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POLITICAL SCIENCE & IR (OPTIONAL)

Name Of Candidate **SHASHWAT AURAWAL**

Roll No. **1910076074**

Date:

Time Allowed: Three Hours

Maximum Marks: 250

INDEX TABLE

Q. No.	Max. Marks	Marks Obtained
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		
8		
Total:	250	

INSTRUCTION

1. Do furnish the appropriate details in the answer sheet (viz. Name, Email, Roll No, Mobile).
2. There are EIGHT questions divided in two Sections in the question paper. Question 1 and 5 are compulsory. You can attempt any THREE out of the remaining. Choosing at least ONE Question from each section.
3. The number of marks carried by a question/part is indicated against it.
4. 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.
5. Word limit in questions, if specified, should be adhered to.
6. Content is more important than content length.
7. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the Question-Cum Answer Booklet must be clearly Struck off.

Any specific messages for ForumIAS Mentors/ Evaluators with respect to your copy? Write it here.

Evaluator's Discretion:

For Student Only

Start Time | **4:30 PM** End Time | **7:30 PM**

Total Marks:

Mode Of Examination:

Online Offline

Evaluator's Discretion: This is the marks awarded at the discretion of the evaluator based on your overall impression, on the basis of (but not limited to) your handwriting, presentation, use of diagrams, flowcharts, facts and figures or absolutely anything that he/she liked in your copy.

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ECN CODE:

EG:

Evaluation Date:

Note: You can discuss your evaluated copy with the Mentor. Raise a ticket from your portal to schedule a meeting with the Mentor. You can also visit our offline centre to meet mentor (all 7 days, Timings - 11 AM to 6 PM). Further if you are unsatisfied with the evaluation, you can seek re-evaluation of the copy.

Parameters	Excellent	Very Good	Good	Average	Poor	Very Poor
Language						
Structure						
Presentation						
Handwriting						
Content						
Attempt						

ADDITIONAL REMARKS

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Section- A

Q.1) Comment on the following in not more than 150 words. (10*5 = 50 Marks)

a) Constituent elements of state (kautilya).

Kautilya in his "Arthashastra" gave the Saptang theory in which he provided for the 7 constituent elements of state.

These are :-

i) King or Vijigishu : For Kautilya, vijigishu was the centre of the state. of all elements are weak & King is strong, he can turn everything into his own interest. Further, he works for interest of people - "In the welfare of the people lies the happiness of the King."

ii) Ministries ^(Amraat ya) They formed the helping hands of king. Among them the most important were the ambassadors. Further, King shall have 3 ministers so that all shall not rise ag. him.

iii) Kasha (finances) - sufficient enough to allow king take decisions, usage ways.

iv) Durg (Fort) - on waters, hills land - to

protect the territory from enemy.

v) Janpad - refers to common area where masses lived. He asked to negotiate all economic activities from liquor to needle. He also highlighted appointment of spies for informing about day-to-day happenings to king.

vi) Mitra - (allies) - King should however not depend on them as they are not permanent allies.

vii) Bala (Army) - consists of standing army of Kshatriya soldiers - though he advised bringing people from other castes also.

Thus, the Saptang theory follows one of most mechanized approach to form a formidable state. That is why Kautilya is also called Father of Political Realism & Indian Mechanism etc.

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(10 Marks)

The liberal & socialist perspective to Indian national movement provided a differential perspective to mainstream nationalist perspective of joining.

liberal perspective was led by Early Nationalism like JN Banerjee who believed that India was a nation in making. The British rule was a divine intervention & would allow self-governance institution in India. The nature of INM shall be constitutional struggle to put forward their demands through means of protest, petition & posters.

Another school led by Cambridge school of thinkers like Perrival Speyer argued that INM was movement of bourgeois. The nationalist leaders were running for offices in govt.

On other hand, socialist perspective provide

an alternative viewpoint to ^{make Britain} exit the nation along with bringing socio-economic transformation of India.

Jay Prakash Narayan, the initial critic of Gandhi demanded more radical approach in INM. He also gave the concept of Sarvodaya & Sampurna Kranti to establish a welfare state.

JL Nehru, P. Sitaramayya, Aruna Narendraswar wanted to radicalise the INM further through this struggle-victory strategy. They also formed the Congress Socialist Party within INM in 1934.

