

GS SCORE

733

Political Science Test Series 2021

TEST - 03

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.

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Name Shivani

Mobile No. _____

Date 24 Nov, 2021

Signature Shivani

Roll - 36278

REMARKS

GS SCORE

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1. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Gandhian Views on Parliamentary Swaraj (200 Words) (15)
 (b) Contributions of M. N. Roy to Modern Indian Politics (200 Words) (15)
 (c) Rationale of Non-violence as a strategy in Freedom Struggle. (250 Words) (20)

Ans a - Mahatma Gandhi, in his book Hind Swaraj mentioned of swaraj as not only liberation from British rule but rather "Rule of each Indian". He gave the concept of Parliamentary Swaraj when he was criticised for being anarchic favouring stateless society.

In reference to a stateless society, he said that he didn't want the rule of state as it symbolises "weakness in people". Rather he would prefer a Parliamentary Swaraj. This Swaraj was based on deliberation and participation of people.

Its unit was Village Republics. Gandhi said that the swaraj would occur in form of village republic.

Remarks

where people would form rules for their governance. It is a decentralised and democratic participatory governance system.

He gave the characteristic of Parliamentary Swaraj as - Universal Adult Franchise, focus on civil liberties, limited powers to regulatory authority, promotion of self-regulation, minority rights and harmony among people. He called Civil liberties of Individual as "lifebreath" of Parliamentary Swaraj.

Gandhian conception of Parliamentary Swaraj was for rule of people, by the people and for the people from bottom towards top in decentralised manner.

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Good
Remarks

Ans b- MN Roy was a marxist philosopher of India. He propagated welfare of worker class and idea of simultaneous revolution against Indian and British bourgeoisie.

CONTRIBUTIONS:

- He was first prominent marxist philosopher ~~not~~ of India who instigated communist thought here.
- He laid the foundation of Communist Party of India so as to lead the worker class towards liberation from capitalism.
- He criticised the Indian National Movement led by Congress and called it a Bourgeoisie party which protected interests of capitalist class in India.
- He was critical of Gandhi for being "weak and watery" man looking for some government appointment. He called him Bourgeoisie labour leader.

Also discuss

his views

after

he renounced

marxism

Remarks

→ He promoted the theory of Safety value, highlighting that whenever masses get ready to revolt, the movements like NCM or CDM are withdrawn.

→ He gave the concept of New Humanism based on scientific and social importance.

→ He modified it later to Radical Humanism. A radical human is one, free from all the bonds - religious, cultural, traditional. He called for education led revolution

→ He criticised Gandhi's spiritualisation of politics but favoured introduction of "morality" in politics.

MN Roy, despite being great philosopher was not able to implement his ideas or turn a mass movement. Sudipto Kaviraj called him a "REMARKABLE FAILURE".

He was in favour of party less democracy

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Remarks

Ans c- Non Violence or Ahimsa was a Gandhian tool of struggle in Indian National Movement. Gandhi started its use along with Truth as the foundation and weakened government forces.

Rationale:

- Non Violence as a tool was criticised by many including MN Roy who called it a "Violence on Poor". But Gandhi was also upright and focussed on his method.
- Gandhi had called for Non-Violence as means of masses to revolt against British.
- He gave the logic as:
 - Non violence can force the opponent morally to be non-violent. If opponent uses force, it would be "morally repressive".

- Any violent movement can not sustain for longer time due to loss of life and property. Non-violent movement lasts longer.
- Use of violence by Indian, even on a limited scale would have legitimised the use of violence by Britishers who were repressive. Ex- During Quit India, 1942
- The tools used by Indians were yet traditional and backward. Modern tools equipped British artillery. They could ~~hardly~~ then justify their use of coercion.

It was due to his non-violent movement that Indian masses could know the true nature of British rule as repressive and world media supported his movements.

- After Chauri Chaura incident where masses burnt Police station and officials, Gandhi quickly withdrew movement to avoid any further clash and saved masses.
- During his Civil Disobedience movement the TIME magazine covered his story and highlighted British atrocities in world.
- Due to non-violence, the capitalist class supported Gandhi led movement as their own assets and capital would not fall prey to violence.

Gandhian tool of non-violence helped him to gain mass legitimacy, opponent respect and world leader status.

