

**SHUBHRA RANJAN IAS STUDY PVT LTD**  
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**POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

Time allowed: Three Hours

Maximum Marks: 250

Name: MEGHA ARORA

Test Number: #5

Test Date: 22 September, 2017

UPSC Roll Number: 0107771

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**Instructions:**

1. There are eight questions divided into two sections. Candidate has to attempt five questions in all.
2. Question numbers 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, three are to be attempted, choosing at least from each section.
3. Question numbers 1 and 5 contain five questions each, carrying 10 marks. Other questions carry three sub questions with 20, 20 and 10 marks.
4. Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the admission Certificate, which must be stated clearly on the cover of the booklet in the space provided.
5. Content of the answer is more important than its length.
6. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the Question-Cum-Answer Booklet must be clearly struck off.
7. All parts of the question should be written at one place itself.
8. Write the test in exam atmosphere.

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**POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

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Que. 1

a)

Feminist perspective of State. (10 marks)

Feminist perspective analyses the institution of state from the critical lens of FEMINIST ideology as articulated in the works of Simone de Beauvoir, Betty Friedan, Gloria Steinem.

Radical feminists argue that the state is the institutionalisation of male power and is not above the patriarchal power dynamics. Latherine McKinnon has analysed laws on rape and argues that they reflect the male perspective. Carole Pateman argues that women were never party to the social contract. Since, the personal is political, feminists posit that the Weberian notion of power i.e. state reflects the <sup>monopoly of</sup> legitimate use of force, overlooks the monopoly of use of force in the domestic sphere.

Liberal feminists argue that the state is an important institution for advancing gender equality, progressive legislation, welfare functions to uplift the political and socio-economic status of women.

Iris Marion Young calls for differentiated citizenship for positive discrimination for women by the state.

In contrast, marxist feminists believe that only in a communist ~~society~~ society where the state withers away can women achieve real freedom.

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- b) Pluralists criticism of Monastic theory of State. (10 marks)

Pluralists ~~are~~ use the sociological and group approach to critically reflect on the nature of the state. Monastic Theory of state holds that the state is the sovereign. This is a Hobbesian or Austinian depiction of state sovereignty. In contrast, Pluralists like Tacki call this depiction a relic of the past. With the rise of global civil society and globalisation, Monastic theory of state is fiction. It is also undermines international peace, security and human rights. Tacki argues that human needs are multidimensional and therefore, <sup>wholly</sup> ~~mono~~ state is not sovereign. Even

though state is the keystone of the social architecture, it is a service state and child of law.

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c) Relative Autonomy. (10 marks)

Gramsci was an Italian marxist and author of PRISON NOTEBOOKS. He formulated theory of hegemony to explain why capitalism had not collapsed in advanced capitalist societies of the West as predicted by Marx. Gramsci explained that Marx had overlooked the role of ~~new~~ ideological factors in his analysis of history. The superstructure is not just a reflection of the economic base but is relatively autonomous.

1. The superstructure which consists of structures of coercion (state) secures compliance and structures of legitimization (civil society) which man-

factories consent.

2. The role of ~~these two~~ superstructure leads to domination of bourgeois ideology and status quo becomes the common sense.

It is for this reason that Gramsci is called theoretician of superstructure and has influenced ~~one~~ neomarxists like Adorno, Marcuse.

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- d) Salient features of Buddhist political philosophy. (10 marks)

Buddha's philosophy ~~was~~ is Ancient India's contribution to political thought. Source of Buddhist political Thought are the 3 pitakas of buddhist canon, Jataka tales and Ashokan rock edicts.

1. EGALITARIANISM → Buddhism (eldest child of Hinduism) rejected that one of the duties of the kings was to uphold the varnashramadharma. Dalits and women (hitherto marginalised groups) were admitted to the Buddhist sangha. There is a jataka tale of a dalit who was chosen as king on the basis of his virtues.

