

123

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Time Allowed: 3 hr.

Max. Marks: 250

Instructions to Candidate

- There are EIGHT questions. Candidate has to attempt FIVE questions in all.
- Question no. 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, THREE are to be attempted.
- 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.

You have excellent conceptual clarity. Take note of the comments to improve your answer. Try to start answers on concepts like power or authority — with a quote from any scholar. Make a good impression. All the best!

1. Invigilator's Signature _____

2. Invigilator's Signature _____

Name Abhijeet Bhanawat

Mobile No. _____

Date _____

Signature Abhijeet

REMARKS

GS SCORE

SECTION-A

Attempt all questions:

1. Answer the following questions in about 150 words each: (10 × 5 = 50)
- Explain the difference between Power and Authority
 - Discuss any two early trends in socialism.
 - Discuss the grounds on which the welfare state is justified.
 - What is Patriarchy and how does it affect the political behaviour of citizens?
 - The Idea of differentiated citizenship.

(a) Power is a central concept in Political Science, so much so that at times political science is considered as the study of sharing, shaping and exercise of power.

There are three facets of power in modern political analysis: power, legitimacy and authority.

In its most common form, power is considered to be the power exercised by state over its citizens / subjects. Thus, political power is the most common notion of power, though this was challenged by the Sociological analysis of power by Hannah Arendt and Foucault.

Remarks

Authority, on the other hand, is considered as the legitimate use of power.

As given by Max Weber:

Authority = Power + Legitimacy

~~Thus~~ Even Rousseau held that "even the strongest man is not strong enough till he converts his power into right".

(5) Thus, authority represents the consent and will of the people in relation to the exercise of power. Max Weber has given three 'ideal types' of power authority: traditional, rational-legal and charismatic, denoting the different bases of authority in different societies.

Similarly, with post-modernist analysis, power is also considered how to operate at different levels and in different forms.

Mention various definitions of power, views of Raz, Mann, Wolf, Galbraith, ~~to~~ describe classification of Weber, ability vs right.

Remarks

(b) "Socialism is a much-used hat whose original shape no one recognizes"

- CEM-Jaad

This statement highlights the multiple trends in socialism. Though at its core, socialism remains an economic doctrine based on cooperation and rooted in equality, which emerged as a response to capitalistic exploitation of workers.

The very first exponents of socialism were scholars like Robert Owen, Charles Fourier, Saint Simon, etc. whom Marx considered as 'utopians' as they lacked proper understanding and program of action.

Prominent Socialistic Schools included the following:

① Evolutionary Socialism

It is also known as 'Parliamentary Road to Socialism'. Once workers get voting rights, scholars like Edward Bernstein and Karl Kautsky suggested that workers should

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form majority in Parliament and bring such laws and policies to change the nature of state to socialistic.

However, their vision did not come to fruition because workers could not form majority.

② Fabianism

This is known as Socialism through Middle classes and is based on ideas of Roman general Fabian who advocated hitting the iron when it was hot.

Thus, scholars like GDH Cole, Sydney & Beatrice Webb, etc. advised middle classes to prepare the ground for socialism by preparing both the masses as well as elites.

This vision also had a limited impact because of the long-drawn out nature of the process.

You have to describe 2 early trends - mention utopian socialists, and define the views of any 2 among Owen, St. Simon & Fourier.

Remarks

(C)

Welfare State emerged as a response of Liberals to the Socialist/Marxist critique of capitalism.

The early capitalist states were 'limited states' based on Classical Liberalism of Locke and had no welfare function. They also excluded workers from political participation. Free market, the so-called invisible hands of demand & supply (Adam Smith) became the determinants of workers' life.

Hence, market became the determinant of production and extreme competition forced capitalists to cut wages of workers and also to increase working hours. Even children were employed as workers at menial wages.

Thus, in the absence of any social safety net and exploitative working conditions, the life of workers became miserable. Socialist scholars ~~traced~~ started identifying

Remarks

the root causes for the situation. Marx gave the most influential critique tracing the trouble to capitalistic principles of free market and competition, and called for establishment of Communist state which would include a state-led economy and which would be based on cooperation. He incited workers for a bloody revolution.