It is even relevant in present times when Nelson Mandela in South Africa or Anna Hazare in his India against corruption used it.

Good

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Remarks

2. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Analyse the reasons behind Ambedkar's call for complete transformation of Indian social structure and destruction of Brahmanical supremacy as the only path for emancipation of the deprived. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) What are the general features of the Dharmashastras Tradition of Indian Political thought and how does Bhikhu Parekh bring out its various shortcomings? (200 Words) (15)
- (c) What do you understand by 'spiritual nationalism' by Aurobindo Ghosh? Why was the Congress according to him not able to gain Swaraj? (250 Words) (20)

Ans 2(a) -

Dr Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar is called as "tallest Dalit Leader" by Dhananjay Keer. He was an organic intellectual who belonged to Mahar community and led Dalit class movement for their rights and self respect.

Ambedkar was critical of Hinduism. He called it as "myth". He said - "Hinduism is nothing but Brahmanism".

He criticised Brahmanism as core basis of inegalitarian and exploitative Hindu society. He believed that to uplift their supremacy, Brahmanism.

Remarks

downgraded some castes as Shudras and untouchables and discriminated against them.

He called for a radical transformation of Hindu society by putting Dynamite to Vedas and Manusmeriti.

He called for "Annihilation of Caste".

By this, he meant that whole caste and varna system, which acts as base of all discrimination, exploitation and subjugation of Dalits, should be ended.

He wanted to transform India into a egalitarian, harmonic and free society. He was influenced by "equality" proposed in Buddhism. He wanted to end Brahman supremacy in order to come out of ancient outlook and usher a modern education based revolution for marginalised sections of society.

Remarks

Mention about his critique of Gandhi

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Ans b - Dharmashastras and Manusmriti form the basis of ancient Indian traditional thought.

Basic Features:

→ POLITY:

- The origin of state is divine in nature
- King has divine status but not divine powers as he is bound by Dharma.
- King needs to work for welfare of masses to achieve 4 Purushartha.

→ SOCIETY:

- Society is based on Varna system which was functional differentiation. But later on it degraded to birth based discrimination.
- Rights of women, Shudras and other lower castes were not valued.

→ OTHER FEATURES:

- Society was inegalitarian and discriminatory.
- Status quoist nature and deep faith in religion.

Remarks

- Ancient Indian thought largely accepted Communitarian philosophy. Concepts like Vasudhaiv Kutumbakam and Atithi Devo Bhav prevailed.
- Ancient Indian thought promoted Cosmopolitan nature. Acceptance of Shakas, Kushanas in society and giving them Kshatriya status is one example.
- Ancient Indian thought believed in continuity of end and means. "Purity of Means" and "Dharma" was important.
- Concept of Dharma and Danda went hand in hand to check illegitimate activities.

Bhikhu Parekh analysis -

- He criticised Indian society for being unequal and discriminatory. He also believed that they were largely uncritical of caste system.
- He praised society for being pluralist and recognising autonomy of social groups.

Remarks

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Focus on shortcoming figured out him

Ans C - Aurobindo Ghosh was spiritual political philosopher who linked the Independence movement of India to spiritual and cosmic contexts.

Spiritual Nationalism:

According to Aurobindo Ghosh, Indians were largely nationalistic people. India's spirit was sleeping which needs to be awakened to gain independence.

He was inspired by Abanindra Nath Tagore's Bharat Mata and Bankim Chandra's linking of Nation with Shakti and Kali. He believed that

"Nation is not geographical entity or collection of people rather nation is faith, religion and divine."

He believed that ^{for} spiritual upliftment of world, India needs to be liberated. The universe has given duty to India to spread spiritualism and God is leading India towards freedom. He wanted Indians to

struggle for not only political but also religious and spiritual freedom to achieve the state of "Sachidanand".

Why Congress cant gain Swaraj:

Aurobindo was critical of Congress led slow ineffective movement. He criticised moderate method of political petition and prayer. He called it "Political beggary".

He also dismissed the view of Congress leaders like Naraji saying British rule was "Blessing in Disguise". He said that British rule is evil. India need not depend on "Congress Pandal" for its Swaraj.

He called people to adopt path of passive resistance as Congress was unable to achieve Swaraj. He believed the Congress

is indirectly favouring the British government and promoting their rule by following Constitutional Method of Struggle.