2. SOCIAL CONTRACT → Buddhist thought rejects the divine rights theory and posits that people assembled and chose the KING who could protect them

and establish justice and welfare.

3. DHAMMA politics → Ultimately, the social and political transformation depends upon the transformation of the human mind through taking refuge in 3 gems and practicing 8 FOLD PATH.

4. Buddhist SANGHA → It was a mini republic where resolutions were passed, there was a speaker and quorum and special matters were referred to a committee.

5. Dependent Coorigination is the basis of social relations therefore politics must be based on INTERDEPENDENCE  
NON VIOLENCE and not conflict.

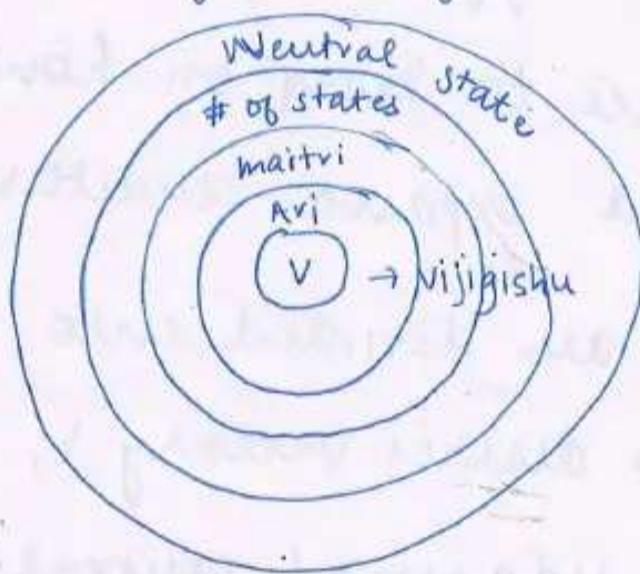
e) Key features of Mandal Theory. (10 marks)

Mandal Theory is India's contribution to geopolitics and was given by Kautilya as part of Arthashastra tradition. It is one of the earliest works on interstate relations and combines astute analysis of geography and psychology to give practical advice to king on how to preserve and expand territory.

1. States are divided into virigishu (one who desires victory), ari (enemy), udasina (neutral) and maitri (ally).
2. Mandal Mddhant argues that king must take into consideration

the seven factors of power (land, people, treasury, fort, king, ministers) before deciding whether to wage war.

3. Neighbour is the enemy as there will be conflict over territory whereas neighbour's neighbour will be a friendly state.



Mandala theory has great relevance in contemporary times and has parallels with structural realism of Waltz and Mearsheimer.

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Que. 2

- a) "Political theory is the most appropriate term to employ in designating that intellectual tradition which affirms the possibility of transcending the sphere of immediate practical concerns and 'viewing' man's societal existence from a critical perspective." Germino.  
Critically examine. (20 marks)

Political theory is the ~~historical~~ systematic study of political phenomena. It consists of political philosophy and political science. Both aspects play complementary roles and Hacker has said that every great political theorist is part philosopher and part scientist. The objective of political theory is to DESCRIBE, CRITICIZE and RECONSTRUCT.

In the 1950s, the field of political science underwent a transformation in the name of the Behavioural Revolution. The Behaviouralists, led by David Easton, were

inspired by the positivists and wanted to incorporate techniques and methodologies of natural science to social science to make political theory more SCIENTIFIC, TESTABLE and RELIABLE. Behaviouralists criticised the ~~basically~~ barren normativism of traditionalists as SPECULATIVE ABSTRACTIONS and ALIENATED POLITICS (Walzer).

~~Therefore~~ However, the MAD CRAZE for SCIENTISM and crude empiricism led to obsession with technique, statistics, methodology. This led to a renewed concern with values. Raphael said that political science seeks explanation whereas political philosophy demands justification.