4

Sensing threat, Modern Liberals like TH Green, Laski, etc. gave a positive conception of liberty and justified liberty as capacity, and changed the nature of state to welfare. Hence, welfare state is justified to take care of the masses and is rooted in human dignity.

However, Marxist scholars like Miliband consider welfare state a myth, and Habermas predicts a 'legitimation crisis' because welfare state is based on contradictory principles: capitalism in economy and socialism in social policy.

Remarks Mention grounds for its justification, give reasons for its success, mention equitable distribution, equality of opportunity, social insurance, anti-poverty measures.

(d) Patriarchy is a notion that social structures and state institutions are designed in a way so as to favour men over women. Thus, women face many barriers which the men do not face in their lives.

Radical Feminists like Simone de Beauvoir, Susan Moller Okin have given a detailed analysis of patriarchy and its impacts. They hold that sex and gender are distinct identities, wherein sex is biological, but gender is social construction. Patriarchy has impacted the way gender identity of women gets constructed.

Thus, certain roles and attributes get reserved for women, who then are not allowed to follow their free will, and patriarchy does this by not by force, but by ~~consent~~ hegemony.

Mention meaning of patriarchy — rule by father — men, sexual division of labour, liberal, social & radical feminism

Remarks

Patriarchy and Political Behaviour of Citizens

Seneca Falls Convention held by radical feminists highlighted the impediments posed by patriarchy in political participation of women, and how women were denied voting rights.

Catherine McKinnon has highlighted the male biasness of laws & policies. In her words, "when I look at state, state appears male to me."

5.

Even now, after granting voting rights to women, political participation of women is limited. There have been very few ^{females} heads of states, and ~~at~~ most of them had the patronage of some other male leaders.

Need of the hour is addressing the patriarchal social notions to politically empower women in order to make governance more inclusive.

Remarks

(e) Differentiated Citizenship

The idea of differentiated citizenship has been given by the Radical Feminist Scholar Iris Marion Young.

She has developed this concept in response to liberal idea of Universal citizenship. Universal citizenship treats all citizens equally in all aspects, overlooking any differences.

Thus, despite facing centuries of discrimination, women get treated in the same way as men and are expected to compete with them on an equal footing.

Young believes that this hampers the growth of women and does not allow women to participate in economy and polity in a meaningful way because of baggage of the past. Due to centuries of subjugation, women & social structures have evolved in such a way that women

Remarks

are not in a position to compete directly with men,

Thus, differentiated citizenship is needed to "equalize the differences" to empower women in a meaningful way. Young proposes ~~positive~~ special rights for women.

3 The idea of differentiated citizenship has been criticized by some scholars as 'reverse discrimination' and violation of equality which is the central tenet of modern societies.

However we cannot deny that women do not have a level playing field and thus some form of handholding is necessary to undo centuries of discrimination.

discuss it in context of multiculturalism, mention group differentiated rights, special rights, protection against homogenisation, M's recognition, Kymlicka, Chandran Kukathas

Remarks

4. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Examine the Marxist approach to political analysis. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) "Liberty is the absence of restraint." Explain this statement and discuss the relation between liberty and authority. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Critically examine the liberal and the Marxist theories of Democracy. (250 Words) (20)

(4) Marxist approach to political analysis that analyses political phenomenon in the context of inherent contradictions between the two classes: capitalists and workers in modern economies.

This is a class-based approach rooted in material interpretation of history given by concepts like 'historical materialism and dialectical materialism'. Its central value is equality and it aimed to achieve social and economic justice for the exploited workers in capitalist economies, and thus is an extension of socialistic approach to political analyses.

Karl Marx, in his work Communist Manifesto, has given the basic tenets of Marxist approach which believes that

Remarks

revolution is bound to come in capitalist systems because one class is the exploiter while other is the exploited. Marx considered economy to be the basic structure, and thus revolution aimed at control of economy.

This approach was criticized as economic reductionism at the neglect of other factors. In response, Gramsci incorporated the role of cultural factors in Marxist analysis and gave the concept of integral state consisting of state and civil society. Chase Dunn has also tried to reduce economic determinism in Marx.

