



**An Institute for Civil Services**

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**AIR 159**

**CSE 2023**

**POLITICAL SCIENCE**



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# POLITICAL SCIENCE

Time Allowed: 3 Hrs.

Max. Marks: 250

## Instructions to Candidate

- There are FIVE questions. All Questions are compulsory.
- Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the Admission certificate which must be stated clearly on the cover of this Question-cum-Answer (QCA) booklet in the space provided. No marks will be given for answers written in medium other than the authorized one.
- Word limit in questions, wherever specified, should be adhered to.
- Attempts of questions shall be counted in chronological order. Unless struck off, attempt of a question shall be counted even if attempted partly. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the answer book must be clearly struck off.

125  
12850 good  
250 good

Name Suyash Kumar Singh

Mobile No. \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_ roll no: \_\_\_\_\_

1. Invigilator's Signature \_\_\_\_\_

2. Invigilator's Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Dear Student!

you have good grasp of concepts  
understanding of the question  
also commendable!

you have good potential to write  
good answers. Try to adhere to  
and given space.

All the Best!

1(a)

Swaraj refers to 'self rule'. Swaraj has been aim of Indian freedom struggle, although its meaning kept changing. For early congressmen including extremists like Tilak, swaraj was home rule or dominion status.

Later, Poorna swaraj or complete independence was adopted as Congress's goal in 1929.

However, for Gandhi, swaraj was not limited to simply getting political power from British. In his book 'Hind Swaraj', Gandhi has given his expansive vision of Swaraj.

For Gandhi, the aim was not only swaraj - but 'Ram Rajya'. It



was Gandhi's utopia where every individual would ~~be~~ capable of governing himself. Acc. to Gandhi, state was unnecessary as it is a form of violence or coercion. State would not be needed if every person had control over themselves.

Gandhi was against western civilization's excesses. He believed that if India follows that model, even 'nine earths would not be sufficient'.

He gave the prescription of village self-sufficiency. Value of human labour should be respected. The operation of power in society should be in the form of

'organic circles'. It means no  
 coercive use of power rather  
developmental power.

Swaraj was also the basis of  
 his constructive programme. It included  
abolishing untouchability, use of Khadi,  
supporting rural industries, Panchayats.

In this way, Swaraj was to  
 lead to 'Suraj' (good governance)  
 and 'Ram Rajya'. Therefore, Swaraj  
 was not just a right, it was  
 duty as well as responsibility of  
 the people. It was not a 'free gift',  
 rather an aspiration.

good

8  
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1(b)

M.N. Roy is one of the few modern Indian Political scholars. we see an ideational journey in his philosophy.

M.N. Roy started as a revolutionary in Bengal and went to USA for procuring arms. But soon he came under influence of communist ideology.

He helped in establishment of Communist party of India. He was also called to ComIntern meeting by Lenin. Roy advocated that India was ready for a workers' revolution. However, this was not accepted by Lenin and a united front strategy was adopted. Later,



Roy was expelled from the Comintern.

Roy was a critic of Gandhi and Indian National Congress. He believed that Gandhi represented only bourgeois interests. Gandhi never let power go into the hands of masses.

However, later M.N. Roy joined Congress to try to radicalise it from within. He also became sympathetic to Gandhi's programme. He understood that Gandhi was not opposed to masses.

Later, Roy interpreted Marxism in a humanist tradition. He gave up orthodox Marxism and believed

that the real concern of Marx was human freedom.

Roy called his philosophy as 'Radical Humanism'. Radical humanism is a philosophy based in materialist metaphysics. He believed Reason is the source of ethics. Thus, man has to be freed from all other dogmas. Every individual at the grassroots level should be free.

Although M.N. Roy gave many ideas, Sudipto Kaviraj has termed him as a 'remarkable failure' because he failed to implement any of his ideas.

aptly written

8/15

1(c) Bipan Chandra has stated that the Indian freedom struggle was the "largest mass movement which has reached its conclusive end."

The Freedom struggle had several phases like constitutionalism, revolutionary activities, Gandhian mass movement.

Gandhian mass movement has been the most important phase.

It was based on Mahatma Gandhi's ideas of Truth and Non-violence.

