

## 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.

(107)

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**REMARKS****GS SCORE**

JANUARY JANUARY 10  
SUPPLY  
2001[111]

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)

Gandhiji was a lawyer, humanist, soul reformer and leader of masses. His ideas are studied by political scholars under the Gandhian school of thought; though Gandhi himself denied the existence of any such school of thought.

Swa-Sab Grandhian view on Swaraj was not limited to political freedom. It had a wider connotation of giving a life of well-being to millions of Indians and to the last man (Dandia Narayan). It was also included Individual freedom - freedom from all baser values.

Grandhian views on Parliamentary Swaraj can be analysed from his ideas of democratic decentralisation & village republic.

Rather than a centralised state, Gandhi's

Remarks

~~why postcolonial?~~

advocated Ram-Rajya which was stateless & an embodiment of moral sovereignty of people. For ~~Gandhi~~, Gandhi, the future of India lies in its villages. Hence villages must be made self-sufficient.

In his book "India of my dreams", Gandhi advocates that freedom begins at the bottom. Hence empowering villages through panchayati raj & agricultural land reforms & cottage industries is must.

Gandhian view stood in contrast to the views of Nehru & Ambedkar. Nehru believed in a model of development led by modern bureaucracy. For Ambedkar, panchayats were a den of ignorance where caste system was most entrenched. He believed in state-led socialism like public sector.

Despite the disagreement, Gandhian ideas are found in Part IV of the Constitution such as

Remarks

Art. 40 (panchayats), 48 etc. 73rd and 74th amendment acts of 1992 have given constitutional status to panchayats & municipalities.

However panchayats suffer from a plethora of challenges as pointed by Masi Sharker committee, G.V.K. Rao committee. There is a need to empower panchayats to usher in the era of <sup>true</sup> Parliamentary sway.

*Focus has  
over missed*

4½

*not  
needed*

(b).

M. N. Roy is regarded as an important Marxist thinker in Indian context. He is credited with the humanist re-interpretation of Marxism.

M. N. Roy's views can be understood in the context of revision of Marxist ideas. For Roy, individual freedom was of foremost importance. Individual should be free from the notions of customs, traditions,

Remarks

obscuring etc. He criticized Marxism as it submerged man under the collective identity of class. He criticized Fascism as it submerged men under the collective identity of nation.

He criticized Parliamentary democracy because political parties are power-seeking & ignore individual freedom.

He thus sought to build organized democracy or a cosmopolitan union of free persons. It will be stateless & led by society. It will focus on building of scientific temper, secular reason & rationality. This is also called the Radical Humanism perspective of Roy.

Roy sought to build organized democracy by abolishing feudalism, modernisation of industries, nationalisation of land & focus on scientific education of masses.

Remarks

Roy's radical conception of freedom comes near to Sartre's existentialist conception of freedom (existence is prior to essence).

However Roy has been criticized by Sudipto Kaviraj as a "remarkable failure".

Still Roy's ideas remain central to provide more freedom to man & a life of dignity, especially in age of the digital surveillance.

→ question part (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8)

→ question part (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8)

→ question part (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8)

Remarks

(c). ~~most important to remember about Indian freedom struggle~~

Indian Freedom struggle, as described by Bipin Chandra is the most spectacular, most inclusive mass movement in world history whose warmth can be felt even today.

Non-violence as a strategy of freedom struggle was a glue that had interwoven the freedom struggle. It was a part of Gandhian strategy of mass struggle.

Rationale behind use of non-violence :-

1. Use of violence will be suppressed brutally by colonial masters and it will be difficult to rebuild the mass movement again.
2. Non-violence as a tool will provide moral legitimacy to freedom struggle & bring in more people from all classes of society.

Remarks

- Rooted in Indian cultural context
- Gandhi had experienced earlier in 87
- S-T-S was more appropriate
- 3. Non-violence will give Indians an upper hand vis-a-vis British & challenge their hegemony perpetuated by myths such as discourses like Benevolent despotism

It was used on a wide scale during Non-cooperation movement, civil disobedience movement & Quit India movement. Non-violence was of such importance to Gandhiji that he ended the non-cooperation movement abruptly due to violence in Chauri-Chaura incidence. This move of Gandhi was criticized by Pt. Nehru, M.N. Roy etc.