Another sub-school within Marxist approach is inspired from the works of young Marx who was concerned more with alienation. Thus, Neo-Marxists like Herbert Marcuse, Theodor Adorno, etc. have analysed how capitalism has become ingrained in the popular culture and how it is very difficult now to overthrow capitalism.

Remarks Mention class struggles, theory of surplus value, revolution, alienation, dictatorship of the proletariat, Communism. Imp. keywords missing.

Marxist approach has also been used to analyse relations between developed and developing world within the prism of imperialism through theories like World System Theory (Wallerstein).

Thus, Marxist approach of political analysis is a vibrant method looking at political structures from the view point of the masses and the exploited sections.

(b) "Liberty is the absence of restraint".

Liberty is the core value of liberalism which is a philosophy of modern times, a product of Enlightenment, emphasizing on the rights of man and believing in the reasoning faculties of man.

Within liberalism, there are two major schools having different conceptions of liberty: negative liberty (classical liberalism) and positive liberty (modern liberalism).

The given statement explains the classical liberal conception of negative liberty.

Remarks

classical liberals, inspired by Locke, believe in a limited state, a night watchman-state, which has a limited role. Thus, state cannot restrain liberty of man in relation to ~~life~~ life -property (comprehensive conception of property). Even liberty is a property of man and its full enjoyment requires absence of external restraints.

Though not a liberal, we find similar idea of Liberty in Hobbes who said that, "Liberty is the absence of external impediments to motion."

However, this view is not accepted by Modern and Social Liberals, who have incorporated the socialist critique of classical liberalism to give the idea of welfare-state which is not a limited state and has an active role in ensuring social justice. Social Liberals like Amartya Sen consider liberty as capacity while Rawls has given the Difference Principle to minimize inequalities. T.H. Green, the father of positive liberty, also held that liberty

Remarks You have to mention Berlin - although you mentioned his classification, use commentaries of Barker, Tashi, McKernie to improve your answer.

in the capacity of doing something worth doing.

Relation between Liberty and Authority
 use of power enjoying legitimacy in the eyes of people is considered as authority.

Thus, classical liberals and neo-liberals consider limited state as a legitimate authority, while social and modern liberal want state to have developmental role as well. Marxists reject these views and believe that liberal authority in liberal states is based on force and exploitation of the workers. They emphasize on equality and reject liberty as the basis of authority.

Thus, we can see that the relation between liberty and authority is a contested idea, with different schools asserting their primacy.

Inadequate. Discuss in the context of law, mention views of individualists, idealists

(c) Democracy is most accepted form of government in the world today. Rooted in human dignity and primacy of man's rights, democracy is not just a form of government, but also a way of life.

Democracy first emerged in ancient Greece, but in medieval times, dual-centres of power (Church-monarchy) replaced democracy in Europe. Post-Renaissance and Reformation, democracy returned in the modern world. It evolved in phases in a Hegelian dialectical process, which is still ongoing.

We can see the evolution of Liberal theory of democracy in the works of scholars like Locke, Rousseau, Mill, etc. Locke gave the idea of government as a 'trust' whose function is to function as per the wishes of the Trustees (people). He even gave the Doctrine of Separation of Power which is the hallmark of modern democracies.

Remarks

Mention how debate
both schools on fundamental
rights

Rousseau was a champion of direct and participative democracy and held that state represents the 'general will'. Mill, like Locke, also takes a protectionist view and held that democracy is necessary for protection of rights. But he restricted democracy to wealthy only and suggested 'Benevolent despotism' for barbarians.

Thus, the early liberal democracy ~~was~~ excluded the masses and gave voting rights based on property (as a proxy for reason).

This was criticized by Marxists, ~~the~~ and Socialists who considered Liberal democracy as 'tyranny of minority, ~~over~~ over majority, and instead proposed 'dictatorship of proletariat' as a true form of democracy. They, thus, advocated power to be exercised by the majority (workers) and not just by a few capitalists.

Unlike liberals, who made liberty the core of their democratic theory, Marxists

Imp. thinkers missing in Marxism.

made equality as the core virtue and changed the goal of democracy from political justice (which they considered procedural) to social and economic justice (which they considered substantive). Along with equality of opportunity they also advocated equality of outcome.