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In the same tone as Gernino, Plamenatz has said that political theory is not an escape mechanism but an arduous calling. It cannot model the mathematical precision of natural science as human life is dominated by ~~existential~~ existential questions that require moral reasoning. Political theorists therefore have to critically engage with social issues and question the status quo. By understanding and questioning values, they must also advance a progressive, constructive view for human flourishing and excellence. Scholarly detachment must not mean ethical neutrality.

This was seen with the paradigm shift towards post-behaviourism that made political theory from pure science to applied science and produced visionary tracts like : Rawls Theory of Justice C.B Macpherson's Theory of Democracy and creative freedom.

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- b) Is Plato a forerunner of modern totalitarianism or the first fascist? (20 marks)

Plato is the first political philosopher and part of the legendary triumvirate of Ancient Greece. His works are considered to be the originators of European political thought. In THE REPUBLIC, Plato puts forward his brilliant and controversial exposition of the ideal state as the embodiment of justice i.e. VIRTUE, HARMONY and EXCELLENCE.

Salient features of Plato's state →

Hierarchy and ~~Procreosity~~

1. Rule of the philosopher King:

State is individual writ large. Therefore, Statecraft is soulcraft. This implies that there will be functional specialisation and only those who are suited for particular tasks will be given those

tasks like RULING CLASS → WISDOM.  
GUARDIANS → courage  
Producers → appetite.

Through an elaborate scheme of education, Plato argues that only those who are fit to rule will be allowed to rule. Plato's philosopher King is the embodiment of WISDOM and VIRTUE. He is above the LAW.

2. COMMUNISM for the upper classes as well as communism of both the property and family. Plato says that the children will be the children of all.
- b. Due to Plato's radical restructuring of society, he has been termed the first fascist and the first totalitarian thinker.

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1. Philosopher King is similar to the Nazi concept of FUHRER derived from Nietzsche's UBERMENSCH (SUPERMAN).
2. Plato's prescriptions of eugenics and selective breeding as well as censorship to maintain the stability of the state system and population control are reminiscent of FASCIST IDEOLOGY of complete control over the private and public realm.

Plato has been criticized by Karl Popper as the ENEMY of the OPEN SOCIETY.

Popper has put Plato in the same league as Marx, Hegel for a totalitarian ideology. However, it must be remembered that Plato's state is the

enabler of virtue. Philosopher King is the embodiment of WISDOM and REASON and not a self-interested political entrepreneur or ideologue. Plato was therefore not a totalitarian thinker but VISIONARY OF A UTOPIA.

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- c) Comment on the Marxist and Radical Humanist phases of M N Roy's thought. (10 marks)

M. N Roy was a pioneer of Marxist analysis of Indian political thought. His theory of RADICAL HUMANISM has been lauded as progressive, humane and visionary.

MARXIST PHASE : M.N Roy was a great admirer of Karl Marx and called him the greatest lover of humanity and freedom. He disagreed with Marx that economic factors alone shape history and was in agreement with Hegel that "history of philosophy is the history of civilisation". Roy emphasized that the Indian national movement was a bourgeois movement and countered Lenin's strategy of supporting the colonial movements in capitalist

countries. Commintern must support the indigenous proletariat and revolutionary forces alone.

RADICAL HUMANIST PHASE → According to Roy, ideologies had been great deceptions. In the name of nation, class, party the individual had been sacrificed.

Parliamentary democracy is a failure and communism is a fallacy. Thus, Radical humanism where the individual is sovereign and political and economic power is decentralised is vision for the future.

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- Que. 3 a) "Human rights are no more, but no less, than a standard of political legitimacy that specifies a set of social and political practices that aim to establish a framework for equal and autonomous individuals, acting separately and collectively, to make for themselves a world worthy of truly human beings." Discuss. (20 marks)

human rights are based on the Lockean idea of natural rights and Kantian formulation of the "CATEGORICAL IMPERATIVE OF HUMAN DIGNITY." Human rights emerged as a modern, <sup>legal</sup> concept after World War II and the genocide and extermination of European Jews. The Nuremberg Trials led to the concept of "CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY." Thus, human rights are rights that each individual has by virtue of his/her human existence. ~~to~~ and birth. Human rights are

1. Inalienable
2. Indivisible
3. Egalitarian.
4. Universal.

They are a universal code of morality. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) passed in 1948 is the codification of international human rights.