Non-violence was not a part of mass agitation only, but also a part of constructive programme carried out in passive phases of movement. For ex. advocacy of Hindu-Muslim unity. Hence non-violence was a connecting link between struggle-brace-struggle strategy. (Bipin Chandra)

If we compare Gandhias movement with Chinese movement under Mao Zedong, the latter was based on the dictum of - power flows through the barrel of gun. This led to huge fatalities, mass sufferings. But Gandhias movement was devoid of all issues. It was aimed at moral rejuvenation of masses to convert them from benign colonial subjects to "active citizens" or "zoon politikon" (Hannah Arendt).

Even in contemporary world, non-violence remains a strategy of people to challenge dictators. for ex. Nelson Mandela in South Africa, Martin Luther King, Arab Spring & so on.

10 ✓

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)

Dr. Ambedkar was a man of many parts. He was a lawyer, social reformer, ~~and~~ religious thinker, politician and the moving spirit behind the Constitution. Dhananjay Keer (Dr. Ambedkar: Life and Mission) calls him the tallest of all Dalit leaders.

Ambedkar gave a call for complete transformation of Indian social structure and destruction of Brahmanical supremacy in his undelivered speech of 1936 titled "Annihilation of Caste".

According to Ambedkar, caste formed the basic structure of Indian society. The concept of purity & pollution as described in Vedas & Manusmritis, lend legitimacy to caste system. He called for dynamiting Vedas & Manusmritis.

Remarks

why?

~~Deontology~~  
~~Analytical method~~

According to Ambedkar, Hinduism was not a religion, but madness. Hindus are segmented communities, warring tribes. This is due to the divisive nature of caste system. Hence complete annihilation of caste is necessary for emancipation of Dalits.

He even warned Dalits of congress programmes which will force them to remain hewers of wood & drawers of water.

Ambedkar's idea of annihilation of caste, is compared by Madhu Limaye, as akin to Marx's idea in communist manifesto. However there are certain differences between Marx and Ambedkar. Marx believed in violent revolution leading to dictatorship of one Proletariat. Ambedkar believed in constitutional methods & state-led socialism to emancipate Dalits.

Marx wanted to end the state. Ambedkar believed in state & regarded society as more harsh.

Remarks

Ambedkar has been criticized by Anur Adhounie (worshipping false gods) for being unable to rise above caste identity & remained as leader of community, not of nation. But Valerian Rodrigues support Ambedkar's ideas.

(iv) Ambedkar's ideas are relevant for all times to come to "hinder the hindrances that come in the path of liberty" of disadvantaged sections of society.

(b). Indian Political Thought can be studied & analysed from multiple sources like Ramayana, Mahabharata, Bhagwad Greta, Dharmashastras, Dandeshastras, Arthashastra, Thirukkural and even by the latest book by our EAM Dr. S. Jaishankar - India's way.

Dharmashastras are an important source of knowledge of wisdom of ancient Indian Political thinkers. The general features of Dharmashastra tradition are:-

1. Origin of state → from Aranyakta / Matsyanyaya (disorder, anarchy)

2. Nature of state → Quasi-contractual theory of

Remarks

state. State was formed as a result of contract between man and God. Manu was the first King.

3. Nature of institution of King → Monarchy or Hereditary.

4. Purpose of institution of King → prevent the emergence of Aranyakta & ensure the well-being of people. (Yojanashama).

→ King was himself under "Rajdharma" to protect the people. *Dharma*

5. Nature of foreign policy → King conquered land, fought wars. It was based on geopolitics & realist traditions. *Vijishnu!!*

6. Nature of society → hierarchical (chatur-varna system)

Every individual had to follow four purusharthas (dharma, artha, kama, moksha) & four ashram in life.

C. Rajagopalachari ~~had~~ was an admirer of Dharmashastras tradition of Indian political thought.

Remarks

Ambedkar criticized it for providing legitimacy to the conception of purity and pollution, thereby leading to exploitation of Dalits.

Bhikkhu Parekh has brought out its various shortcomings like lack of republican tradition unlike Buddhist political thought where the King or Mahasammata is elected by a council. He is the noblest of all & the most wise. { Needed more on this }

~~Historically it seems to be a failure~~ However Bhikkhu Parekh has appreciated the concept of dharma as integral part of Indian way of life & a gift for humanity by India.

Hence, Dharmashastras tradition have enriched the debates on political theory by offering a new perspective on politics.

Remarks

(c).

Aurobindo Ghosh has been called as the prophet of Indian nationalism and a poet of patriotism by C.R. Das. He belonged to the extremist faction of Indian National Congress and was the first to demand "purna swaraj".