However, as seen in USSR, Marxist democracy, ^{also} proved exploitative, ~~was~~ subjugating man for the state. Meanwhile, Liberals also expanded the scope of their democracy by giving ideas like welfare-state and voting rights to women and workers, to address the concerns raised by feminists and socialists/Marxists.

Now, after the end of Cold War, Marxist theory of democracy has been sidelined and Neo-liberal and Social liberal are the two major conceptions of democracy.

Mention why ^{liberal} democracy is fake - sham, democracy as class organisation, vs

Remarks

democracy as a system of values, discuss criticisms like negation of democracy, bloody & heartless, not a ... the democracy

SECTION-B

Attempt all questions:

5. Comment on the following into 150 words: (10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) Examine the agenda of New Social Movements in India.
- (b) Bhoodan movement and its contribution to land reforms in India.
- (c) Dalit perspective on Indian National Movement.
- (d) India constitution is a product of evolution rather than revolution. Examine.
- (e) Comment on the evolution of Political parties in India since Independence.

(a) New Social Movements are associated with quality of life issues and are inspired by post-positivist approach. They are led by 'New Middle Class' and employ innovative methods like theatre, music, Satyagraha, etc.

3

New Social Movements in India are related to the following agendas:

- ① LGBT rights
- ② women rights & human rights
- ③ Governance Issues: e.g. corruption

Extremely inadequate. Discuss movements & extent of success

Mention environment, model of development, rights of marginalized sections

However these movements are not much organized and lack active support from the civil society.

Remarks

They are often carried out with the help of civil society

(b)

Being an agriculture based economy, land reforms form the core of India's agriculture policy, more so in the backdrop of exploitative British ~~for~~ revenue systems which fundamentally altered the land system in India.

In this context, Bhoodan movement was launched post independence by the Gandhian Acharya Vinoba Bhave. The movement was based on Gandhian dictums of peace, non-violence and trusteeship.

5 Wealthy landlords and landowners were motivated by Bhave and his team to give part of their land to be out of love and compassion for the poor and not out of coercion. This ^{thus} land so obtained was to be distributed among the landless peasants. The idea was based on distributive justice.

However, the success of the program was limited. Most of the land collected

Remarks

Under Bhoodan was of poor quality and was practically wasteland. Hence, even the few peasants who got the land also could not do much. → absence of legal proof

Moreover voluntary approach in welfare policies has its inherent limitations, as in practice moral appeals have limited impacts when it comes to wealth.

Lack of an institutional form with legal backing also proved ^{to be} a factor in the limited success of the program.

Mention Gramdaan, how it is different from Zamindari abolition movement, surplus land, equitable distribution, Pochampalli village.

(C) Indian Freedom Movement has been analyzed by a number of perspectives. Dalit perspective represents the sub-altern perspective of the movement the exposition of which is found in the works of scholars like Ambedkar, Jotiba Phule, Naicker, etc.

Like the Marxist perspective, the Dalit perspective also believes that there was no fundamental antagonism between the British and the Indian elites.

Jotiba Phule praised British government for the reforms it had ushered like education. He held that, "British Raj is better than Peshwa Raj." This was in opposition to the dominant narrative.

Ramswamy Naicker, who was earlier a part of Congress, left it later as he felt that Congress was dominated by Brahmins and that Congress was not really interested in taking up the issue of Dalits.

Remarks

The greatest contribution to the Dalit perspective has been done by Ambedkar. He believed fraternity to be the basis of nation and held that since Hindus form warring factions, India is not yet a nation, but a nation in making. He opposed congress movements, sought concessions from the British and supported Tannah because according to him Gandhi and the Congress were not ^{truly} interested in emancipation of Dalits.

Thus, Dalit perspective has added more meaning and substance to our understanding of the national movement.

Inadequate info. The thinkers you mentioned have a lot of contribution in terms of movements, forming associations, publishing magazines, their views are also not adequately discussed, mention Narayan Guru, Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj etc.

(d) Lymanville Austin has called Indian Constitution as 'cornerstone of a nation', which evolved over a period of time.

Association of Indians with the government started as early as Council Act of 1862. Gradually through subsequent Acts, Indianization of government started but in a very gradual way.

It was Morley Minto Act of 1909 that introduced element of elections. Government of India also introduced reservations for various communities. Government of India Act 1919 provided for Indian ministries at provincial levels, and Indians got a hint what indigenous government would be like.