Political legitimacy which is the source of stability of the government system rests on the ability of the state to guarantee its citizens Human Rights in the social, political and economic sphere. According to the lockean tradition of social contract, the state is created for a purpose and if the state fails to meet the standards of political legitimacy by encroaching upon an individual's life, liberty and property, then the right to resist and change the govern-

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ment remains with the people.

Karl Vesak has specified three generations of rights that are sine qua non for a truly human existence.

(i) 1st generation rights → civil and political rights like equality before law, suffrage, political participation, freedom of speech, association.

(ii) 2nd generation Rights → socio-economic rights like right to work, right to a decent livelihood.

(iii) 3rd generation Rights → collective group rights like right to cultural identity, right to a healthy environment.

Therefore, human rights serve as constraints on the sovereignty of the state ~~as well as~~ to exercise responsible sovereignty as the standard of legitimacy.

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along with other small dots  
having small surfaces and small dots  
will form up into one single group  
consisting around such a  
large dots + large numbers will be  
called glaze and dry it slowly  
consisting irregular edges and  
consisting of large groups of numbers  
and dots + the remaining dots will  
be dried more deeply and appear  
as individual small units +  
individual dots + remaining dots  
consisting of large groups  
of numbers + edges of them  
+ several shaped names formed  
by glaze and no boundaries  
between shapes of no. dots + such  
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- b) "Liberal triumphalism needs to be tampered by the recognition of new challenges and threats to liberalism." Critically examine. (20marks)

Liberalsim emerged out of enlightenment ideas and influenced GLORIOUS REVOLUTION French Revolution and American Revolution. liberalism represents the philosophy of the newly emerging capitalist class against aristocracy and feudal privileges.

Dominant thinkers →

- (i) JOHN LOCKE.
- (ii) HOBES
- (iii) ROUSSEAU
- (iv) MILL.

Features of liberalism →

- (i), Individualism → human being is at the centre of social and political analysis.

- (ii) Belief in human reason and rationality. Liberals reject paternalism.
- (iii) Liberty as the supreme political value.
- (iv) Toleration and pluralism of diverse ideas to reach closer to truth.
- (v) Belief in formal equality i.e. legal and political Equality - one person, one vote.

### Challenges to liberalism

1. Merges of liberal Democracy with capitalism has led to extreme inequality or as socialists say → "The freedom to starve". This has resulted in anti-capitalist movements and rise of protectionist leaders.

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Ex. Trump in USA  
 Occupy Wall Street.

2. Multiculturalism has put forward concept of ASIAN values. In certain cultures, community is prior to individual, duties are prior to right.
3. Rise of Fascism in form of MILITANT NATIONALISM and fundamentalist ideology.
4. Communitarians challenge the view of unencumbered self as partial description of reality.
5. Post modernists advocate incredulity towards metanarratives.<sup>ee</sup><sup>99</sup>

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- c) Examine the nature of post colonial state with reference to different analytical perspectives.  
(10 marks)

Post colonial analysis is essential to understand the STATE in third world countries.

(i) HAMZA ALAVI uses Marxist critical lens to give the concept of the overdeveloped state. Since the state was imposed top down by colonial authorities, it is extremely powerful. The power dynamic in society is tilted towards the MILITARY-BUREAUCRACY-POLITICIAN. The state is not a neutral arbiter of various interests but is itself the DOMINANT INTEREST/PARTY. Since the society is transitional and traditional whereas the state is ~~modern~~ modern, there is a democratic deficit.