He was also critical of Congress view that India is a "NATION IN THE MAKING" (Surentranath Banerjee). He sharply reacted by saying that India is already a nation and has been so for ancient times. His faith in Congress has shaken.

Aurobindo led his own kind of spiritual revolution against British spread false consciousness of WHITE MAN'S BURDEN. He revived the spirit of India and glorified its ancient traditions in order to generate self confidence and dignity in masses.

Remarks

Good

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Remarks

3. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Ambedkar's opposition to caste system in India is deeply rooted in his revulsion towards the Brahmanical order. Comment. Also discuss the "Varna vs Caste" debate between Gandhiji and Ambedkar briefly. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) M.N Roy's critique of Marxism is entirely based on his unique understanding of Indian socio-economic scenario. Elaborate. Critically examine his theory of Radical Humanism on the grounds of being partial and limited. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) What is Kautilya's Mandal theory? Is it a theory of foreign policy, explain in reference of Sastgun Niti (six principles)? (250 Words) (20)

Ans 3 a -

BR Ambedkar was critical of Brahmanical order which justified superiority of Brahmins and inferiority of Dalits and women. He considered Brahmanism as root cause of discriminatory caste system.

Ambedkar proposed the theory of "Annihilation of Caste". He said that caste based disparities should be ended. But it was an offshoot of his revulsion to Brahmanism. He said that Brahmanic order converted the division of labour based system on birth basis and thus started "untouchability". He asked to put dynamite to Vedas and Manusmeriti which justify Brahmanic

Remarks

supremacy. He called for intermixing of blood to end "purity of blood" and endogamy based caste system proposed by Brahmanism.

His hatred to Brahmanical order and breaking caste system were interlinked.

VARNA VS CASTE DEBATE:

Ambedkar believed in "annihilation of caste" system, ending the very varna system from which caste originated. He did not differentiate the two. He called for Intermixing of Blood by Exogamy and Inter-caste dining to end discrimination. He treated Dalits as depressed class in need of special representation.

Gandhi on the other hand favoured an end to Untouchability which was byproduct of birth based caste system. He did not mix it with inter-caste dining or marriage as he treated it as "Personal choice". He upheld Varna system as system

Remarks

of Division of labour and did not wish to end it. He wanted to grant reservation and not ~~sep~~ The separate electorate to depressed classes.

The debate of Gandhi and Ambedkar was result of their different views, methods experiences etc.

Good

7 1/2

Ans C - MN Roy was a marxist philosopher who tried to reform Marxism after his disagreement with Lenin. He tried to constitute Marxism in Indian context

→ He favoured ethical moorings in Marxism as Indian society was deeply religious and ethical.

→ He wanted to introduce Idealism of Hegel in Historical Materialism of Marx in order to gain the attraction of masses in Ideal means.

→ He denied the relevance of class antagonism and called for class cooperation among diverse worker

Remarks

groups of India.
 → MN Roy also repulsed the Violent Revolution of Marx as in Indian context, the rulers had more powerful and modern equipments to suppress revolts.

Thus MN Roy tried to reform Marxism to better suit in Indian scenario.

RADICAL HUMANISM:

Roy's Radical Human was one free from all the bounds and rational and moral agent. He wanted to introduce science and ethics to lead an Education based revolution towards Radical humanism.

His theory is criticised for being partial and limited because he did not understand the limitations of masses. Education in India was yet not accessible to all. Science based education was far from affordability of people.

Remarks

People could not free themselves from bounds of culture and religion as Roy had envisaged. For a deeply religious society like India, it was almost impossible.

His concept of Radical Humanism was indeed based on Radical ideas not suited for contemporary India. Sudipto Kaviraj, thus called him, "A REMARKABLE FAILURE".

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Good

Ans C - Kautilya was an ancient Indian philosopher, strategist and administrator. He authored "ARTHASHASTRA", a book on statecraft, which remains unparalleled composition.

