Kesavananda Bharati case (1972).

Judicial review itself then has been held a basic structure of the constitution in Minerva Mills Case (1980)

It must be noted that - neither JR, nor DoBS have been explicitly mentioned in the constitution.

JR can be derived from Art 13, Art 32, Art 131, Art 132, etc. DoBS is a metaphysical concept

that seeks to protect the sanctity of our written constitution.

Both JR and DoBS are meant to ensure constitutionalism is upheld because the Indian Constitution is the cornerstone of the Indian nation (Austin).

The DoBS was criticised as a doctrine of Judicial Review because it is akin to the judiciary writing the constitution; whereas the judiciary is conventionally supposed to uphold whatever is ~~supposed to be~~ in the constitution.

Yet, as Zia Mody points out, the DoBS protects the Constitution from the tyranny of the majority.

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एक घण्टा में कुल
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5e Article 51A was added to the Constitution ~~after~~ ⁱⁿ the 42nd Constitutional Amendment-Act on the recommendations of the Swaran Singh committee.

It includes duties such as

- (i) Respect for composite culture
- (ii) following ideals of the freedom movement-
- (iii) Protecting wildlife
- (iv) developing scientific temper.

Article 51A is not justiciable but some articles find expression in various statutes like the Indian Penal Code.

Art 51A was criticised because duties are not a part of constitution

of liberal democracy. Liberalism ~~also~~ espouses protection of citizens from state excesses by limiting state powers through the Constitution.

Rather, Ast51A was inspired by the USSR's constitution. Thus this inclusion was seen as a reflection of breakdown of Nehruvian consensus and rising authoritarianism (Emergency Period)

Nevertheless, Ast51A can act as guidance for Indian citizens. The state must however ensure the existence of enabling conditions.

As Laski said "Rights are not-claims ~~facts~~ empty of duties".

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7a) Federalism is a govt. by contract where constitutive units desire unity without uniformity (AV Dicey).

The Indian constitution was drafted, not in an atmosphere of hope, but in an atmosphere of trepidation (Paul Brass). Yet, various sui-generis features of Indian constitutional federalism have helped the Indian experiment succeed.

One such feature is asymmetric federalism where all units are not treated equally and horizontal asymmetry), and there is also vertical asymmetry (union v/s states).

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उपरोक्त में से
एक प्रश्न चुनिए
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Symmetric features of Indian federal structure include -

- (i) Single, written constitution for all states.
- (ii) Single, integrated judicial structure
- (iii) Election Commission, CAG as constitutional authorities.

Asymmetric features include -

- (i) Different number of seats for states in Rajya Sabha.
- (ii) 6th Schedule and 5th Schedule to protect the tribal & indigenous rights, ownership over land, traditions and culture.
- (iii) Article 371 - 371J - to take into account specificities of states like Maharashtra, Gujarat, Nagaland. It allows for regional development

boards (Vidarbha), protection of customary laws (Nagaland) etc.

(iv) Special Category Status for backward/forested/border states to fulfil their development needs.

(v) Finance Commission (Art 280)

gives various criteria for horizontal devolution and even revenue deficit grants

(vi) Some Union territories have legislatures (Delhi, Pondicherry)

(vii) Vertical devolution - Union govt. has more powers in areas like direct taxes, emergency powers etc. (Art 356)

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100+20
120

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Role of federalism in democratising
the political process and strengthening
the union.

The formation of linguistic states
and smaller states (Jharkhand) has
brought people closer to the
administration and to their native
language. Alfred Stepan calls
Indian federalism 'democratising'

For instance, Rajya Sabha seats on
basis of population unlike in USA
where all states get same seats in senate.

Asymmetric federalism, a written
constitution has allowed the union
to survive by taking into account
state-specificities. Eg. formation of
Autonomous District Councils in the
North East, Art 3 allows formation
of states easily etc.

Thus Indian federalism is sui generis which
allows for cooperative action, not a static
institutional
concept.