(ii) Gunnar Myrdal in Asian Drama puts forward the SOFT STATE as its capacity to enforce laws and implementation is weak. This was seen in the failure of land reforms in India. The capacity to deliver is low and the use of force and coercion is high.

(iii) Riggs has given PRISMATIC SOCIETY concept (societies in transition) →

(a) Heterogeneity: traditional society, modern state.

(b) Poly communalism: community of communities.

(c) Polynormativism → rational and irrational basis of decision making.

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Que. 5

a) Critical appraisal of fundamental duties. (10 marks)

Fundamental duties were added by the 42nd Constitutional Amendment Act as PART IV A on the basis of the Swaran Singh Committee recommendations. They are inspired by the USSR constitution and establish a balance between RIGHTS AND DUTIES.

Fundamental duties were praised because they serve as a code of conduct for national life and morality. They have a utility in enforcing social discipline and are a source of inspiration for citizens. Additionally, they remind citizens that in addition to privileges and rights, citizenship

comes with duties

They are criticized for being "mere homily" as these are non justiciable. Some duties are abstract and vague such as "cherish the ideals of the freedom struggle" and "strive for collective excellence."

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- b) Relevance of Article 263. (10 marks)

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c) Reasons for decline of Left in India. (10 marks)

During the freedom struggle as well as post independence, LEFT ideas of social equality, redistributive functions of the state were the mainstream ideological framework. However, with the rise of the cultural nationalism and liberal economic framework, the left has declined.

1. Rise of the aspirational middle class that seeks jobs, skillings and education, industrialisation. This is possible through ease of doing business and liberal trade policy.

2. Lack of organisation of left parties like CPI(M) and CPI-ML that are

fragmented and function within rigid ideology without adequate modification to contemporary scenario.

3. Washington Consensus and expansion of neoliberal ideas of liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation have become the dominant view accepted ~~for~~ for raising GDP growth.

However, with the rise in social-economic inequality as reported by Oxfam (1% of Indians own 58% of wealth), Left has an opportunity to articulate its demands with greater vigour and expose the evils of unrestrained capitalism. Hence, it is not entirely irrelevant.

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- d) Salient features of the Indian model of pressure groups. (10 marks)

Pressure groups are avenues of interest articulation. They function outside the political system and through tactics of lobbying, mass campaigns, awareness in media, put forward their interests. India being a vibrant democracy with very active civil society has multiple pressure groups trying to influence "authoritative allocation of resources".

**FEATURES :**

1. The pressure group within the formal system of the state are extremely influential. Example, IAS officers lobby.
2. ~~As~~ India inherited a powerful colonial bureaucracy, therefore civil bureaucracy pressure group is more powerful than the military.

3. With the new economic policy of 1991 that introduced LPG model of economic development, CORPORATE INTERESTS have become influential. Business groups now accompany the PM on foreign visits. Ficci has been pushing vigorously for a RBI interest rate cut.
4. Peasant and worker groups are not well organised and vocal. They are dominated by rich farmers, therefore, the concerns are not raised at the highest level.

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- e) Relevance of CAG. (10 marks)

CAG is a constitutional office under A. 148. He / she is the head of the integrated audit machinery of the state. According to Ambdekar, CAG is the most important constitutional office and the bulwark of democracy.

It is through the CAG that the accountability of the executive in the field of financial administration is enforced. CAG is the guardian of the public purse and through legal-regulatory and proprietary audit mechanisms, CAG ensures that the funds used were legally sanctioned as well as sound principles of fiscal administration were used.

- CAG is the friend, philosopher and guide of the public accounts committee of the parliament.  
However, In recent times, CAG has unravelled 2G spectrum allocation scam, lack of cleanliness in railways, lack of disaster preparedness in dams.

CAG has been criticised by as a "REFEREE INSTITUTION" that creates policy paralysis and demoralises the bureaucracy from taking decisions.