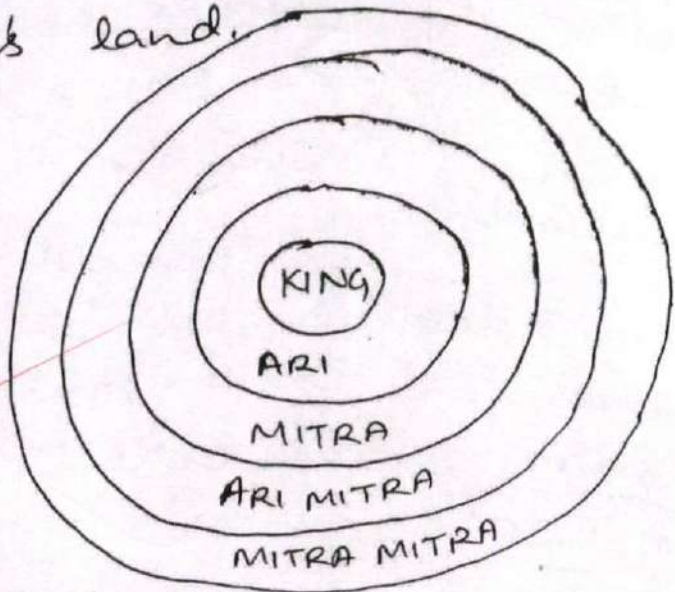
MANDAL THEORY

Kautilya's Mandal theory was based on centricity of king in the political system. It called the king as "Nabhi". It defined the adjacent territory around the king's territory and (Vijigishu Kshetra)

Remarks

highlighted their nature and relation with the King's land.

In the front Ari (immediate neighbour was enemy) followed by Mitra (friend) and so on.



Kautilya said that our immediate neighbour is mostly our enemy while his immediate neighbour is our friend. Hence king should keep close contacts with mitra (Present - India - China - Japan)

(Is it theory of foreign policy):

Yes! Mandala theory is related to foreign relations and is yet very relevant in formation of foreign policy.

It is taken in context of 6 principles Shashta Gun Niti to deal with different kind of opponents:-

Remarks

1. Peace - Sandhi - The king should do sandhi with those opponents who are more powerful than him.
2. War - Vighraha - The king should deal with force with those Ari who are smaller and weaker.
3. Yana - Preparation - The king should keep moving forces and drills for preparation of war.
4. Alliance - Samshraya - The king should ally with Mitra, neutral (Udasin) or buffer state to deal with Ari.
5. Neutrality - (Asana) - The king should not take sides in battle of strongs and
6. Double Policy - Dvaidhibhava - The king should be both prepared for peace and war.

The theory of Kautilya also envisaged 4 methods to achieve the success in any battle -

- Sama - Alliance
- Dama - Luring, Paying
- Bheda - Threatening with secret exposure
- Danda - Punishment.

Remarks

Kautilya in his Mandala theory has given an extensive method of foreign policy formulation and maintaining bilateral and Multilateral relations. His emphasis on distrusting enemy and always remain prepared for war comes under REALIST theory based on OFFENSIVE DEFENCE of present times.

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Very good

Remarks

4. Answer the following questions:

- (a) How does Gandhiji envisage the idea of Swaraj and sarvodaya? Explain both and also provide an analysis of the elements and methods of his idea of Satyagraha? (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Dharma and ethics form an inseparable part of Ancient Indian Political thought? Examine the statement and analyse its differences and similarities with the Buddhist notion of Politics. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Secularism is a contested idea in the Indian scenario. Discuss. (250 Words) (20)

Ans a -

Gandhi was a national leader who with his unique connotation of Ahimsa, Swaraj, Satyagrah, Sarvodaya etc led not only masses towards freedom but also towards "dignity of self".

Idea of Swaraj:

Gandhian swaraj had multidimensional connotation. Politically he meant freedom from British rule and establishing village republics. Socially, swaraj meant the end of untouchability. Economically it was production by masses while in spiritual sense it meant achieving inner freedom and upliftment of humanity (Sarvodaya).

Idea of Sarvodaya:

Sarvodaya means "upliftment of all".

Remarks

It was inspired from John Ruskin's Into the Last. Gandhi wanted that every one should have power (Oceanic circle of power). He linked concept of Bread labour and dignity of life in Sarvodaya.

SATYAGRAHA:

Satyagraha is quest for truth. It was Gandhian means of battle against not only British but also any exploitative practise.