Hence INM can be looked from multiple perspectives & it is not possible to reduce it to just any single perspective.

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c) Mill as reluctant Democrat.

(10 Marks)

John Stuart Mill is one of the most influential theorists of 19th CE. In his work "Considerations of Representative Govt." he has argued for democracy as the best form of government.

For Mill, direct democracy was the best & representative democracy the second best form of government. However, he is called as a "reluctant democrat" by Baker.

This is because, Mill in his work "De Traciville on Democracy in America" argues that similar to Traciville's proposition of democracy turning into mobocracy in USA (due to introduction of workers' right to vote) similarly in other parts of world, democracy can turn into tyranny.

He therefore introduces certain reforms

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are weighted voting, weighted voting & proportional represent to benefit the bourgeois class.

Further, Mill argues that democracy is not for Barbarians. "Despotism is the best form of government for barbarians." He did not support ~~best form~~ democracy for India & China as they may have been ~~despotism~~ ^{great} one but not now. They have to be treated with benevolent despotism. Further, democracy is not a free gift & has been trampled for centuries.

Here he is criticized as a reluctant democrat. Amalya Sen argues that people may not be fit for democracy rather they can be made fit by democracy. Here Mill committed the mistake of treating democracy as ~~means~~ ^{end} in itself than means to an end which is empowerment of people.

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d) Where there is no law there is no liberty.

(10 Marks)

The above statement by Locke argues for the role of law is securing the liberty of individuals.

Locke is considered as the father of liberalism. In his two treatises, he has given the ideas of liberty & natural rights.

Locke argues that liberty can be attained only in presence of laws. In state of nature, the presence of natural law allowed man to act in his own unrestrained self interest making it state of peace, harmony & mutual assistance.

Due to lack of a common authority people formed a social contract to establish a limited government. The essential work of govt. would be to protect the life, liberty & property of individuals.

This would be done by making laws preventing others from interfering & taking away the liberty of oneself.
 Hence, laws were not meant to retort the liberty of a person, rather it was to prevent other person from violating your liberty.

Thus above argument he goes closer to Mill's concept of harm principle where state intervention (law) was allowed in other regarding actions when it hampers other persons liberty.

Even Voltaire argued that I might not agree to what you say, but I will defend till death your right to say it.

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e) Culture of Freedom in Aurobindo's thought.

(10 Marks)

Sri Aurobindo is considered as prophet of Indian nationalism. All to Rabindranath

Tagore, the word will come to know about India from the works of Aurobindo.

Aurobindo argued that Indian culture was ~~the~~ based on the idea of universal brotherhood (vasudhaiva kutumbakam). For India, ~~the~~ responsibility the idea of spirituality & has thee responsibility to spread it to the entire world.

For him, India was a sanatan dharm which inspired the traditions of humanity. However, under British rule, the spirit of India has been suppressed. The Indian nationalism was coming to become dominant in form of swa raaj. He called early nationalism as committing intellectual bankruptcy.

For him, the central goal for India shall

be partial or complete freedom. It shall include not just freedom from British yoke but also inner freedom.

For Aurobindo, inner freedom was the state of attainment of "sat-chit-ananda" or bliss & happiness. It makes us realise the completeness of our soul & nature of our being. Further, it fulfills gita's idea of following our own swarna (path towards natural being)

Hence, Aurobindo gave a comprehensive doctrine of Indian cultural values & spiritual freedom objectives. S. N. Banerjee therefore called him as the spiritual father of Indian national movement.

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Q.2) a) "Nature has placed mankind under governance of two sovereign masters, pain and pleasure. It is only by following the dictate of these two masters alone to point out what we ought to do and what we shall do". (Bentham). Comment.

(20 Marks)

Utilitarianism was the dominant tradition of philosophy in first half of 19th century. It espoused that pain & pleasure are the two yardsticks of human actions.

The beginning of utilitarian philosophy can be traced back to the period of sophists in ancient-greece where they prescribed that materialism & power are pathways to happiness.

In medieval times, the epicurean & in modern times, Hobbesian & Lockian philosophy are essentially utilitarian in tradition. However, it was Bentham, who gave a systematised theory of utilitarianism.

According to Bentham, utility is essentially the inclination towards pleasure.

and aversion towards pain. The utility of any action guides human behaviour. It is quantitative in nature, & does not depend on quality. Further, it can be measured using the Felicity calculus formula.