His concept of nationalism comes in the background of British & moderates' conception of nationalism. According to British historians and orientalists, India was a geographical expression. According to moderates like Surendranath Banerjee, India is a nation-in-making.

Aurobindo in the article "New Lamps for the Old" in Indu Prakash criticized moderates for not being able to understand Indian nationalism. For Aurobindo, India was a nation since beginning.

Aurobindo's concept of spiritual nationalism is inspired by Johann Herder's idea of cultural nationalism, Vivekananda's concept of Near Vedantism and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's eulogy of India as a mother in chains.

Remarks

According to Ghosh, nationalism is not mere a political programme (as in West) but a way of life. It comes from God and is natural.

Nationalism does not arise from the pandals of Congress but inheres in the people.

Indian soul

has been deprived of its individuality due to European pollution. Hence India needs to be cleansed of pollution & follow its own path of nationalism as per the law of one's own being. (Bhagwad-Gita)

Nationalism needs to be non-imitative. It is unique to each country. East should not imitate the Western concept of nation.

Once India attains swaraj, it will act as a leader for universal redemption spiritual redemption. India embodies the spiritual aspect of Universal soul. Hence it is in the interest of other countries to help India achieve political freedom and realize true nationalism.

Remarks

Aurobindo's concept of spiritual nationalism differs from Marxist conception of nationalism. According to Benedict Anderson, nations are "imagined communities". Even liberal scholars like Gellner believe nationalism is not natural but a product of media. It is a construction of modern civilisation.

Aurobindo's concept of spiritual nationalism has been criticized by Sumit Sarkar for:- (Book: The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal) for introducing religion into politics and ending the mass contact. Since his ideas were derived from Hinduism, people of other faith were not able to connect with it.

Still his idea of spiritual nationalism acted as a binding force to bring people together in national struggle & laid the ground for Grandhian phase of freedom struggle.



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)

Dr. Ambedkar has been regarded as organic intellectual of Dalit class in Indian society. He has been a strong critic of caste system in India and called for annihilation of caste.

Ambedkar criticized caste system ~~not~~ as it is not only division of labour, but also "division of labourers". It is based on the concept of purity & pollution as given in Manusmriti & Vedas. He advocated putting dynamite on these scriptures for providing ideological legitimacy to the exploitation of Dalits.

Ambedkar criticized the Brahmanical order. He called Hinduism as nothing but the hegemony of Brahmins or Brahminism. He called Hindus a "segmented communities" & "warning

Remarks

tribes". Hinduism can never compete with Islam & Christianity. It can never emerge as a missionary religion due to caste system & Brahminism.

To emancipate Dalits, he had two contradictory approaches as analysed by Christophe Jaffrelot. On one hand, he wanted separate electorates for Dalits, on the other hand, he believed in state-led model of affirmative action. He saw law as the "greatest disinfectant against Inequality".

Varna = caste Ambedkar differed with from Gandhi; on the issue of "Varna vs caste". Gandhi had faith in varna system as it was a division of labour & was based not on birth, but worth. Ambedkar believed that if varna is the text, caste is the context. In reality, varna system exists as caste system. Caste system is not only the division of labour, but also division of labourers. It is purely based on birth.

Remarks

Anundhati Roy has compared Gandhi (Father of Nation) to "saint" and Ambedkar (Father of Constitution) to "doctor". Both had the same objective (well-being of Dalits), but their means were different.

Both their ideas are central for upliftment of Dalits and changing "class in itself" to "class for itself".

(1x2) ✓✓

(b).

M. N. Roy was an important Marxist thinker

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Remarks

for most) different beginning and yet (Habermann's)  
for most) withdrawn from "true" at (at 11  
years old) but still "potent" at (when he  
was 16) but (the G for production) was also  
different from

of Habermann's and also  
"real needs" regards how difficult to identify  
"parts of real" at

adult human thoughts at 16 and post 16.



Remarks

(b)

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 bridge P is not optimized. used with different  
different bridge elements to support the load  
and standard for various locations for optimal  
is selected

selected P possess all good and optimal  
and blend all optimized A and standard  
and allow for assimilate to bridge load  
allow no conflict between load and el  
allow to provide an optimal load  
allow which is no the bridge the load needs  
allow to use various load type but  
so in grid-10 function so with so 10  
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Remarks

(c).

Kautilya was an ancient Indian political strategist. His book Arthashastra of 4<sup>th</sup> century BC is regarded as a master political treatise. Origin of political realism by Winteritz and Botazzi.