It was Government of India Act 1935 which ^{has} had the most impact on the ~~present~~ Constitution. It formed the base over which the Constitutional edifice was built. Many features have been directly continued like

Remarks

institution of Governor, Emergency provisions,
3 lists, etc.

(5) All these developments were also in sync with the developments in society at that time. Thus, the Constitution which we see today evolved over a period of time and being an organic document, is also evolving now as well by a way of amendments and judicial interpretations.

But the main reason behind it being evolutionary & not revolutionary is also the fact that Indian independence was a transfer of power and not a revolution. Thus, colonial legacy is bound to be there.

Mention Simon Commission, Nehru Report, Quit India, Civil disobedience affects, demands for Constituent Assembly & its role.

(e)

Political Parties perform the function of interest aggregation, and in words of Laski, "democracy is unthinkable without political parties".

Political Parties in India have evolved in stages since independence. First phase (till 1967) has been termed as 'Congress system' by Rajni Kothari. This era was marked by Congress hegemony and Congress governments at both Centre & State. Other parties operated at the margins and effective opposition came from within the Congress.

1967 marked a watershed with the rise of regional parties and the formation of non-Congress governments in states. This happened in the backdrop of Green Revolution and the First Democratic Uprising (Yogendra Yadav), i.e. the rise of OBCs.

Remarks

Slowly Congress started losing its democratic character and its decline started post Emergency. The next phase from 1989 onwards is marked by Coalition governments in which regional parties started playing a major role. Coalitions have forced incorporation of greater diversity, however instability, policy paralysis and political horse trading have also been observed.

2014 and 2019 witnessed ~~formation~~ a single party getting full majority and thus indications have emerged of BJP enjoying almost pan-India hegemony, and the opposition parties being sidelined to the margins.

Thus, the evolution of political parties has occurred in tandem with social changes and changes in global political economy.

Mention major political parties - splits & merges in social & ideological content, rise of regionalism & communalism, caste based pol. parties, mention parties in South.

Remarks

6. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Satyagraha is the most important and original contributions of Mahatma Gandhi to humankind. Discuss. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Elaborate on the main features of the Marxist perspective of Freedom struggle and bring out its limitations as well. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Write a short note on performance and agenda of environmental movements in India. (250 Words) (20)

Indian Freedom Movement was the first large scale non-violent movement which achieved its objective. And central to the movement was the unique tool of Satyagraha devised by Mahatma Gandhi.

8

Satyagraha is a form of resistance based on 'satya' (truth) and 'ahimsa' (non-violence) to change the heart of the oppressor. A true satyagraha has love in his heart and he opposes the oppressor through peaceful means. Satyagraha is different from passive resistance because feeling of hatred is not there. This way, Satyagraha enables a permanent solution to conflict by change of heart.

Remarks

Methods, principles of Satyagraha,
truth-love-soul - to rule force,
weapon of ~~non-violence~~
discuss difference with Passive Resistance

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Gandhi developed this novel way of resistance during his stay in South Africa, and used the learnings effectively during Satyagraha movements like Rowlatt Satyagraha.

Since the method is based on non-violence, it helped in making the National Movement more inclusive by including women & even the old & children into the fold.

Through Satyagraha, Gandhi also energized the masses by turning the battle for freedom into a moral battle between good and evil. Satyagraha also posed a unique dilemma before the British Indian government which was unable to justify use of force against non-violent protesters.

Hence, Satyagraha ~~was~~ is the most important and original contribution of Mahatma Gandhi to humankind. Not only

Remarks

did it win India its freedom, but also inspired non-violent struggles in USA (Martin Luther King Jr) and South Africa (Nelson Mandela), etc.

Gandhi's deep faith in human goodness and non-violence has provided a unique moral tool to the world in the form of Satyagraha.

(b) Political activities going on in the Indian subcontinent between 1857-1947 have been interpreted differently by different schools.

(*) Marxist analysis of the Freedom Struggle is ~~based~~ a class-based analysis and is based on Materialistic view of history. Marx himself had analyzed the result of 1857 and called it a result of feudal elements.

