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Concept based notes

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# **SYLLABUS**

## **Unit 1:**

Manu, Kautaliya, Shukra

## **Unit 2:**

Raja Rammohan Roy, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Gopal Krishan Gokhle, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Swami Vivekanand.

## **Unit 3:**

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Bhimrao Amedkar, M.N. Roy, Jaiprakash Nayain, Deen Dayal Upadhyay.

## **UNIT I**

### **1. Write the name of organs of Saptang theory of Manu?**

Ans:



### **2. Point out six factors of “Shadgun Nitti of Kautilya”?**

**Ans:** Kautilya has given a strategy of SHADGUNYA SIDDHANT (six-fold policy), which is to be used as per the situation. It includes strategies as follows:

Sandhi (treaty), Vighraha (break a treaty and start a war), Asan (stationing of forces near enemy), Yana (Mobilisation of troops), Samashraya (joining hand with those having similar aims), and lastly Dwaidbhava (Dual policy i.e., friendship with one enemy for time and enmity with other).

### **3. What are four crime categories given by Shukra?**

**Ans:** offences are of four kinds:

- Through body
- Through speech
- Through association
- Through the mind

### **4. Mention types of wages as suggested by shukra?**

Ans: kalanama bhriti, karya kalamiti bhriti, karyamana bhriti

### **5. Describe the interstate relation given by kautilya?**

Ans: As regards internal policy, the Kautilyan state upholds the Brahmanical Social order and follows the Brahmanical religious practices. In this policy Kautilya describes that the main aim of a State is to protect the Varansharma Dharma. He follows the Dharma. But against to those religious cultures which are create difficulties in progress of state power. As internal policy Kautilya is Religious, but in the sense of external relations he became unreligious. TheVarnasharma Dharma, which is post Vedic times had become the foundation of the Social structure, is expounded by Kautilya in such terms as we find it in early law books. Kautilya instructs the king that he should never allow the people to deviate from their duty. For If human society adheres to the practices befitting the Aryas, is based on the law of the four social classes and stages .

The external policy of the Kautilyan state is guided by religious considerations. Kautilya states that the king should show his devotion to the territorial and religious festivals and the amusements of the conquered people. He should worship the local Gods and favour the orators and religious and intellectual leaders with gift of land and money, and remission of taxes. It is further said that he should do away with the unrighteous practices and establish righteous practices in their place .

Kautilya attitude towards the Brahmanas, who were the ideological custodians of the exiting social order and were mainly concerned with religious affairs, deserves careful consideration. The unequivocally recognizes the Brahmanas special privileges to officiate at the sacrifices and to receive gifts in return.

There are not only retained but sanctified by the law enforced by the state. Kautilya adds that the king shall be free from the sin of unjust imposition this is because Varuna is the ruler of sinners among men. The present ordinance of Kautilya involves three important points.

**Kautilya' Ideas on Inter-State Relations and Diplomacy**

The king is not considered accountable to any human agency for the acts of commission.

If Varuna is the ruling king among men who commit wrongs where the room for the jurisdiction of the earthly king is since the king is considered responsible Varuna ,it is obvious that he is supposed to deprive his compliance from that god.

On behalf of the god this can be done only by some human agency, which is represented by the Brahmanas. Who infect collect the fines from the king and thus exercise power over the king.

#### EXTERNAL DIPLOMACY:

To dealing with the external enemies of the state that Kautilya makes use of sacrifices and worship. He lays down a number of contrivances for destroying the enemy in those places of worship and pilgrimage which he frequents out of faith. To enumerate these contrivances a wall or stone may be left fall on the head of the enemy when he has entered a temple stones or weapons may be showered on his head from the top most story. An outdoor panel or a huge rod may be made to fall on the enemy. Weapons concealed inside the body of an idol may be hurled at his head. It is also laid down that when the enemy visited a temple or ascetics, spies, hidden in underground chambers or somewhere else may strike him [6].