Not just this, Bentham also espoused, that not just actions, even humans do not differ in quality. They have common desires & hence behaviours.

Further, the state shall attempt to maximise pain pleasure & minimise pain.

To do so, Bentham laid foundation of the idea of "greatest happiness for greatest number" - or the majoritarian model of democracy. Further, he also argues for state to be minimalistic in economic sphere so that people can maximise their property for their pleasure.

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However, the above view of Bentham missed stauncher critique from Humanists like Carlyle who called his philosophy as Pig's philosophy - justifying the human exploitation in the name of profits. Even Marxist scholars argued this to be the justification of capitalist oppression & workers enslavement.

Later, J.S Mill attempted to make modification in Benthamite philosophy & in the process - revised it completely. In his work "On Utilitarianism" - Mill argued that even quality of pleasure & pain differs - as raw pleasure is felt by sensory organs - whereas true happiness is felt by soul.

Not just actions, even human desires - some possess appetite - whereas some also

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possess reason. Those who possess reason can sacrifice their short term interests for the larger benefits of society.

Thus, Utility, according to him is widest of the term. It is not simple pleasure-orientation. "It is better to be socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied."

Hence, utility in reality is the seeking of permanent progress of man's being. In the quest to revise Benthamite Utilitarianism, Mill completely destroyed Utilitarianism. Hence he is also called as "Peter who denied his master."

Despite this, Benthamite Utilitarianism was the resurrection of the role of the bourgeois class in Europe. It is therefore at times - also called as the philosophy of common man.

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b) Why is John Locke a proponent of market economy and also an a representative of "spirit of capitalism"? (15 Marks)

John Locke is considered as one of the most influential thinkers of 17th century. However, he has been widely criticized for leading & representing the spirit of capitalism.

In his second treatise, Locke argued for his social contract - which was essentially to form - firstly a civil society & secondly - a government. The government so formed was not allowed to interfere in the rights of man (natural rights) - i.e. right of life, liberty & property.

In his arguments, Locke gave a special emphasis to right to property. For him, property was essential for man & kind. It was the result of human labour & part of his personality.

According to Locke, initially property was held in common. However, it got unequally distributed when those who were hardworking & laborious - invested in them & owned them. However those who were lazy & fanciful were deprived of it. Hence it is natural division of man's labor.

Further, property represents the natural right of man over the gifts of God. He claimed that God created "apple, meat, & wine" for people to enjoy rather than let them go to waste. Thus, no one had the right to interfere in people's properties - not even state.

He also lays down a minimalistic nightwatchman state which will ensure people's property are protected. It "inherently have no right to affect even

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a criticism of property.

Due to above reasons, Macpherson calls him a 'bourgeois apologist'. For Macpherson, we're tended to represent the interests of rich wealthy capitalists & bourgeoisie class of Britain. He was supporting private property as ultimate even if it caused inequality.

Macpherson also calls him the "defender of possessing class". He fails to give a systematised doctrine of democracy or separation of power but only possessed on private property.

Despite above criticisms, Coakley philosophy was critical in respecting the hard-earned bread labor of man. Even Indian Constitution provides for Right to Property as a legal right under Article 300-A.

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c) Plato's theory of education is inextricably linked with his idea of justice. Discuss. (15 Marks)

According to Rousseau, Plato's Republic was essentially a treatise on education. He has laid down one of most extensive education systems to establish justice in then Greek society.

For Plato, education is the first & foremost virtue of state. It had to be instilled to promote civic culture, along with making people understand their true attributes. For Plato, man had three dominant attributes in them - Reason, courage & appetite.

His education system was a way to identify the dominant attribute of people & place them accordingly in their respective class. Those with Reason as dominant attribute were to

become the working class, whereas those with courage & appetite as auxiliary & producer classes desperately.

In his Republic, he establishes an education machinery - where people were educated till age of 20 in gymnastics, music, gymnastics & music. At the distinction stage, the exiting people joined the producing class.

Similarly, at age of 30, people who were filtered out (after learning out maths, gymnastics etc.) became auxiliary classes. Whereas those who were left went on to learn dialectics & became philosopher kings or men.

Hence, his education system was essentially meant to place people in their respective classes based on

their activities.

This, according to Plato led to justice in society. People worked according to their natural abilities.

There was no conflict - as all followed temperance & did not interfere in each other's work.