The fundamental premise of Marxist analysis is that there was no real antagonism

Remarks

between the British and the Indian elites.
MN Roy considered Gandhian movements as the 'joint drama' of Gandhi and the British. He accused Gandhi of acting in a way so as to deprive masses from getting power.

Other Marxist scholars believe that Indian National Movement was not a mass movement and ^{that} Congress did not represent the most exploited classes: workers and peasants.

Criticism of Marxist analysis has come from many scholars. Sumit Sarkar has accused MN Roy of committing the 'guilt of heteronomy' and he says that Marxist analysis of other countries is not applicable in India.

Bipan Chandra accepts that Congress did not represent all sections of society,

Remarks

but there was no planned conspiracy either on the part of Congress to work to the detriment of the masses. He calls Indian National Movement as the most glorious of all movements.

Despite the limitations, as we should appreciate the concern of the Marxist scholars for the emancipation of the most exploited segments of the society.

You have not mentioned Marx's theory of freedom — refers to alienation, revolution, exploitation, mention influence of Marxist ideas on Indian freedom struggle.

(C)

Environment protection and respect for nature has been deeply ingrained in Indian cultural ethos, evident in nature worship. ~~And~~ However, the advent of modern way of life, though has boosted standards of living, has also proved detrimental to the environment, giving rise to environment movement.

During 70s & 80s, the first environmental movements appeared in the form of 'Chipko' and 'Appiko'. However, such movements were localized and lacked synergy. Moreover environmental activists were considered as 'interlopers'.

Slowly, with the growth of knowledge about 'sustainable development' gaining ground and after the liberalization of Indian economy leading to environmental degradation, environmental movement in India has gathered pace.

Remarks

There have been movements against forced tribal evictions due to dams, against industrial pollutants, against sale of farm lands to industry and so on. The agenda of such movements remains protection of rights ~~but~~ of indigenous communities, enactment of strict legislations like Environment Protection Act & their strict enforcement and is building greater awareness among the citizens.

However, as opposed to the western environment movement which is protectionist in nature and values nature for its worth, Indian movement is utilitarian in nature, ~~aiming~~ linked with the survival of the people. Indian environment movement is also known as 'empty stomach' because it has been led by and for the most marginalized.

Mention how they are grouped under NEM, middle class or elite movements, criticism of model of development, environmentalism of the poor, community centric approach, realisation of people's rights, involvement of women

Remarks

Moreover, the activists still lack coherent strategy and government has also prioritized developmental needs over environmental protection.

Thus, apart from ~~enactings~~ enactment of few legislations like EPA, WPA, etc. the performance of environment movement remains poor.

Jineta Narayan calls for a 'social ecology' approach which looks at harmonizes environment and development.

However, the most serious limitation that needs to be addressed for making environment movement effective is that environment is still not an electoral issue. Voting based on environmental policy will get greatly aid in achieving the objectives of environmental protection as enshrined in Part IV and Part-IV A of the Constitution.

Remarks

8. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Examine briefly the programme and role of the extremists in the Indian National Movement. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Critically examine the impact of political parties on democracy in India. Also, comment on the social mobilization led by political parties. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Examine the role of caste in Indian Politics. (250 Words) (20)

(9) The Indian National Movement was a controlled, protracted and multi-stage movement successfully reaching to its logical end. Three major stages can be identified:

1. Moderate
2. Extremists
3. Gandhian

Programme and Role of Extremists

Extremists (led by the trio of Lal-Bal-Pal) emerged prominently at the beginning of the 20th century. They were dissatisfied with the methods and achievements of the moderates. names?

Unlike moderates, who believed in constitutional methods and 3P (Prayer, Petition, Propaganda), Extremists did not shy away

Remarks

Mention significance of Surat
Split, methods of extremists,
incidence of violence,
govt. reaction to extremists

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from extra-constitutional methods and
advocated Passive Resistance. Unlike moderates
they had no faith in British sense of justice
and wanted immediate granting of swaraj
{Aurobindo even advocated complete independence,
but others focussed on dominion status.

They wanted to accelerate the
national movement by including the masses
and increasing the geographical reach of
the movement. They took pride in Indian
culture & traditions and tried to energize
the masses through festivals like Ganesh
Visarjan (Tilak) and popularized cultural conception
of nation.