Kautilya has given the theory of Mandal Siddhanta in Arthashastra. He divided the King's sphere of influence & surrounding areas in the form of mandalas or circles.

Mandal theory is a theory of geopolitics where state is regarded as a living organism that grows and expands, else it perishes. Since artha (or material well-being) is the supreme and land is the source of artha, conquering land becomes of foremost importance.

The first land to be captured belongs to that of neighbour. Hence neighbour is the natural enemy. (Ari) Neighbour's neighbour (Ari Mitra) is the ally or friend of Vijigishu. This can be understood from the fact that Pakistan is

Remarks

a natural enemy of India, while Afghanistan is a natural ally.

There are four types of Kings / state - Vijigishu, Ari, Udasinha and madhyama. Vijigishu is the conqueror. Ari is the enemy. Udasinha is a neutral state while Madhyama is a buffer state.

Kautilya's describe four upayes to Vijigishu to achieve his ends - sam, dama, danda & bheda. He has given elaborate description of 3 types of war -

1. Parakram Yuddha (Direct war)
2. Koot Yuddha (Guerrilla war)
3. Tushnita Yuddha (Proxy war)

He also describes three types of victories:-

1. Dharmajaya (by rightful means)
2. Asurajaya (by unfair means)
3. Lobhanjaya (by economic inducement)

He further gives Sastguna Niti of conducting foreign policy :-

1. Sandhi - treaty
2. Vigraha - breaking treaty and going for war.
3. Asan - troop stationing
4. Yana - force exercises

Remarks

5. Sanshray - p mobilisation

6. Dvaida Bhava - / diplomatic manoeuvring

Thus, Kautilya's Mardal Theory is a realist theory of foreign policy. Henry Kissinger (Book - World Order) has advised western scholars to go through Arthashastra to better understand the finer nuances of foreign policy.

Even Machiavelli has given elaborate theory on statecraft & management of power, yet the advice given by Kautilya are more explicit & elaborate. Hence Max Weber (Book - Politics as Vocation) calls Kautilya as more machiavellian than Machiavelli. Machiavelli's Prince appears harmless before Kautilya's King.

Kautilya's theory of mardal siddhanta remains relevant even in contemporary times. Hence it is of great use to political pundits & foreign policy analysts even today.

117a

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 contested idea in the Indian scenario. Discuss.  
(250 Words) (20)

Mahatma Gandhi was a lawyer, educationist, humanist social reformer, and a mass leader who successfully led the Indian National movement.

His ideas of Saty Swaraj & Sarvodaya are critical to the understanding of his praxis.  
Gandhian idea of "swaraj" is not only political freedom but also individual freedom. It not means freedom from British, but also an aspiration to give a life of dignity to millions of Indians so that they attain individual freedom.

<sup>'Swaraj' meaning is  
not really understood</sup>  
"swaraj" comes near to Rousseau's concept of real will. It can also be understood from Gandhi's oceanic circle theory of power. According to this theory, individual is at the

Remarks

centre. The power is not hierarchical. It is for empowerment of individual, not for subordination.

~~How & why~~ Hence Gandhi gave the concept of stateless Ram-rajya or idea of moral anarchism since state is a source of subordination & violence.

On the other hand, democratic decentralisation or gram swarajya will lead to individual freedom.

Gandhi's idea of Sarvodaya is inspired from John Ruskin's idea (Unto This Last). It implies upliftment of the last individual, upto the last mile. He advocated the empowerment of "Dandia Narayan". His idea of trusteeship & bread labour is meant for fulfilling Sarvodaya.

His idea of Sarvodaya has the root of Gandhian socialism. Similarity can be found in Aristotle's idea (of property) & Rawls' idea of justice. According to John Rawls, society is like a chain where the weakest link is as important as the strongest link.

Remarks

• Gandhian idea of satyagraha is based on truth & force. Its main elements include truth & non-violence. The methods of satyagraha can be studied from Gandhian struggles of freedom like non-cooperation, civil disobedience, non-violent methods of struggle & peaceful mass protest.

Gandhian satyagraha <sup>is</sup> a weapon of the strongest, not of the weakest. His tools are relevant all the more today, as noted by neo-Gandhian Ashis Nandy, to solve problems confronting humanity.

⑥

Analysis / concepts behind are totally running ||

(b).

Dharma is regarded by Annie Besant as the biggest contribution of India to humanity.