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75 "The surest sign of progress in a society is the state of progress of its women" - Dr. Ambedkar.

India took another step forward in progress for women with its 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts (1994) which not only gave Constitutional status to Panchayats

but also reserved $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of seats at all levels of the Panchayat - for women across categories.

At first, there were doubts raised about the impact of reservations.

Phenomenon of Pati Panchayat, issue of capacity of women to lead etc. were raised as concerns.

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However, research by Rovini Pandey,
Esther Duflo et al have shown—

- (i) greater investment in water resources
in by women Sarpanches as
water carrying falls as an exclusive
burden on women (eco-feminism)
- (ii) greater participation of women in
Gram Sabhas (Sisterhood).
- (iii) Increased aspirations of girls
and that of parents towards
their girls, reflected in higher
school enrollment rates. (role-model
effect).
- (iv) Lower incidence of bribery.

Over the years, women have built
their capacity, with help of union
Ministry of Panchayati Raj's capacity

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building programs.

Recently, in Kerala local body elections,

8% of those elected were women

MNREGA workers. The role of Kudumashree

in promoting women sarpanches

is also well-documented, showing

the power of intersectional feminism.

Way forward -

The Union Govt, using the Finance Commission must incentivise further devolution of funds, functions and functionaries; capacity building of women leaders. etc

The success of reservations in Panchayats must also inform the debate of on women's reservations in Parliament and state assemblies.

7d. The study of ^{intersection of} ethnicity and politics is studied under the political sociology approach. In the Indian context James Manor has defined ethnicity as race, language, tribe, etc.

There are various perspectives on ethnicity as a source of conflict in Prismatic societies.

According to Essentialists like Edward Shils, primordial identities in prismatic societies are bound to lead to conflict as identity is a matter of passion.

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However, other scholars have linked ethnic conflicts to material conflicts.

Myron Weiner has studied the

'sons of soil' movement as a source of ethnic conflict. This is seen in Maharashtra with the

rise of Shiv Sena and MNS. They would inflict violence against immigrants and minorities from northern states like Bihar and UP

and southern states for they felt that Maharashtrians had first rights over the state's economic prosperity.

Similarly, the Assam agitation, led by AASU against migrants from Bangladesh, felt their indigenous Assamese

culture was under threat from immigration.

Another theory of ethnic conflicts is the "Instrumentalist" school (Atul Kohli) where conflicts occur because the state distributes goods on identitarian lines.

Example - caste conflict in Bihar in the 1990s and early 2000s (Ramkrishna Sena) under the RJD.

In a diverse country like India, ethnic conflicts cannot be eliminated. Atul Kohli points out that though democracy with rule of law, civic nationalism, fundamental rights is the only solution. It has helped India manage these conflicts better than other post colonial states.

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80

The Indian Parliament is the crucible of debates, deliberations, reasoning and accountability in Indian Political system. Yet, the phenomenon of defections is reducing the importance of legislatures, almost converting India into a Presidential form of govt. as pointed out by Mr. Madhavan of PRS Legislative Research.

The 52nd Constitutional Amendment Act 1986 added the 10th Schedule (Anti-defection law) to prevent the phenomenon of "Aaya Ram Gaya Ram". The 91st amendment - 2001 was meant to further plug the loopholes. These laws

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seek to prevent defections by disqualifying legislators that go against party whip, unless they merge with another party. This was to ensure stability of the executive and prevent horse-trading.

Yet, we have seen increasing number of defections. There are "wholesale" defections, legislators resign from the assembly to avoid a ban from ministerial berths, positions like Parliamentary secretaries are formed to reward defectors. This shows a rise in money power, and fall in the ethical foundations of politics as Plato, Edmund Burke and

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Gandhi had envisaged

In this backdrop, many like Shashi
Tharoor have suggested moving

to a presidential form of govt:

They argue that anti defection
law, ^(CADL) the parliamentary form
devalues the role of legislators.

Elections are fought to form the
govt, and if they fail to do so,
they have no incentive to
cooperate with the treasury
benches. They would rather defect &
become part of govt.