#### DIPLOMATIC AGENTS

-In Mahabharata as in Kautilya's Arthashastra the important part played by the diplomatic agents in the field of diplomacy and foreign affairs has been realised.

These agents are classified under two heads, i.e.,

- (a) Ambassadors (Duta)
- (b) Spies (Cara).

#### **6. Write the four branches of knowledge as enunciated by kautilya?**

Ans: The four branches of knowledge described by Kautilya are:

- 1. Treyi
- 2. Varta
- 3. Aanveekshiki
- 4. Dandniti

## **7. Explain the ideas of Manu regarding women?**

Ans: Manu's opinion on the status of women was in no way different from the other ancient political thinkers, who believed that they were an entity which cannot exist by itself and it needed protection and care. But, this opinion held by the thinkers made women submissive beings. According to Manu, women are like property on which only the owner has absolute powers. He categorically stated that women are like property, neither by sale nor by repudiation can a wife be released from her husband. In Manu's code, women were treated on par with slaves or Shudras at various occasions. Manu prohibited divorce or remarriage for women in any circumstances. She was expected to treat her husband as her God, whatever may be the character of the husband

This statement can be substantiated from an excerpt from Manusmriti, which reads as follows: 'Though destitute by virtue, or seeking pleasure elsewhere, or devoid of good qualities, yet a husband must be constantly worshipped as God by the faithful wife'. Further, Manu was completely against education and property rights to women.

He very clearly stated that 'a wife, a son, and a slave, these three are declared to have no property; the wealth which they earn is acquired from him to whom they belong'. In addition to the above codes, Manu also prescribed certain laws to women-related to the issue of progeny.

According to Manu, it is the duty of woman to provide her husband with a son when he is incapable, only to save him from being sent to hell. If the husband is incapable, Manu stated that it is not wrong if a woman cohabits with any other man for the purpose of begetting children either forced or voluntary.

But she is expected to return to her husband once the act is over if that act was voluntary in nature. Thus, the above opinion that Manu held with regard to women clearly demonstrates that Manu's code is purely male-oriented in nature.

From the above description, it becomes clear that Manu, in fact, spoke on various issues. His ideas depict that he was greatly influenced by the Hindu philosophy and tradition. His primary concern was the institution of kingship. He had very strict notions, in fact rigid with his ideas, on social hierarchy that were evident in his Varna theory.

His writings made the social divisions an integral part of the entire ancient Hindu political philosophy. His excessive stress on caste system and the kingship resulted in side-lining of other aspects of political philosophy, viz., and the theory of state or that of the government.

Further, Manu made no attempts to explain entire political phenomena as a distinct identity but had discussed the same as part of a wider social set-up, which is connected with religion and morality. For this reason, views of Manu were understandably quite discrete with that of the modern assumptions.

## **8. Describe the origin and nature of a state, as per the description in Shukra Niti.**

Ans: Origin of state as per Shukra Niti: Though in Shukra Niti, there is not much description with regard to the origin of state, yet through two references, it is seen that Shukra has supported the divine

principle of origin of a state. In one reference, Shukra says that, “Brahma created the king as a servant to the subject who receives taxes from public as his salary. His existence is for the service of the people”. In the second episode, Shukra says that, “When there was no king in the world, that is, there was chaos everywhere and people began to run here and there in search of a hideout, then God created a king for the safety of this world”. In the context of Shukra Niti, there are only two references where from an outlook is drawn in respect of origin of a state. While propagating the principle of existence of a state, a state has been considered as an important and natural institution in the scripture. While describing the state as the basis of emergence of the world in the epic, its comparison has been made with the moon and it has been said that as the moon is the base of growth of ocean, similarly, state is the original basis for emergence of people. He described appointment of a king by ‘Brahma’ and also supported the divine principle with regard to origin of a state by describing creation of a king by God, but by terming king as servant to his subject, he has negated the divine rights of a king. Nature of state in Shukra Niti: Shukra, while propagating the organic form of a state, describes its seven organs:

1. Raja (King)
2. Mantri (Minister)
3. Mitra (Allies)
4. Kosh (Treasury)
5. Rashtra (Boundary)
6. Durg (Fortress)
7. Sena (Army)