Further, such a system allowed balance of supply of people in all classes & ensured stability of state.

However, Aristotle criticized his view for being rigid & immobile. People had limited power & philosopher king had unlimited power. Thus, Plato committed to sacrifice good for best.

Despite his criticism, Plato's education was one of the most modern machinery to form an ideal state - at that period of time.

Q.4) Discuss the distinct features of Gandhian mass movement. How Mahatma Gandhi transformed political and non-political movements into a unified nationalist movement? (20 Marks)

Mahatma Gandhi is considered as Father of Indian Nationalism. According to Humayun Kabir MK Gandhi was a mass psychologist & man who understood mass psychology.

MK Gandhi followed the principle of Ahimsa & Satyagraha in his mass movements. The Indian National movement, according to him was fight to establish Ram Rajya. Hence, if the path is to achieve god, then one has to follow this path of peace, truth & non-violence.

However Gandhi's movements ~~were~~ ^{were} not passive resistance. They involved active participation & total sacrifice.

For Gandhi, the Satyagraha is for strong.

In his mass movements, he employed the technique of Non-cooperation & civil disobedience. He asked people to boycott all British institutions - including schools, colleges, law courts, imperial councils, textile mills, cinemas etc. Further people were to use Swadeshi products & run charities for self reliance.

He also used symbolic gestures like breaking salt law at Dandi (calling CoM, 1930 - Dandi March) & 'do or die' slogan during Quit India movement. Further, he also asked people to stop all cooperation in form of non-payment of chowkidara taxes, violation of forest laws & picketing of British shops.

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Further he also pursued constructive programs like abolishing untouchability, promoting Hindu Muslim unity & joining national schools & colleges. This led to establishing congress led movements 'become a mass movement'.

The above actions led to various sections of Indian society & non-political / political movements joining INM. His insistence on Khilafat question led Muslims joining Non-coop. movement in 1919.

Similarly, he also assimilated peasants by integrating their demands of low rents, and to the tiller based policies in his prog. He also led successful peasant movement like Champaran Saty. & Bardoli Saty. He also integrated working class through

participating in this movement like wherever all over India satyagraha. Not just this, women joined Gandhian movts in large numbers in 1931 & Quit India, 1942.

Hence various political (Home rule, Congress led, Hindu Mahasabha etc.) movements integrated with INDU & non-political movts (women, untouchables, Muslims etc.) also joined INDU. This way his unique strategy of "bringing all" & astounding the adversary.

Gandhian movement has been also criticized by Marxists like [A. B. Dewai] for being a bourgeois movement. R. P. Bhat also calls him warrior of bourgeoisie.

However, despite above criticisms, Gandhi led the one of biggest mass movements on earth whose warmerth is felt even today.
(Bipan Chandra)

b) 130894_53452_1910076074 (2022-08-06 20:35:17) Aristotle's ideas on two forms of justice - distributive and corrective.

(15 Marks)

Aristotle is considered as the father of political science. As to [Prof. Bowley], his work [Politics] is one of most profound works on theories of equality & justice.

Aristotle criticised Platonic justice of division & positioning of people in class. He called it illusory, rigid & not practical. He espoused that main purpose of justice was to prevent revolution.

Justice therefore required "proportional equality" among all. He gives his Nicomachean Ethics - & discusses two types of justice - Distributive & Retributory (corrective) while Distributive justice was concerned by distribution of honours, authority & riches; corrective justice involved legal

justice to correct a wrong doing.

For Aristotle, distributive justice was more imp. than rectificatory justice & essentially involved making public policy that would entail distribution of gains & status in society.

His idea of such distribution was meritocratic. For him, there shall be division of offices & riches based on merit of people. He says - "It is unjust if equals are treated unequally, it is more unjust if unequals are treated equally."

Hence, distributive justice shall be based on distribution according to one's ability. His idea of distributive justice

also justifies his theory of slavery & its restorations.

To establish distributive & corrective justice, he argues for the 'POLITY' as the best practical form of government as it is the "golden mean of democracy and oligarchy." It will keep the ~~best~~ balance between the arrogance of rich & ignorance of poor.

For retributive justice, he also suggests rule of law - as rule of one can be permitted to tyranny. Rule of law will allow easy ~~detest~~ redemption of what is one's due.

