

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

250 good

Name Suyash Kumar Singh

Mobile No. _____

Date 13/11/2021

Signature roll no: 56192

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, Purna 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

8/15

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 believes 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. get

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 faroung 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.

^{gandhi} 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'.

9.5
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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
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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 dharma tradition is Manusmriti. The main feature is that dharma deal with idea of Dharma. It is a word with no direct translation in western languages.

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

Dharma 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 Rakshah 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 lawgiver. Thus, dharma is based
on cosmic law. Balance on earth
depends on dharma (Prithvini Dharmam Dhritam)

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

$$\frac{8}{15}$$

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 landals 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 sanatana 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 blessing as moderates believed.

It suppresses the spirit of nation and prevents natural evolution.

Relevant!

805
15

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

8
15

but you can stick to Gandhi vs Ambedkal 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 totalitaria-
nism 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.

Indistinct answer.

8
15

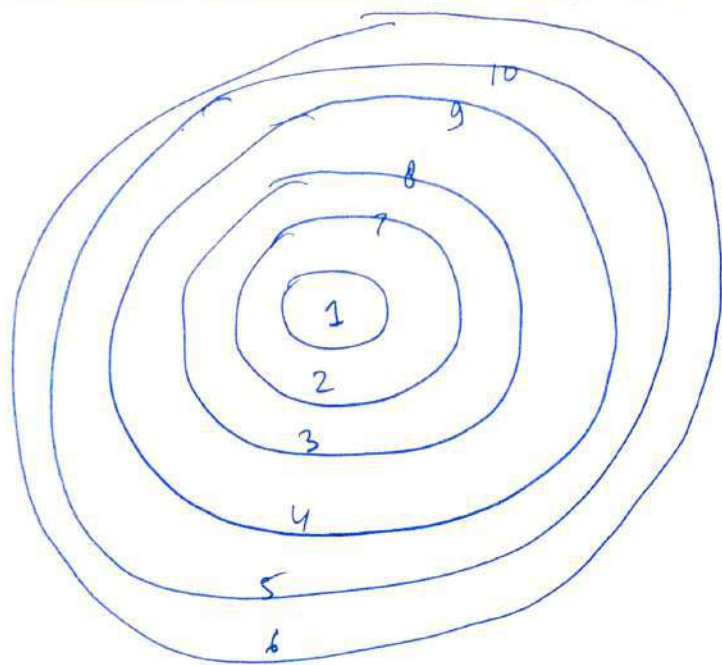
3(c) According to Wintennits and Botazzi, Realist tradition can be traced in works of Kautilya, Sun Tzu and Thucydides.
 Kautilya's Arthashastra is one of the greatest treatises on statecraft. He also got one of the first geopolitical lessons from Kautilya.

Kautilya's mandala theory is an example of geopolitical thinking. It is known by

the famous maxim 'Neighbour is a natural enemy, ^{neighbour} ~~friend~~ 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 → Akranda

9 → Parshvanigrahasara, 10 → Akrandasara.

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*
madhyama

Thus, in foreign policy, king should use the mandala sidhant to follow a policy. Various policies are suggested as Sastgunya 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 objectives

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, Bhed. 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.

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

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

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 communitarian 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.

'Prithvin Dharma Dhitam'.

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

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.

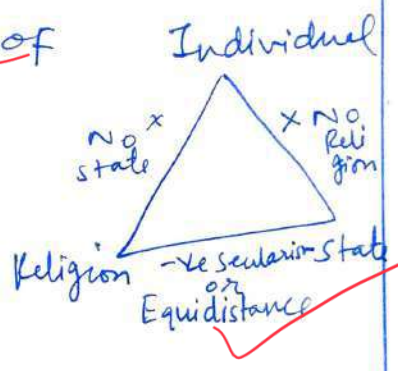
good

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 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 ~~the~~ asymmetrical ~~secularism~~ 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 war 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 bourgeois leader protecting bourgeois 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 bourgeois 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.

9/20