While drawing comparison of a state with human body, Shukra assumes the Raja (King) as the head, minister as the eyes, allies as ears, treasure as mouth, sena (army) as mind, durg (fortress) as both the hands and country as both the feet. In Shukra Niti scripture, a state has been compared to a tree in another context by terming Raja as roots of a tree, ministers as stem, army chief as branches, army as leaves, people as soil, the material obtained from land as fruits and state’s land as seed. Shukra Niti has clarified the difference between a nation (rashtra) and a state (rajya). Two elements are included in rashtra, with the first immovable element as land, hills, natural wealth, etc. A community devoid of sovereign control is called ‘Rashtra’ and this ‘Rashtra’ is transformed into a ‘Rajya’ by way of sovereign control. That is, to say in precise manner, that a public organisation living on a definite piece of land is a rashtra if it is without sovereign control, and it is a rajya if it is with sovereign control.

## **9. Discuss manus ideas of saptang and nature of state?**

Ans: THE SAPTANGA THEORY: ELEMENTS OF STATE The historic method being then unknown, the evolution of the state through various stages is not discussed by ancient Indian writers. It is the first time in Arthashastra of Kautilya find enumerated seven elements of state. The state as seven-limed is contemplated by ancient Hindu thinkers. The state is defined for the first time in the Arthashastra of Kautilya as consisting of seven elements. In Manusmriti, Manu deals with seven Prakritis of the state like king, the ministers, the capital, the realm, the treasure, the army and ally. But Kautilya in his Arthashastra put the same in a different order like the swami, the Amatya, the Janapada, the Durgas, the Kosha, the Danda, the Mitra and the enemy. He changed the previous order to priority and added a new element viz. the enemy. Kautilya also reduces the elements of the state when he writes the king and kingdom are the primary elements of the state because all other elements

revolve round these two elements. The King heads the list of seven constituent elements of the state . There is no doubt that the saptanga theory as given by Kautilya was almost universally accepted as the standard definition to know the nature of the ancient India. It has been generally recognized that the modern constituents of the state such as sovereignty, government, territory and population are covered by the elements of Swami, amatya and Janapada in the saptang theory of the state. The seven limbs as enumerated by Kautilya represent all the four essential features of the state: territory, population, unity and organization. Territory and population are covered by Janapada. There is no Janapada since without people. The two other elements unity and organization are provided by swami, an independent on Sovereign and amatya. The organization through which sovereignty is exercised over the Janapada territory and its people. But king is above all other elements. Kautilya's Saptanga doctrine represents a scheme of categorisation of the various elements that comprise the kingdom Kautilya restated the relative importance of the different elements of state and then ultimately reduced their number in the following words, Swami, Amatya, Janapada, Durga, Kosha, Danda, Mitrani Prakritayan to seven Kautilya enumerated seven prakritis or essential organs of the state. They are as follow:

- A. Swami (The Ruler)
- B. Amatya (The Minister)
- C. Janapada (The Population)
- D. Durga (The Fortified Capital)
- E. Kosha (The Treasury)
- F. Danda (The Army)
- G. Mitra (Ally and Friend)

**Swami(The Ruler):**It is the first and the most important element. Swami means the monarch. He should be a native of the soil and born in a noble family. He should be brave and well learned. He makes all the important appointments and supervises the government. He has to be virtuous and should treat his subjects like his own children. Kautilya has given extensive powers to the monarch but those powers are meant for the welfare of them subjects. In the welfare and happiness of his subjects, lies his own happiness.

**Amatya (The Minister) :**It refers to the council of ministers as well as the supporting officials and subordinate staffs. They are meant for assisting the monarch in day to day affairs of the state. Amatya gives suggestions to king, collects taxes, develops new villages and cities, ensures defense of the state and all other tasks as assigned by the king.