Dharma comes from the root word "dhr" which means to uphold, support. It has wide meaning & scope which varies as per different scriptures and traditions. Dharma does not mean religion. It means duty, virtue, justice, code of conduct etc.

Remarks

Dharma & ethics are highly inter-related in ancient Indian political thought. Dharma is associated with righteousness & right code of conduct as given in Vedas - PriThvum Dharmam Dhritam (Dharma supports life on earth). Similarly ethics as described by Bhagwad Geeta- Atman; Pratikulari Paresham na Samachary (do not do unto others, as you would not be done by).

~~Dharma is needed among~~ Even the King was under Kautilya (dharma) (Rajdharma) to protect his subjects from Aranyakta & ensure well-being (Yojakshema) of people. Lord. Krishna asked Arjuna to follow his Kshatriyadharma (warrior's duty).

In the Buddhist notion of politics, dhamma was given a central role as in Ashtangika Marg or eight-fold path. The King or mahasammata was the noblest of all & wisest of all. His duty was to ensure happiness of people. For ex. Ashoka who is regarded in Ashokavadana as the ideal king or philosopher king. He was loved by the people & God (Devanampnya Piya dasi).

Remarks

However in Dharmashastra tradition, of ancient Indian political thought, king wins wars & acquires land. The foreign policy is a realist one & based on geopolitics. While in Buddhist notion, king wins hearts and conquers by love. It is based on pacifist foreign policy.

The relation between Dharma & ethics can be compared to Plato's idea of justice based on the principles of functional specialisation & non-interference. Justice laid in individuals performing their duty as per their virtue.

While in above school, dharma, ethics & politics are closely interrelated, in realist school (by Machiavelli, Kautilya) there is demarcation between ethics & politics.

Hence dharma, ethics & politics have enriched the political debates & shown the path to society of "good life".

Remarks



wood lemnit

(c) Secularism, like all other political ideas, remains a contested concept.

D.E.Amith regards that minorities are the natural custodians of state ~~area~~. He regards Indian state as not a totally secular state.

Rajeev Bhargava in criticism of Amith's idea has called Indian model as politically negotiated & historically conditioned model.

It is a principled-distance model where state is entitled to intervene in matters of religion. It is unique as per India's circumstances.

Indian model of secularism can be understood from rights given under Article 25-28 and 29, 30. It reflects the ideas of Gandhiji who believed in Sarva Dharma Sambhav and not in strict separation of religion from state.

Remarks

However Indian model of secularism is criticized by Pratap Bhanu Mehta as flirt with religion which leaves every religion insecure. It is a model of political opportunism which legitimises vota-bank politics. Leaders like L.K Advani called Indian model of secularism as weak as there is no uniform civil code enacted even after 75 years of independence.

*Question why it is not working*

The recent judgements of Supreme court in Sabrina case, Triple Talaq case show the conflict with individualistic rights (Article 14) and religious rights (Art. 25-28), community rights (Art. 29, 30). The steps like Haj subsidy or subsidy for senior citizens to travel Ram Mandir (by Delhi government) further distort the model of secularism. Communal riots dent the image of Indian ~~secular~~ secularism.

Hence scholars like Romila Thapar have called for a more bold of secularism.

Remarks

in Indian scenario. Ashis Nandy calls for active participation of state in matters of religion for better understanding among various religions & building harmony.

Secularism is not a necessity for diverse societies like India. (Charles Taylor) Hence whatever model is adopted, it should be based on consensus & dialogue among all stakeholders of society. Rather than imposing any over-arching value, we need to base our society on ideas of "value-pluralism." (Isaiah Berlin).

Q

where is Indian  
model of Secularism  
to be more not any?  
just one westerner  
or left thinker |

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)

(a). President (under Article 123) and Governor (under Article 213) are empowered to issue ordinances to deal with emergencies when both the Houses or either of the Houses are not in session. (recess period).

Ordinance-making power by the executive is emerging as a threat to the domain of constitutional legislative authorities because-

1. Deliberate prorogation of the legislative houses is done to bring an ordinance on a subject matter that is a contested between parties. Hence it tries to bypass the constitutional authority of legislature.

2. Ordinance are kept active by successive re-promulgation, with or without the subject

Remarks

being charged, for longer period of time without being placed & before the legislature for passing it as in Art. ex. Bihar case.

3. Ordinances being used to bring important changes. for e.g. recent ordinance to extend the term of directors of CBI and ED.

This has resulted in what critics call "Ordinance Ray".