~~Further, the anti defection law and~~
~~"electability of cand"~~ He argues that -
to keep the parliamentary form
stable, the ADL is used but it

As Ambedkar said "It does not matter how good a constitution is, what matters is the people who run it"

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Reduces legislators to rubber stamps

Additionally, it means only electable candidates, and not meritocratic candidates occupy ministerial positions

However, switching to Presidential form is not a panacea. Our Constituent Assembly had debated the merits & demerits of Parliamentary system, concluding that for a country of our diversity & to ensure coordination between Parliament & executive, Parliamentary form is better. Ambedkar said "unstable govt is preferred over despotic govt"

What is needed is limiting ADL to budget and no confidence motion (Dinesh Goswami), reforming speaker role, including coalitions in ambit of ADL.

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8b The Indian judiciary is considered the strongest in the world. One of the reasons for this is the appointment procedure of judges to Supreme Court and High Court.

Constitutional position - Article 124

of the constitution says that judges would be appointed by the President after consultation with the Chief Justice of India and other judges deemed necessary.

However, this article has ~~been~~ undergone different interpretations, as reflecting the debates around the appointment procedure.

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In the Constituent Assembly, three options were considered - (i) appointment by judges (rejected as did not want "imperium in imperio") (ii) appointment by legislature (too political) and (iii) appointment by executive. The latter was accepted to balance judicial independence and judicial accountability.

This system worked smoothly till the ascent of Indira Gandhi who aspired for a committed judiciary. Twice Judges were succeeded to favour pliable judges (AN Ray and Justice Beg).

To counter this ~~to~~ tendency, the

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second and third judges case
(1993, 1998) led to the Collegium
System where ~~just~~ "consultation"
in Art 124 was interpreted as
"concurrence".

This system too has been criticised -

- (i) Nepotism ("uncle-Judge syndrome")
- (ii) huge delays & vacancies
- (iii) Lack of transparency in reasons
for appointments, rejected, transfer
(Vikram Nath case) (Akil Querishwari case)

Thus, Justice Chamleshwar (retd) and
retd justice AP Shah have called for
a reform of the process. An MOP
should be finalised with clear cut
deadlines, reasons must be published,
and grievance redressal must
be available.

we must remember - "Power corrupts but
absolute power corrupts absolutely" - Lord Acton

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प्रश्न संख्या
या स्थान
को भरना चाहिए
या ध्यान रखें

Question No.)

8c

The Indian Constitution is a transformative document. As per Granville Austin, the responsibility to bring about a social revolution fell on the Indian state. It would do so with the aid of the Constitution and Part III and Part IV would be its guiding lights.

The relationship between Fundamental Rights (Part III) and Directive Principles of state Policy (Part IV) has thus been envisaged as harmonious by the Constituent Assembly.

However, in initial years, this was under contest.

This is because fundamental rights are generally negative rights.

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that impose a restriction upon state power. Thus they belong the classical liberal thought (individual > ~~set~~ society).

However, DPSPs (Part IV) generally impose a positive obligation on the state, and can be seen as being 'socialistic' or 'social liberal' in nature. Moreover, under Article 37, they are not 'justiciable' but still "fundamental to the governance of the country".

~~As Ambedkar had said they would be~~ Thus this created a dilemma for the judiciary, which first came to light in Champakam

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Darajajan case (Article 46 v/s Art-15, 16)

Subsequently, the judiciary gave the doctrine of harmonious construction and in Minerva Mills case (1980),

the judiciary clearly laid down that both DPSPs and FRs are the bedrock of constitution. Article

31C reflects the harmonious nature too as only Art 36(b), (c) can supersede Art 14, 19 but constitutional amendments can also give primary to Part IV over Part III

Dr. Ambedkar's vision of "one man, one vote, one value" can only be realised by both DPSPs and FRs. As the country progresses we expect to see more DPSPs graduating to FR status. (Art 21A)