**Janpada (The Population)** It refers to territory and people of the state. The territory of the state should be fertile and should have abundance of forest, rivers, mountains, minerals, wild life etc. It should have good climate. People should be loyal to their king, hardworking, disciplined, religious, ready to fight for their motherland, should pay taxes regularly and happily.

**Durga (The Fortified Capital)** It refers to forts. The state should have sufficient number of forts across its territory at strategic locations for ensuring defense against foreign invasions. Forts should be built near hills/mountains, deserts, dense forests and big water bodies. They garrison soldiers, store food grains for emergency and also serve as a hideout for the king when his life in danger.



## 10. Analyze kautilya's views on judiciary, crime and punishment?

Ans: Kautilya believed that for the prosperity of a state, the state must be **what does Manu mean by 'dwaidhibhav'?**

Ans: Kautilya maintained that it is essential duty of government to maintain order. He defines 'order' broadly to include both social as well as order in the sense of preventing and punishing criminal activity. Arthashastra thus contains both the civil law and criminal law. Kautilya ascribed a lot of importance to 'dharma'. According to him, 'the ultimate source of all law is dharma'. He appealed in the name of 'dharma' to the sense of honour and duty and to human dignity, to moral responsibility and to enlightened patriotism. It's quite intelligible that the judge in the arthashastra was called 'dharmashta' or upholder of dharma. He maintained that so long every 'Arya' follows his 'svadharma' having due regard to his 'varna' and 'ashrama' and the king follows his 'rajadharma', social order will be maintained.

Kautilya's emphasis on duties of King in maintaining law and order in the society is so much that he writes in Arthashastra, "because the King is the guardian of right conduct of this world with four 'varnas' and four 'ashramas' he [alone] can enact and promulgate laws [to uphold them] when all traditional codes of conduct perish [through disuse or disobedience]."

The King was looked upon an embodiment of virtue, a protector of dharma. He too was governed by his dharma as any other citizen was. Thus if any actions of the King went against the prevailing notion of dharma, associations and/or the individual citizens were free to question him. He recalls every time that 'dharma' alone is guiding star for every king, or rather every individual and that following 'dharma' one shall have a life of dignity while social order prevailing in society. He remarks, "A King who administers justice in accordance with 'dharma', evidence, customs, and written law will be able to conquer whole world". Kautilya recognized the importance of rational law or King's law and its priority to 'dharma', 'vyavhara' and 'charitra'. He maintained that King's law was to be in accordance with the injunctions of the three Vedas wherein the four 'varnas' and 'ashramas' are defined. King was not the sole interpreter of dharma. In fact there was no specific institution vested with the authority of interpreting dharma. Every individual was deemed competent to interpret it. This was an important factor in ensuring the non-religious character of the Vedic state. Kautilya did not view law to be an expression of the free will of the people. Thus sovereignty – the authority to make laws, did not vest with citizens. Laws were derived from four sources – dharma (sacred law), vyavhara (evidence), charita (history and custom), and rajasasana (edicts of the King). Kautilya prescribe that any matter of dispute shall be judged according to four bases of justice. These in order of increasing importance are:

- 'Dharma', which is based on truth
- 'Evidence', which is based on witnesses
- 'Custom', i.e. tradition accepted by the people
- 'Royal Edicts', i.e. law as promulgated.

In case of conflict amongst the various laws, dharma was supreme. The ordering of the other laws was case specific. Rajasasana ordered the relationship between the three major social groupings — the citizen, the association, and the state. The constitutional rules at the state level were specified in the rajasasana but the constitutional rules at the level of the association were to be decided by the members of the association. The collective choice and the operational level rules of the association were also decided by the members of the association though the state did promulgate laws to safeguard the individual member from the tyranny of the majority in the association. Arthashastra

outlines a system of civil, criminal, and mercantile law (now known as business laws). For example the following were codified: a procedure for interrogation, torture, and trial, the rights of the accused, what constitutes permissible evidence, a procedure for autopsy in case of death in suspicious circumstances, what constitutes defamation and procedure for claiming damages, valid and invalid contracts.