For Gandhi, politics was not bereft of ethics. He gave broader



vision to Freedom struggle. Not only  
britishers were to be ousted, but Freedom  
for all Indians was also needed. Non-  
violent movement served both these purposes.

Gandhi understood that violence  
does not lead to better outcomes. For  
example French revolution, Russian  
Revolution; it has given rise to  
greater violence in society. Hence,  
non-violence was an instrument for  
Gandhi. It prevented British violence  
on the movement. It also helped  
in creating a counter-hegemonic discourse  
against the imperialist ideology.

Non-violence was seen in a  
substantive sense by Gandhi. It meant

reform in internal evils like  
untouchability as well. Non-violence  
 was basis of Gandhi's constructive  
programme. It helped bring more  
masses into the movement and  
solidified them into a united  
people. Gandhi knew that people  
 have limited capacity to sacrifice,  
 so non-violence was a necessary  
 element. yes

The use of non-violence had  
 been questioned by revolutionary  
radicals as well as marxists. Revolution-  
 aries believed in use of violence against  
oppressors. Marxists view the insistence  
 on non-violence as favoring of

bourgeoisie control over the movement.

Even S.C. Bose tried to wage an armed struggle during World war 2.

However, Non-violence was not a dogma for Gandhi. He said he would choose violence over cowardice. Non-violence gave spiritual power to the movement and a moral character.

<sup>gandhi</sup> Therefore, non-violence was successful in achieving freedom and building the Indian nation. For his contribution, Gandhi came to be known as the 'father of the Nation'.

g.s  
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2 (a) B.R. Ambedkar is known as the 'Modern Manu' due to his prominent role in framing the Indian constitution. Ambedkar has also been the tallest leader of dalits.

Ambedkar's concern was upliftment of depressed classes in society. He believed that British rule was desirable as it has provided avenues of education and employment to even untouchables.

Ambedkar was also critical of Gandhi for not taking up dalit's issues prominently. Gandhi believed ~~Ambedkar~~ that reform is possible and that varna system is not evil and can be reformed as a system of division of labour. He

also called untouchables as 'Harijans'.

Ambedkar rejected these limited steps. He believed that the only solution for untouchables is to come out of

Hinduism. It is because Hindus are religious people and would not be able to give up practices. While in reality, Hinduism is nothing but Brahminism.

Brahminical superiority has led to enslavement and exploitation of untouchables for performing menial work.

Ambedkar tried to look into an anthropological origin of untouchability.

It was found that it is based in their exploitation and forced enslavement.

Ambedkar has therefore called for

destruction of Brahmanical supremacy.  
 He criticised that religion which creates  
atrocities for some and pleasures for  
some. Even Bhakti movement reformers  
 failed to reform hinduism, hence only  
 option is complete 'annihilation of caste'.

In constituent assembly - Ambedkar  
 also opposed village republics suggested by  
 Gandhi. This is because villages are  
'dens of ignorance' and exploitation  
 is maximum there. Hence, he called  
 for a complete transformation of the  
social structure.

Focus on social and economic justice  
was needed, not only political democracy  
 according to Ambedkar.

good

8.5  
15



4(b)

Indian political thought has been treated in a continuum rather than as a separate area of inquiry. It can be seen from scriptures called Dharmashastras.

The characteristic example of dharmashastra tradition is Manusmriti. The main feature is that dharmashastras deal with idea of Dharma. It is a word with no direct translation in western languages.

Dharmashastras deal with various kinds of Dharmas like Purushartha or aims of life, Varna dharma or division of labour, Ashrama dharma or stages of life.

Dharmashastras dealt with these

issues of dharma primarily and also issues of danda (statecraft) in a peripheral manner.

The king was the upholder of dharma. His responsibility was to uphold Varna dharma. He was from a

Kshatriya Caste. The responsibility of king was Rakshan and Palan i.e. protection as well as welfare of people.

He was said to have divine personality taken from Gods.

The state was based on a contract b/w people and God. To

overcome chaos or pralay, people have requested god to provide order. This was granted through Manu, the

First laugher. Thus, dharma is based  
on cosmic law. Balance on earth  
depends on dharma (Prithvin Dharma Dhriti)

Bhikhu Parekh has analyzed the  
Indian political tradition. The main  
shortcoming is politics is not treated  
separately, rather in a holistic manner.