Aristotle's concept of justice is highly relevant even today. Restoration systems in India are based on his idea of 'proportion - all equality'. Further the corrective justice can be seen from establishing an independent judiciary.

Here, Aristotle has given a utilitarian & substantial theory of justice.

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c) "power springs up among men when they act together and vanishes when they disperse". (Hannah Arendt) comment. (15 Marks)

Hannah Arendt is ~~not~~ ^{an} existential phenomenologist who is known for the power & originality of her ideas. In her work "Human Condition" she has described the decline of human power.

For Arendt, power refers to the act of coming together in concert for a public purpose. It is the foremost human action (zoon-politikon). She differentiates power from few concepts.

For Arendt, where power belongs to the whole collectivity of people; strength belongs to an individual. Where power belongs to social world, force belongs to world of nature - where power belongs to

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people = at large, violence belongs to state.

Thus, power for Arendt is when people come out to exercise in synergy with each other. It is the continuous engagement of public on a political issue. It is the foremost action of mankind - the zoon politikon.

Arendt claims that power does not belong to economic entities or political offices. It belongs to the people & their consent. It involves freedom of people exercised in the state of plurality. Power therefore is political power.

As Hannah Arendt, there is decline of human power across the world & the tradition of deliberative democracy

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elite to rule of modernity. The centralised bureaucratised structure had concentrated all powers & left people with animal labourer (labour) & Homo Faber (~~the~~ work)

Thus, people need to reassert their power & come together to exercise it. Power springs up when they come together & vanishes when they disperse. The time was to spring together again for demanding one's right.

Hannah Arendt reignites the tradition of civil republicanism & emancipatory democracy that was started by likes of Aristotle & John de Journeville. The recent Arab spring & Black lives matter movement also brought Arendt's idea in public light.

Thus, Arendt has given a phenomenological approach to understand power.

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Q.5) Comment on the following in not more than 150 words. (10 * 5 = 50 Marks)

a) Action as the differentia specifica of human beings. (10 Marks)

The above ~~with~~ statement of Thomas Aquinas in her work Human conditions puts forward the different types of actions pursued by Human beings.

Thomas Aquinas envisaged two kinds of actions - vita contemplativa (thinking) & vita activa (action). For him, vita activa was more important than thinking as it allowed man to interact with world, create his identity & exercise his freedom.

He however described ~~two~~ ^{three} types of actions. Firstly, the labour or Animal labour which is performed compulsorily by all mankind (even animals). Man is

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not free in it at all.

Secondly, the work or Homo Faber all the fulfillment of economic needs - such as job of engineer or doctor. Man is partially free in it.

Thirdly, the action or Civis Romanus all the participation of man in public life.

It involves action to participate in consult with each other (power) & ensure the tradition of republicanism.

Further, actions are performed by people in a state of plurality. It is the execution of freedom with plurality. It is the freedom of human actions & human beings are completely free only if they undertake free action.

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b) Dalit perspective on Indian national movement.

Dalit perspective of Indian national movement ^(10m) argues for the absence of Dalit question from the demands of INM.

Dalit perspective began with Jyotindra Phule who argued that "British Raj was better than Desha Raj". Further, the Dalits & untouchables were not given space in the larger social order.

EV Ramaswami Naicker also left Congress due to mistreatment in Kashi - calling it a Brahmanical Party. It was however Ambedkar who brought the Dalit question to the forefront of discuss.

For Ambedkar, the INDM was giving nothing to Dalits. They want Dalits to continue be the "remains of

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water & brewers of wood." He called Gandhi as a bourgeois leader who was diluting the salt cause by calling them Halliyars.

Further, Ambedkar argued that freedom for India is meaningless if it did not bring sufficient social & economic emancipation for them. He led the famous Madad Sahayagraha & burned manufactures to put forward his cause.

Abanindranath Tagore called Ambedkar's idea being inspired from John Dewey's concept of social endosmosis. It was pragmatic & radical. Even Badel Dirkar has appreciated Ambedkar for bringing salt demands more proactively in front of congress.

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c) Dharmashastra and Arthashastra tradition.

(10 Marks)

Indian Hindu tradition, according to Omikhu Parekh is divided among the Dharmashastra & Arthashastra tradition.

Dharmashastra tradition argued for pressing Dharma - the universal law of one's being. It provided for man's ideals of Dharma, Artha, Kama, Moksha to be the supreme objectives.