~~of the House, How can Supreme court challenge regulation~~

Supreme court in subsequent cases like Cooper case, D.C Wadhwa case has pointed out that re-promulgation of ordinances without placing them before legislature is a fraud upon the Constitution. It is also open to challenge of judicial review.

It is to be noted that ordinance making power is an exceptional power & not found in the constitutions of major democracies of the world.

It was used by British colonial masters.

Remarks

Hence ordinance making power, bequeathed as a colonial legacy, should be resorted to only in emergency circumstances. Further there is a need to arrest the "decline of Parliament" (Shankar & Rodriguez) to ensure ordinance raj is curtailed.

Not needed  
to say  
any

S

(b).

Indian National movement was led by various sections of society. Hence it has been analysed from various ideological frameworks & remains contested among various schools of thought. Marxist perspective is one such frame of analysis of Indian national movement.

It begins with the statement of Karl Marx who regarded 1857 revolt as "national revolt". In the Indian context, M.N. Roy can be regarded as pioneer of Marxist perspective.

Remarks

M.N. Roy called Congress a bourgeoisie party & Gandhi as a leader of bourgeoisie. Various national movements were halted at crucial points to take support of bourgeoisie, and prevent the emergence of mass consciousness.

E.M.S. Namboodripad calls Gandhian struggle as restricted mass struggle. Gandhi forced the down trodden for ~~har~~ harmony between classes to fight against colonial masters, thereby neglecting issues like poverty.

Ranjeet Guruha believes that elite historiography represents a blinkered view of history. There was a mass struggle completely autonomous & not supported by Congress.

However Sunit Sarkar & Bipin Chandra have supported Gandhian strategy of struggle - Three-Struggle as it was in sync with

Remarks

The psychology of masses & helped in keeping the mass struggle pegged, controlled.

Marxists' scope & influence on Indian masses were limited because of multiple reasons as pointed by Prafull Bidwai :-

1. Mostly drawn from universities & ~~never write names~~ not mass leaders.
2. Lacked peculiar understanding of peculiar Indian conditions.
3. Dependent on "imported ideas"
4. Sympathy with USSR and China - hence ~~they are not accepted as such some great scholars~~ divorced from masses.

However the rise of leftist leaders like Kanhaiya Kumar show that Marxism still has lot of scope in India, gives attempts of privatisation & unfettered capitalism.

(Ranachandra Guha)

Desams

(S)

Remarks

(c).

Ancient Indian Political Tradition can be studied from multiple sources like Dharmashastras, Dandashashtras, Thirukkural, Arthashastra, Mahabharata, Ramayana, Bhagwad Greta & ManuSmriti.

In the ancient Indian political tradition, the origin of state is from "arajalta" or "matsyanyaya" (state of nature). Thus people come into contract with God to form a state (Quasi-contractual theory). The purpose of State is to protect people from anarchy & ensure their well-being.

The institution of King is hereditary or monarchy. King is under Rajdharna to ensure yogikshema of the people. (In the happiness of his subjects, lies the happiness of the King). Society was hierarchical - divided into four Varnas.

Major limitations of Ancient Indian Political Thought include -

1. ~~the~~ Society was hierarchical, unlike the tradition of Sanghas in Buddhist Thought which

Remarks

were based on egalitarian social order. (needs-based).

Sanghas were based on values like fraternity & republicanism.

2. The position of Shudras & untouchables as legitimised by Manusmriti's on the basis of concept of purity & pollution - is criticized by Dr. Ambedkar.
3. The position of women - as being a subject of control by men in different phases of life - is criticized by feminists.
4. Too much focus on spiritualism - criticized by George Tannaham. However the ancient Indian political thought can provide important insights into the Indian way of life. Their study is important for understanding various facets of life. As Max Muller notes, they are a source of enlightenment for entire world.

(10)

Remarks

(bound-chain), silver banded, coronatus no bound chain  
frontal shield colour is black green sulphur  
greenish yellow - mentalis -  
no distinct border & markings to anterior part  
to middle part pronotum & posterior  
basitarsis at - posttarsus & gibbus - spinosus  
abdominal -  
body is pale no - colour to posterior part &  
to second tergite of male pt. last one to  
middle part basitarsis is - yellow  
second & last three posttarsus to male abdominal part  
yellow last three posttarsus to male abdominal  
and other segment posttarsus to gibbus &  
spinosus at gibbus and posttarsus to abdominal  
part posterior abdominal posttarsus ref  
To gibbus is orange yellow abdominal &  
abdominal with gibbus posttarsus

Remarks