ELEMENTS: It is based on 3 elements

- Satya - Always speaking Truth
- Ahimsa - Non violence
- Tapa - Self sacrifice

METHOD:

He used Satyagrah in his freedom struggle in Rowlett protest, NCM and CDM. He also used it to get workers and farmers rights from Indian and British bourgeoisie. He promoted Satyagrah through Constructive Programme - Eradicating untouchability and harmony between Hindus and Muslims.

Remarks

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Need to relate all these three given aspects

Ans b - Ancient Indian political thought has been accessed from Ideas of Vedas, Dharmashastra, Manusmriti etc.

Dharma and Ethics Component:

Dharma and Ethics form an integral component of Ancient Indian thought. The politics was integrated with religion and morality unlike the west.

The origin of state was divine in nature with Brahma being the "creator". King was given ~~the~~ status of Divine representative. His words were equal to God. But he was not given divine powers as it was limited by Dharma for King i.e. Rajadharma.

There was continuity between Dharma and Danda. If ethical boundary was crossed, punishment was given to all the castes including rulers. The society was deeply religious and also followed moral standards. 4 Purusharthas - Brahmacharya, Grihastha, Vanprastha and Sanyas - included devotion to God in last years of life. "KARMA" was focussed.

Dharma of Hinduism vs wrt Buddhism

Differences - Bhiku Parekh has called Buddhism as "Rebel child" of Hinduism. Both the religion promoted a class base - Brahmins & Kshatriya in Hinduism and Kshatriya and Vaishya in Buddhism.

Buddhism discarded caste system of Hinduism and established egalitarian society. It favoured Republics (Viharas) over Monarchy. It was against war and propagated peace and stability (favouring Vaishyas). Hinduism focused on material more than Buddhism. Hindus believed in God and Karma while Buddhism didn't.

Similarities - Both religion tried to satisfy spiritual quest of masses. Both ignored the lowest class base. In both tradition women were termed inferior to men. Later on both accepted each others principle and Idol worship started in Buddhism.

Both Hinduism & Buddhism tried to transform society but owing to dynamism Hinduism survived while Buddhism vanished from India.

Remarks

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Good

Ans c - Secularism refers to a state which does not promote any one or particular religion rather remains neutral towards all religion.

Contested Concept:

In western countries like France, negative secularism is present whereby Public can practise religion only within personal domain and not the public domain.

• Indian secularism is considered as Positive Secularism whereby state follows a notion of supporting all the religions equally without discriminating with any one religion.

The Indian secularism becomes a contested concept owing to the diversity of India with numerous religion and culture. Indian secularism is enforced by Right to Freedom of Religion (Article 25-28) and Uniform Civil Code (Article 44) of Indian Constitution.

Professor Rajeev Bhargava has studied the tendencies in Indian secularism. He has proposed that state should maintain a "PRINCIPLED DISTANCE" from all the religions. He believes that crossing the boundaries of religion may destabilise political system as India is deeply religious and sensitive nation.

Rightist leaders criticise the government focus and aid to religious minorities. They believe that either state should support even majoritarian religion on equal basis or should leave the arena of religion.

Minority leaders criticise the state because they are not only victimised due to less number but also due to so called support of state, which they find inadequate.

Secularism is to be practised in Indian political system with care. RPA, 1951 prohibits seeking vote in the name of religion. Yet political parties do not cease in appeasement and polarisation in the name of religion.

Communalisation of Indian politics is the reason behind failure of secularist tendencies. Politics impacts society deeply and social distinctions and intolerances come into fore.

Examples of Akshay in UP or Sadhus of Palghar being lynched in name of religion ^{subtle} manifests the fractured social fabric.

To establish secularism as envisaged by Constitutional makers, it is need of time that religion and politics be separated on "Principled terms". Only emergency situations should provoke the intervention of state in religion. And Judiciary should act as bulwark to check discriminatory religious practices.

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Mention about other thinkers like Ashish Nandy, Kaviraj etc.

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Remarks

5. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Is ordinance making power of President or Governor emerging as a threat to the domain of Constitutional legislative authorities? (200 Words) (15)
- (b) What were the major characteristics of Marxist perspective of Indian National movement and their role in limiting its scope and influence on Indian masses? (200 Words) (15)
- (c) What are the major limitations and drawbacks of Ancient Indian Political Tradition? (250 Words) (20)

Ans a -

Ordinance Making Power of President (Article 123) and Governor (Art 213) is envisaged in Constitution of India to deal with any exigencies during recess of parliament or state legislature. It is executive power which has equally enforceability as parliamentary law.