Further the Dharmashastras seen as manusmriti also provide for division of society - based on Varma Vyavastha. It also establishes the divine personality of king & his duties to pursue dharma, maintain social order & upset Dharma.

On the other hand, Arthashastra argues for economic well being as the main human objective. It was a more pragmatic approach to Indian statecraft given by Kautilya.

Arthashastra provided for the Mandala theory for a state to expand & become dominant. It also espoused the Saptang theory or seven elements of state. Further, it provided for Shadgunya needs or pillars of foreign policy & idea of Sam Sam Dand Dhed.

Here, both Arthashastra & Arthashastra belong to the Hindu tradition. One being putting on social order - other being more realistic economic & political order.

d) Marxist and radical humanist phase of MN Roy's thought

(10 Marks)

MN Roy is considered as the Father of Indian Marxism. However, his thoughts have undergone severe transformation.

Roy initially was a revolutionary Marxist & criticized Congress as party of bourgeoisie. He established the Communist Party in 1920 & led the Comintern along with Lenin.

However, he was differential to Marxist ideology and believed in class cooperation, role of ideology in determining history among others -

In his work 'Reason, Romanticism & Revolutionary' however he has undergone a shift in his thoughts to radical humanism. For him, the ultimate objective

of man is to attain freedom. It included not just freedom ~~for~~ from foreign rule but even freedom for unemployment & poor. He espoused that ethics & rationality can be truly exercised in presence of freedom.

Thus, radical humanism & democracy involved a ~~rather~~ cosmopolitan union of free persons which would entail network of local committees to ensure freedom to all. Latent he also started Radical Democratic Party in 1940.

Thus, MN Roy gave a comprehensive modification to Marxist thought & transformation to Radical humanism.

e) 130894_53452_1910076074 (2022-08-06 20:35:17)

(10 Marks)

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan is considered as the father of Muslim leaders in 19th century India. He was a great reformer, modernist & educational scholar.

Syed Ahmed Khan argued that Science & Islam are not antithetical to each other. A Muslim shall hold the book of Quran & book of Science in both hands - Even Muslim women shall be allowed to educate themselves.

Further, he promoted study of Science. He was founder of Society of Scientific men. He also wanted Muslims to educate themselves more so as to join governments & get employed. Hence, he considered aligning with British to

governor of education & employment -

He also established the Aligarh Muslim University in 1876 for the promotion of modern education among Muslims. Further, he was also pivotal in bringing many social reforms.

Syed Ahmed Khan criticized the practice of ~~polygamy~~ polygamy & triple talaq. He also criticized the system of piri & musidi that was prevalent among Muslims.

Syed Ahmed Khan was therefore a reformer of no other kind for Muslims. His contribution to the community remains impeccable at all times.

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Q.7) a) Compare and contrast the 'state of nature' in Hobbes and Locke. how they differ in prescribing about the nature of contract to come out of the state of nature?

(20 Marks)

Hobbes & Locke are the two foremost thinkers of contractualist tradition.

However, they fundamentally differ in their assumptions & prescriptions.

Hobbes is considered as ~~the~~ child of fear. He was born prematurely during spanish armada. This led to him being pesimistic about human nature.

For Hobbes, human nature is essentially self-centric, egoistic & avaricious. It considers society as means to their end.

On the other hand, Locke was active in period of glorious revolution. He was the believer of enlightened self interest & believed that though most human are selfish they can sacrifice their interest

for interest of others as they also possess reason.

Hobbesian Human nature ^(HN) leads him to imagine the state of nature ^(SN) (the political pre social world) as being one where there is "war of all against all". Life is poor, brutish, rasty & short. There is no time for art, letter, navigation & industry.

On the completely opposite side, Lockean human nature made him envisage that state of nature was not conflictual rather it was one where law of nature prevailed. people followed to live in peace, harmony & mutual assistance.

The completely different description of HN & SN leads them to completely different prescriptions. Where Hobbes

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forms an all powerful Leviathan - an absolute state; coercive forms a minimal night watchman state.

For Hobbes, the brutish state of nature forced man to get out of it (out of security) & establish an contract to form a commonwealth where power of all is bestowed in one. Since there is continuous threat of security of life, the Leviathan will protect all from it, & establish the right to life of all.