It is based mainly on spiritualism  
and less on secular issues. It is

non-critical and shows a regressive  
view of history.

good

8  
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2(c) Rabindranath Tagore stated that the world will get the message of India through Aurobindo Ghosh.

Aurobindo Ghosh was inspired by ideas of neo-vedantism of Vivekananda and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. He has criticised the liberal nationalism as India is a 'nation in making'.

Aurobindo Believed that India is not a nation in making, rather it has always been a nation. The formation of nation is not dependent on Congress landels or british rule. Thus, liberal view that modernisation under british

rule is a blessing has to be discarded.  
Foreign rule is ~~never~~ a blessing.

Aurobindo gave a spiritual view  
of nationalism. Every nation has its  
spirit. Nation is not a piece of land,  
it is not a collection of individuals. Nation  
is not a figment of imagination, nor  
is it an intellectual pastime. Nation  
is a faith and a religion.

Aurobindo ~~believed~~ that India's spirit  
has been buried but ready to emerge again.

Universal spirit (geist) moved from  
India to west, but it is ready to return  
to India again.

Thus, he spiritualised the conception of nation. He gave the message to british that they are bound to lose. He inspired the youth to follow nationalism as a religion and free 'Bharat mata' from her chains.

This view was based on santan dharma ideals of neo-vedentism. This has been contested by muslim leaders during the freedom struggle.

Aurobindo was not a believer in methods followed by moderate Congressmen like Bannurjee and Gokhale. Acc. to Ghosh, constitutional methods will not work on an unconstitutional ruler.



like the British, Moderate leaders' politics was criticised as 'political mendicancy'.

Anubindo Ghosh has called for use of 'passive resistance' during Swadeshi movement. He has also given a call for 'purna swarajya' for the first time.

He believed that foreign rule can never be a real blessing as moderates believed.

It suppresses the spirit of nation and prevents natural evolution.

Relevant!

825  
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3(a) B.R. Ambedkar is one of the tallest leaders of dalit community in India. He ~~o~~ has given a critique of caste system in his book 'Annihilation of Caste'.  
Caste

Ambedkar's views can be contrasted with Gandhiji as well.

Gandhi believed that untouchability was an evil but otherwise varna system is only a natural division of labour.

Gandhi's prescription was dignity of labour for all. He led the constructive programme for abolition of untouchability through appeals to conscience of people.

on the other hand, Ambedkar

studied the historical, anthropological  
origin of caste system. He found that  
untouchables were originally out of  
the hindu society. However, they  
were forcefully brought in Hindu fold  
as a 'slave cast'. They were forced  
to do menial tasks. Due to the  
stigma of untouchability, they were  
not able to pursue any other profession.

Acc. to Ambedkar, this was started  
by Brahmin cast and later adopted  
by other castes as well. Thus,

For Ambedkar, hinduism cannot be  
reformed. Hinduism is actually  
nothing but caste system, which  
is Brahminism or Brahmin superiority.



Ambedkar criticised Hindu religion because it does not have equality.

It discriminates among fellow humans. He also believed that Hindu religion cannot be reformed. Even Bhakti movement reformers tried but failed, so Gandhi will also not succeed.

His prescription was for depressed classes to come out of Hinduism. He himself has converted to Buddhism and gave a radical interpretation of Buddhism.

Ambedkar believed that political democracy without socio-economic equality is a farce. Thus, reservation provision has been added in constitution which makes justice more visible. goal

8/15

but you can stick to Gandhi vs Ambedkar mort.

3(b)

In M.N. Roy's thought, we can find an 'ideational journey'. Although he helped in founding Communist Party of India, he became a critic of marxism later in life.

Roy changed his views to attempt a humanist interpretation of marxism. Acc. to him, the real concern of marx was freedom.

Orthodox marxism has not resulted into welfare of workers. Rather, it has turned into totalitarianism as seen in Stalinist Russia.

Therefore, Roy Focused on radical  
democracy or Radical humanism.

He believed this to be a prescription  
for freedom at individual level.

Freedom from dogmas and rational  
thinking is the core of Roy's thought.

Reason can be basis of new ethics  
as well. Man can live in  
harmony with nature's laws - based

upon reason. This will be the  
condition of ultimate freedom for  
man. On the opposite side was

Marxism, which subsumed man  
under his class identity.