Ordinance making power first came in 1861 and was criticised for giving enormous power to Viceroy. But India also adopted it post-independence and since then its misuse has been glaring.

The power of ordinance is used by government to bypass the legislature. It is easy to promulgate hence governments wait for recess of parliament to pass contested laws.

Remarks

This avoids the national debates and deliberations on issue. Governments have even promulgated ordinances on mala fide basis. Supreme Court in Cooper's case said that Ordinances can be viewed on ground of "bonafide basis".

In a case - DC Wadhwa Vs State of Bihar - was interpreted by Supreme Court that ordinances can not be promulgated with same subject matter again and again. It is ^{important to} subject it to parliamentary approval.

In recent times, the use of Ordinance by Centre and States is on rise. Bypassing parliamentary scrutiny means not following mandate of people and democratic process. Hence executive should resort to ordinance only when circumstances are as mentioned in constitution and should not disturb separation of Power principle.

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Good
Remarks

Ans b - Marxists are left wing in politics who support liberation of labourers and workers from clutches of bourgeoisie class.

Marxist Perspective -

Marxists believed that Indian National Congress had a nexus with British government and capitalist class to stop workers class from socialist revolution. It termed the national movement led by Congress as "Safety Valve" for Britisher region.

Rajni Palme Dutt in his India today referred Congress as Bourgeoisie party which is not actually leading mass movement but rather preventing arousal of masses.

M N Roy, one of tallest marxist figure of India, blamed that Gandhi is a "bourgeoisie leader" working for capitalist class and a weak and watery man looking for some political appointment. He gave concept of

Radical Humanism and reformed Marxism with ethical moorings to suit it to Indian context.

M N Roy wanted a revolt by masses which usurps power of both Indian and British bourgeoisie together. This is where he differed from Lenin.

ROLE IN LIMITING SCOPE:

Marxist tried to aware masses about futility of Congress led struggle for independence. Those with marxist orientation in CPI party did not collaborate with Congress leading to substantial masses being aloof of national movement.

Marxists did not support Quit India Movement and rather supported British in WW-II, which led to disillusion of nationalist people from ideology and later on many from that section supported Congress in its freedom struggle.

Remarks

Also mention about Gramsci's view in this regard

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Ans c - Ancient Indian Political Tradition is inspired from books of Vedas, Dharma Shastras and Manusmriti along with Kautilya's book of statecraft - Arthashastra. It was a flourishing tradition which dominated for more than 2000 years.

LIMITATIONS and DRAWBACKS:

- The ancient Indian political tradition was largely based on religion. The intermixing of religion and politics led to dominance of religious and spiritual method of statecraft.
- Arthashastra gave first scientific statecraft principles based on elaborated bureaucracy, audit committee and sources of revenue. Yet it was proposing Divine Theory of state origin and kingship.
- King being provided divine status led to inequality in society and hierarchy in system. Republican traditions were few in number and there also oligarchy prevailed.

- The concept of Dharma and Danda in political system was based on religious demarcation. The danda or punishment was based on caste system - lower the caste, stricter the punishment.
- Disability was imposed on people in name of Caste. Shudras were denied education and Janu. Any right to life or property was not available to them.
- Manusmriti gave a subordinate position to women. They were denied right to property or education. Their body, soul and mind was controlled by patriarchy.
- Ancient political thought tradition led to establishment of inegalitarian society by making Caste system based on birth.
- Social tradition remained status quoist hindering any progressive outlook

Remarks

- The focus on material culture was more and "Dakshina" was promoted even when person had less capacity.
- A regressive and non-optimist social outlook by relating Karma to previous and following birth was seen. It prevented lower class from questioning the system.

Bhikhu Parekh has criticised further the ancient political tradition -

- He says that works of ancient tradition focus on appeasement of kings rather than suffering of masses.
- He criticises uncritical acceptance of caste system, untouchability and gender discrimination.
- He criticises unequal socio-political and cultural traditions.

Despite being status quoist or unequal, the ancient thought tradition is unique in its acceptance of cosmopolitan, pluralist, ethical and moral standards.

Remarks

D.