### **11. Mention the types of court as kautilya has described in arthashastra?**

Ans: The Arthashastra of Kautilya reveals that during the Mauryan period there were **two types of judicial courts**:

- (i) The Dharmasthiya or the civil courts
- (ii) The Kantakasodhana or criminal courts.

### **12. Name out the elements of state in saptang theory of Manu?**

Ans: Seven **Angas, Prakritis** or elements were enumerated and elucidated by Manu for describing the "nature of the state", in its totality. As these are:

- 1. The **Swami**, the sovereign King;
- 2. The **Amatyas**, the Ministers;
- 3. The **Janapada**, the people and the territory;
- 4. The **Durga**, the fortification;
- 5. The **Kosha**, the treasury;
- 6. The **Sena**, or the Danda, the army;
- 7. The **Mitra**, the allies.

### **13. What is the purpose of state according to kautilya?**

Ans: In Kautilya's economics state is the central point. The objective of a state not only to secure but also welfare works for people. For completing objectives he integrated many institutions. The objectives are to secure people, to preserve them from natural calamities, to kill enemies' detective who may be harmful for the state. Kautilya thinks that for a king state is everything with it a king is nothing.<sup>9</sup> Bandyopadhyaya, "The state, thus according to Kautilya, must be based on sound economic foundations, so as to enables men to realize the aims of his life, to lesson as much as possible, the struggle of existence at home, to lessen the dependence of the community on the outside world, to be in a position to help others sections of humanity in distress, and thereby to ensure on existence conducive to the happiness of men in this life and paving the way to a brighter beyond." According to Kautilya state is not only a materialistic but a spiritual also. The objective of a state is not only to manage religious, means and work for people but to create such situation also such like, without colour, creed, and caste. For comprehensive objective he emphasizes on state's scope.<sup>10</sup> <http://www.ijccr.com> VOLUME 2 ISSUE 1 JANUARY 2012 Kautilya says that for getting work, means, religious a state should do work in following way:-

- Agriculture: - It is the back-bone of a state's economic. A state to have cultivated land which can fulfil the need of the food. Plantation should be started. Transport may also be managed for it.
- Administrative Appointments: -For a good administration there should be essential appointments. It is the king's responsibility.

- **Military Function:** - The state's safety is also a major concern. For it an integrated and powerful military is essential which may be able to face outsider's attack.
- **Judicial Function:** - Such a judicial function which may be punished prisoners.
- **Economic Function:** - State's strength is based on treasury and trading. It should be fulfilling its meaning.
- **Diplomatic Function:**-Kautilya was not known for internal management. Ambassador should be appointed on the basis of neighbour's behaviour.
- **Industrial Function:** - capital and labour should be selected in industries for a state.
- **Luxury:** - Luxury was also involved by Kautilya in his working function of the state. He says that for the security of state employees should be appointed, by which the other streams would be uninvolved such luxury life.
- **Business Function:** - Trades should be under control. For it things should be sold in the market and measurement should also be corrected.
- **Spiritual Function:** - Kautilya expects that the king to appoint Brahman and manage the state according to Dharmaśāstra and protect the Dharma/religious. He says that the duty of a state to develop spiritual field of a human being not a materialistic world.
- **Social Welfare:** - Kautilya says that the objective of state not only prosperity but also social welfare, because a prosperous person can build a prosperous nation. Kautilya says, "A king checks the famine at all. Who serves the grain even in famine days, he is real a king." A state should provide work to widows, the handicapped and others.

#### **14. Write tradition of Indian socio-political thought represented by Manu?**

Ans Political Thoughts of Manu was one of the most original thinkers of Indian political thought. Most of the commentators on ancient Indian thought are of the view that Manu belongs to fourth century B.C. Manusmṛiti is a storehouse of information on the social, judicial and political life of that period. Manusmṛiti or Manava dharmaśāstra is the oldest and well-known smṛiti. The Manusmṛiti is the most authoritative work on Hindu Law and presents the normal form of Hindu society and civilisation. It contains social obligations and duties of various castes of individuals in different stages of life. Manusmṛiti referred to the sacred character of the laws in the four castes and four orders to the ancient customs and duties of the king. Manu made it clear that it was trayī (Three Vedas) that kept the mind steady and firm. Manu on the origin of state The theoretical concept of the state, as we now understand it, was non-existent in the past. According to many scholars, people initially lived in a state of nature prior to the origin of an organized state.