However, people will have no option to change Leviathan. It will be all powerful monarch - who would have the 'dominium' to make laws. He can take any one's property & will be above pre-political institutions like nobility, royalty & church.

On other hand, Locke argues that people come out of SN to establish a legal guarantee of their laws of nature & have a common authority to legislate, execute & adjudicate. They create two contracts - One to form a civil society & other to form a government.

However, contrary to Hobbes, Lockean government was a minimal limited govt. of people all the trustees, govt is the trust. Further, govt. will protect the three rights of life liberty & property. It can also be changed if it does not work properly & runs by consent.

Thus Locke & Hobbes significantly differed in their diagnosis & prescriptions. However, they ^{both} formed used the methodology of social contract, provided right to life & represented the emergence of bourgeoisie class.

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b) Evaluate Mahatma Gandhi economic ideas with special reference to concept of 'trusteeship'. is trusteeship practical in today's world. Provide reasons. (15 Marks)

Mahatma Gandhi gave his economic ideas in work "Hind Swaraj". He was inspired by John Ruskin's "Unto the ^{last} Farthing" which he called in Hindi as "Sarvodaya".

Gandhian economic ideas provided for most importantly the respect & dignity of bread & labour. He asked that if we cannot establish equality in our own at least we can establish equality in dignity.

This leads him to give the idea of land to the tiller in rural setup. He also argued for limited mechanization & formation of rural system based on idea of organic circles. However, his most important idea has been that of Trusteeship.

For Gandhi, trusteeship was the only way to establish harmony between the capitalist & the workers. The idea of trusteeship argued that capitalist act as the trustees of the wealth.

He take out the value for his sustenance & running the industry, & distribute rest for benefit of society & workers.

Trusteeship will provide for harmony among class interest. It will control inequality & secure empowerment of poor & vulnerable. His idea was reflected in the Ahmedabad Satyagrah of 1918 when Gandhi chose the mean of capitalist proposal (20%) & workers demand (50%) at 35% & succeeded in it.

Further, it goes closer to Wobton's

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concept of private property & common ownership. In the recent times, also, we can establish the idea of trusteeship in companies & corporates shall denote highest value for corporate social responsibility from current d1. Further, capitalist shall be motivated to give away more money for benefit of society.

various examples like that of Ratan Tata giving lifetime salary to those who died in covid or Arun Dey giving hundreds of money for donation represent guardian idea of trusteeship. However, these are only few islands of society & more emphasis on massification of capital.

Thus, trusteeship becomes all the more relevant today with increasing wealth inequality. It goes closer to Buddha's idea of Madhyamika or middle path.

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c) Highlight the major differences in the strategies and goals between the moderates and extremist groups within the nationalist movement. (15 Marks)

Moderates and Extremists occupied the two strands of Indian nationalism at beginning of 20th century. They led the early national movements leading to the Gandhian mass movements.

Moderates or Early nationalists espoused that the British rule in India was a divine intervention. The Britishers would introduce British-like institutions such as rule of law & install democracy. They can convert India from being a "nation-in-making" to "true nation". (S.N. Banerjee)

On the other hand, Extremists like Surobindo argued that British rule in India is equivalent to chaining down Mother India. The rule is a foreign exploitative yoke & was to be

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pushed out of the way

The moderate like Gopal, DB Naor & McLanahan argued for constitutional struggle against british. They prescribed the policy of "prayers, petitions & protest" for getting their demands fulfilled. They believed that if true demands were made to britishers, they would agree to that.

On the other hand, the extremist argued for radical approach to counter the british rule. They demanded mass agitation for a Purna swraj. Jinnah said that "swraj is my birthright & I shall have it". They also criticized moderates for suffering from intellectual bankruptcy.

The true show between two came when — during partition of Bengal (1905)

While moderates wanted to keep the movement within legal, the extremist wished to take it out of state to all India level & also boycott british institutions including legislative councils. This led to the great split b/w two in 1907.

However, both had significant role in Indian national movement. Moderates gave an economic critique of british rule in India leading to understand that 'british ruled in their interest'. They were also the frontline of communication with British.

On other hand, extremist aroused the masses with their mass action, use of Ganapati & Shivaji festivals got brought many more into the fold of mass movement. They also sounded the idea of Swaraaj.

Hence, both moderates & extremist laid the fertile ground of Indian Nationalist Gov Gandhian movement to take place.

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