Roy's theory is 'utopian'. Sovereignty

of individual is an abstract concept.

In reality, cooperation and integration  
are necessary.

In ~~case~~ situations of ~~the~~ limited  
resources, science and reason  
cannot always provide basis of  
ethics. Politics can never be  
Value Free and Power-Free.

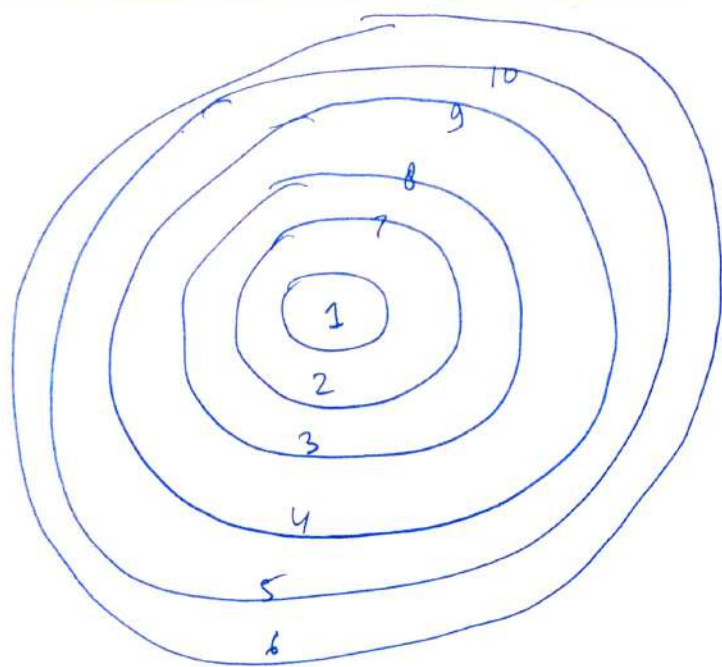
holistic answer.

8  
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3(c) According to Winternitz and Botazzi,  
Realist tradition can be traced in works  
 of Kautilya, Sun Tzu and Thucydides.  
 Kautilya's Arthashastra is one of the  
 greatest treatises on statecraft. He  
 also got one of the first geopolitical  
lessons from Kautilya.

Kautilya's mandala theory is an example  
 of geopolitical thinking. It is known by  
 the famous maxim 'Neighbour is a  
natural enemy, <sup>neighbour</sup> ~~enemy~~ of the neighbour  
is a natural friend'.

Kautilya talked about 6 spheres  
of power in a sequential manner.  
 It can be shown by the following  
 diagram.



~~1 → Vijigishu or the king.~~

~~2 → Ari or enemy.~~

~~3 → Mitra → enemy's neighbour is friend.~~

~~4 → Arimitra → enemy's friend~~

~~5 → Mitra Mitra → Friend of a friend.~~

~~6 → Arimitra Mitra.~~

The same is repeated on the posterior as well.

~~7 → Parshvanigraha, 8 → Akanda~~

~~9 → Parshvanigrahasara, 10 → Akandasara.~~

The king should keep this configuration  
in mind. All these states have their  
seven determinants of power. Thus, a



Vijigishu should keep all elements in mind while pursuing a policy. It forms a geopolitical matrix.

Kautilya gave detailed prescriptions on foreign policy. Foreign policy is important because control over land is necessary for resources. King should try to convert friends into allies, neutrals into friends and enemies into neutrals. more friends signify greater power of the king. udasiw  
s  
madhyama

Thus, in foreign policy, king should use the mandala siddhant to follow a policy. Various policies are suggested as Sasthgunya Niti.

① sandhi → Treaty making (peace)

② Vichheda → Breaking of treaty

③ Aasana → Positioning troops near bordering state

④ Yaana → mobilization of troops

⑤ samashraya → Joining hands with state having common objective

⑥ Draidhabhava → Dual policy of war with someone and Peace with someone

Thus, Kautilya gives detailed prescriptions to King on Foreign policy.

you can also mention

Sam, dan, dand, Bheda etc.

8.5  
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Q 4(a) Mahatma Gandhi is known as the Father of the Nation. He led the Indian freedom struggle and gave it a mass character as well as spiritual orientation.