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Que. 6

- a) The Indian constitution is "first and foremost a social document." (Granville Austin). Do you think India is a developmental state? (20 marks)

The Indian Constitution is considered an exemplary document of social, economic and political revolution and reform that has held India in good state. The Constitution embodies the ideals and aspirations that the Indian people have long dreamt of. Indian constitution is first and foremost a SOCIAL DOCUMENT as it is a comprehensive plan of action.

Ambedkar said that Indian democracy is a top dressing on an Indian soil that is inherently undemocratic. Therefore, the Constitution attempts to correct the power asymmetry and realise

Vision of the Preamble:

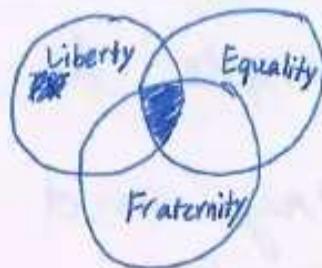
JUSTICE → social, economic and political.

Liberty → Thought, expression, belief, faith and worship.

Equality → of status and of opportunity.

Fraternity → assuring the dignity of the individual and unity and integrity of the nation.

The social document is encapsulated in the PREAMBLE which is the HEART and SOUL of the constitution. Constitution, therefore, furthers human emancipation.



← TRINITY OF  
HAPPINESS

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The Development aspect of India is secured through Fundamental Rights, Directive principles of state policy (Part IV). The rights are guarantees of FREEDOM to the Indian people to live a life of "creative freedom" (Macpherson) and a life they have reason to value (SEN). The directives are instructions to the state for overhauling the society in the PUBLIC interest of social justice and WELFARE. For example, Article 38 and 39 exhort the state to minimise income inequality, prevent concentration of wealth and assets, secure means for a dignified livelihood. The Right to Education is a fundamental right, in line with the developmental vision of social

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welfare theorists to enhance the capabilities of humans and expand human development as well as Gross NATIONAL HAPPINESS.

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- b) "Indian constitution was prepared by the few for the few". In the light of above statement analyse the representational character of the constituent assembly. (20 marks)

The constituent Assembly had candidates who were elected by the provincial legislative assemblies. The suffrage at the time was not universal and heavily restricted. Only 8% of Indians could vote. Therefore, the representational character has been called into question.

→ Additionally, the Assembly was dominated by Congress. Granville Austin has remarked → The constituent Assembly was the Congress Assembly.

→ It was dominated by the elite, urban, educated intelligentsia

→ It was dominated by upper caste, Hindu men.

However, the Congress at the time was not a party but an umbrella movement that gave space to a wide variety of shades and opinions. The left to the right existed within the Constituent Assembly. Therefore, all sections and interests of the Indian people were duly represented. This is the reason the Constituent Assembly debates are so voluminous.

→ Thus we can refute that the constitution was prepared by the few for the few. The constitution

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put forward a plan of radical restructuring of society for PUBLIC BENEFIT and granted the right to vote and extensive liberties to all citizens.

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- c) Is it possible to bring together the perspective of Gandhi and Ambedkar on modern India. In what ways do their perspective differ and in what aspects of their perspectives can be reconciled? (10 marks)

DIFFERENCE →

(i) Gandhi envisioned rural development as the core of his vision for independent India. Villages must become self-governing republics with autonomy to unleash the age of REAL SWARAJ. On the other hand, Ambedkar called villages the dens of ignorance and sink of localism. He said that since the village economy was based on CASTE SYSTEM, dalits must embrace industrialisation to annihilate caste.

(ii) Gandhi saw reason in the utility of varna system and was against the violent aspect of untouchability.

However, Ambedkar said that modern India cannot survive if caste exists.

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Gandhi's concept of SWARAJ, SARVODAYA i.e.  
Equal Welfare of all man can be  
reconciled with Ambedkar's STATE SOCIALISM:  
The purpose of existence of state is the  
welfare of downtrodden.