They played a crucial role in the
Swadeshi Movement, but the Surat split
and consequent government action led to
the marginalization of the extremists.
The moderates were in opposition to the
extremists and captured the Congress,
but still the extremists were able
to capture the popular imagination.

explain

Remarks

In 1916, they were taken back into the Congress, and this way Congress learnt not to divide itself in future, if it were to achieve its goals (pro-changes vs no changes).

Thus, overall, extremists took the movement forward from moderates and prepared the ground for gandhian mass movements.

(b) Political parties are considered as the life-blood of democracy. Laski held that democracy without political parties is unthinkable.

Political parties perform the role of 'interest aggregation'. They contest elections, hold political office and give definite shape to popular will.

Thus, political parties in India have played a crucial role in institutionalizing democracy in a traditional society. Rajni Kothari has called Congress as a 'Rainbow coalition' which represented diverse groups.

Remarks

and interests. Peaceful change in governments for the last 72 years is what makes Indian democracy distinct from its third world peers, and political parties have shown remarkable maturity in accepting the democratic mandate.

Post 1969, (A First Democratic Upsurge), Regional Parties have emerged prominently giving voice to local aspirations. Coalition governments since 1989 are also a testimony to the commitment of political parties towards nation's growth.

However, parties have not shied from using caste and communal calculations to gather support. CP Bhambhari suggests that 'Mandal and Komandal' are linked. Many Political Parties have become strongholds of dynastic politics which is against the democratic ethos.

Internal democracy and transparency is also very poor in most parties, and

Remarks

nepotism and money & muscle power often dominate over merit.

Social Mobilization led by Political Parties

In a democratic setup, social mobilization by political parties is key in winning elections. Parties mobilize people around various issues like poor economy, corruption, etc. to ensure accountability of the government and to seek redressal. This has led to legislations like RTI, Lokpal, etc.

However, parties in India have also mobilized people on divisive grounds like caste, religion, etc. which threaten national unity. This way political expediency has given rise to some deep-seated suspicious between communities. Sometimes, parties have used social mobilization to prevent constructive debates over sensitive issues like Reservation.

Thus, need of the hour is establishing frameworks where parties are not able to undermine national interests for political

Remarks expediency.

Very well-structured, adequately addressed, mention the point about 'inclusive democracy'

(c) Caste is a form of social stratification unique to India based on the concept of purity and pollution. Caste forms an endogenous social group associated with an occupation.

Since Caste is the reality of Indian social life, it also plays a crucial role in Indian polity. Christophe Jaffrelot calls caste as "mosaic of Indian politics". He has analysed various political movements and the role of caste in them.

According to Rudolph & Rudolph, when democracy was introduced in a traditional caste based Indian society, caste became the basis of social mobilization to garner votes. In other words "modernity get traditionalized along with tradition getting modernized".

Professor Yashendra Yadav has also explained the deepening of democracy.

Remarks

Through his concept of Democratic Upsurge's Regional parties, are largely caste-based parties who depend on support from particular caste groups.

Thus, caste has been one of the major factors behind survival of democracy in India because people leaders found a pivot around which democratic consciousness could be built.

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However, use of caste in politics has also given rise to some unwanted consequences. Affirmative action based on caste and its subsequent expansion has made caste system permanent instead of its eradication (Paul Brass). Also, the issue of reservation has become so sensitive that entire social movements are being reorganized based on caste consciousness, e.g. Marathas, Patidars, etc. which deepen suspicion between communities.

Remarks

Another fallout has been the growth of communalism. According to Prof. CP Bhambrani, "Mandal and Kamandal are linked"; i.e. Caste based politics of Congress has given rise to Communal movement by BJP.

Christophe Jaffrelot asserts that ~~State re-creation in 200~~ state-reorganisation was a caste-phenomenon where dominant castes consolidated their position.

Thus, we can say that caste has deepened democracy but has also created mistrust and has had a role in communal politics. Need of the hour is to focus on quick growth & development and modern education, so that caste categories may become flexible and not that relevant in electoral calculus.

Answer is not complete without mentioning caste-based parties - their success, vertical mobilisation & effects of Mandal Commission.

Remarks