His ideas of swaraj and sarvodaya are linked to his political vision of 'Ram-Rajya'. It is Gandhi's vision for Indian people.

Swaraj was understood in a broad sense. It was not only political freedom from British but also meant self-governance for people. It means limitation of needs and focus on ethical living. If every person minds himself, there is no need



For state which is a symbol of violence.

Swaraj in economic sense meant Sarvodaya or upliftment of all.

Gandhi's idea was inspired by John Ruskin's 'Unto This Last', Sarvodaya was meant for economic upliftment of poor masses.

It was based on dignity of labour.

People should respect labour and all work. Machines should be discouraged.

Rather, land reforms and rural industry were better policies for welfare of rural poor. *good*

In respect of capitalism, Gandhi advocated trusteeship model.

It means wealthy capitalists should use excess wealth For social welfare because they are only trustees of wealth which belongs to whole society.

Satyagraha was Gandhi's political technique based on ideas of truth and non-violence. It meant insistence on truth.

It meant not hating the evil-deed, but the evil. This will cause a change of heart.

Satyagraha was used by Gandhi in all movements starting with Champaran, Kheda, Non-cooperation, etc. It included peaceful protest, hunger strikes, etc.

It has spiritualised the freedom struggle and created counter-hegemony against British rule.

Nobel force emerge which weakens the Enemy. etc can be written.

7/15

4(b)

Dharma is a word with no translation  
in European languages. However, it  
is the key idea in Indian political  
tradition.

Bhikhu Parekh has analysed  
the Indian political thought and  
gave the following features.

Indian tradition has continuity of  
concepts rather than separation. It  
deals with issues of a good life  
in a holistic manner. It is  
spiritual view. It has a communit-  
arian and cosmopolitan approach  
towards issues. Therefore, Dharma  
and ethics form an inseparable  
part of Indian political thought.



Idea of dharma is applied in various spheres like Raj dharma (duty of king) - Varna dharma (Division of labour) - Ashrama Dharma (stages of life), etc.

The duty of king was to uphold dharma in the country.

Even the state was a contract between people and god to avoid chaos (pralay) and establish dharma or order. Thus, dharma is a central concept.

Peace on earth depends on dharma.  
(Prithivi Dharma Dhritam).

Indian thought has dealt with politics and ethics together. King has to follow ethical practices like welfare of people, helping them to achieve Yogyashema.

Ultimately, the goal is moksha which shows ethical transcendence.

The hindu and buddhist traditions are not very different. Buddhism is said to be 'rebel child of Hinduism'. It also shows similar features like spirituality, cosmopolitanism, regressive view of history, non-critical.

However, Buddhist thought is more egalitarian and pacifist. Hindu monarch goes for digvijay - but buddhist ruler goes for Dharma propagation like Ashoka.

Buddhist tradition says state came out in response to emergence of private property by a contract among people.

There is a republican tradition in buddhism compared to divine personality of hindu tradition.

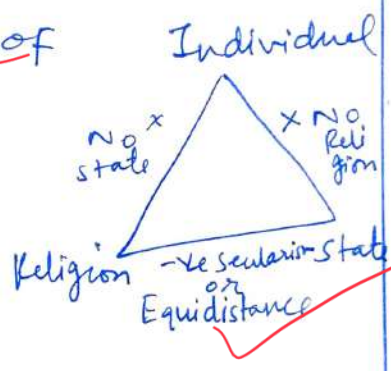
good

8/15

4(c) Though Secularism is added to the preamble of Indian constitution, there has been contestation over the idea of secularism in India.

D. E. Shaw stated in his book that India was only partially secular,

out of the 3 elements of Individual secularism, India has universal citizenship, right to equality but separation between religion and state was not complete.



However, M. N. Srinivas gave his view that there can be multiple views of secularism. In a religious society like India, western conception of secularism cannot be applied directly.



Rajeev Bhargava has analyzed secularism in Indian context. He calls Indian secularism as ~~these~~ asymmetrical ~~federalism~~ secularism. ~~The~~ The state interferes in majority religion for social equality and reform, but does not interfere in minority religions.

He termed Indian secularism as 'positive secularism'. The boundary b/w religion and state is porous, state makes use of religion.

Scholars like Archie Vanak state that it is not possible to have secularism without secularisation. Thus, it is impractical to have

negative secularism in religious country  
like India.

Pratap Bhanu Mehta has criticised  
the policy of state. He states that  
state goes for unequal interference  
in religion, which gives rise to  
majority-minority complex and leaves  
all the communities in an insecure  
state.

good

In recent times, there has been a  
question on secular credentials of  
Indian state. There is a debate  
between religious majoritarianism  
versus minority appeasement. Pratap  
Bhanu Mehta states that we have

to come out of the majority-minority  
mindset.

It is to be noted that Supreme  
Court has accepted that Secularism  
is a basic element of Indian constitution.

Articles 25-28 give Freedom of  
practise, propogation, profession of religion.

good  
 $\frac{9.5}{20}$



5(a)

The indian political system has a westminster model or Parliamentary model. In this, the legislative power lies with Parliament/state legislatures. As constitutional heads, President/governor give assent to bills for turning it into an act.

The indian constitution has several emergency and extraordinary powers. Ordinance making power of President/governor is also there under Article 123.

President/governor can pass an ordinance into law when the houses of legislature are not in session. This power was given as an extraordinary

power to be used in the cases of  
urgent need.

The ordinance-making power is  
co-extensive with normal legislative  
power of that legislature. (President  
cannot pass ordinance on state subjects).  
Constitutional amendments can also not  
be done by ordinance.

Though it is an extraordinary  
power, it has been used regularly.  
Even routine legislations were passed  
through ordinances. There also existed  
malpractice of repeated ordinance-making  
without putting the ordinance before  
the legislature.

Therefore, in Cooper Case, SC decided that the satisfaction of President to bring ordinance can be reviewed on the grounds of malafide.

In D.C. Wadhwa case, SC also held that repeated repromulgation of ordinance without passing it in legislature is unconstitutional.

Thus, judiciary has ~~at~~ circumscribed this extraordinary power of the executive and upheld separation of powers.

As suggested by Dr Ambedkar in constituent assembly, this power is for emergency situations and should be used responsibly. good

8/15



5(b)

Marxist perspective of Indian National movement is an important critique of the nationalist discourse led by R.C. Majumdar and Tara Chand.

Marx himself described 1857 was of independence as a feudal revolt. He believed that British rule was good for modernisation of India.

M.N. Roy was another tall Marxist leader. He has criticised Gandhi as being a bourgeoisie leader protecting bourgeoisie interests only. He believed that Gandhi never let the masses control power.

Marxist historians like Hobsbawm believe that 'Nation is a myth', Benedict

Anderson calls nation as an 'invented Tradition' to break ~~workers'~~ workers' unity.

Indian historians like R. P. Datt ('India Today') and A. R. Desai ('Social Background of Indian Nationalism') also focused on the class character of the National Movement.

They believe Congress was a bourgeoisie controlled party. It worked against the interest of workers. opt!

However, Sumit Sarkar, another marxist historian has suggested to criticise responsibility. Congress had nothing for workers, but it was a benign neglect.

Bipan Chandra has accepted that  
Indian National Congress was a national  
party. 'Indian national movement was  
the greatest mass movement whose  
warmth is felt even today'.

good  
8.5  
AS



5(c)

Western scholars like George Tanham believe that India lacks political tradition and strategic thought.

This is refuted by scholars like Bhikhu Parekh who showed the existence of Indian political tradition. It is not recognised by western scholars because of its different features.

The main limitation is integrated view of politics. Politics has not been discussed separately. Only Kautilya's Arthashastra is an important work in this regard.

Ancient Indian political tradition is non-critical and based on a regressive view of history. Therefore it failed to evolve with changing circumstances.

However, western criticism is overstated. Indian tradition's continuity is its main feature.

It has not separated politics from ethics, not separated personal from public sphere. It has given holistic view of dharma.

An important criticism of ancient thought was lack of equality with respect to lower castes and women.

Manusmriti prescribes highest punishment for lowest castes and low punishment for brahmins even for the same crime.

Another drawback was lack of a clear primogeniture rule. It led to frequent disputes and decay of kingdoms due to war of successions.

→ many other points can be added the answers to make it holistic.

9  
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