This period was called the darkest period of human history, a situation that is more or less equal to Hobbesian Leviathan. It is stated in Manusmṛiti in such a situation of utter lawlessness, people approached Lord Brahma, the creator, to relieve them from torturous life. Thus, the creator gave them the king to maintain law and order and punish the wicked. Thus, according to Manu, and state is not an institution that evolved gradually, but was a sudden creation. In modern times we find that state is sanctioned by the judgement of society, while in ancient times, it was permitted by the judgement of the ruler himself. In the times of Manu and Kautilya the theory of Danda really converted the state into crystallised force. They opined that if the danda was properly inflicted after consideration it made all people happy. Although; we find that the modern states like the ancient states also maintain huge army, have a large array of executive officials and exercise vast powers like ancient state. Manu

opined that apart from the divine origin of the state, the need for the state was not out of economic needs but out of evil intentions and uncontrollable habits of mankind. 2 **Manu on Kingship** Manu believed that God created the king to save the people of a region. The King held a divine position and the people expressed their obedience to him because of his authority. Manu stated that the king appeared in human form and possessed the qualities of God.

**Qualities of a King** According to Manu the king are the next best to God and he must have complete control over himself and his senses. He is a divine creation and his purpose is to promote social harmony, peace and welfare. King possesses certain qualities like Indra (God of War), Vaayu (God of Wind), Yama (God of Death), Ravi (God of Sun), Agni (God of Fire), Chandra or Moon, and Wealth. The king was described as an embodiment of eight guardians on earth. A king was expected to control his anger, satisfy the people and govern the state with their consent rather than the use of force. The king must exhibit those qualities that naturally make citizens obey him, and he must function through pleasing manners and intelligence. Manusmriti strongly advocated for a political authority. Manu suggested that though the king derived his authority from God, in practice he should be guided by the brahmanas. The rationale behind it was the assumption that brahmanas possess knowledge and knowledge should rule. Manu prescribed the structure of state in terms of villages, districts and provinces which resembles our present day structure of administration. **Council of Ministers** Manu viewed that the council of ministers were a very important part of a king. King without the council of ministers is like driving a chariot without wheels. The council of ministers were like the arms, eyes, ears of the king. The ideal number of council of ministers should be not more than seven to eight who collectively and individually assist and advise the king to discharge his daily duties. Manu opined that the council of ministers must possess certain essential qualities. They must possess high learning skills, must be men from high caste by birth, good warriors with a sharp understanding of various techniques of warfare and proper comprehension of state system and the like. A minister is said to be an honest mediator between the king and his subjects. The selection of ministers must be through hereditary principle, but the skills and qualities must be put in test before appointment. Manu opined that ministers were generally appointed by the king with advice from his friends and relatives. However, no shudra was allowed to become ministers. **Manu on Varna System** Manu viewed that caste system formed an essential part in ancient Hindu society. Varna system would preserve the social harmony of the society. He viewed that the king came into existence to protect the Varna system and any failure on the part of the ruler would make him unworthy ruler. Manu opined that there is a fourfold categorization of social organization derived from the Vedic 3 hymns. They are Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vyshyas and Shudras. It is widely viewed that these four Varnas represented four different parts of the body of the God. The Brahmanas rise from the head, the Kshatriyas from the arms, the Vyshyas from the thighs and the Shudras from the feet. The Brahmanas occupy the highest place and they are conceived as the incarnation of the law. The superior place given to the Brahman in the social hierarchy is due to the purity and knowledge. The Kshatriyas were expected to protect the state by their valour, offer sacrifices as well as gifts and protect the people. Manu viewed that a society would be more secure if there is a harmonious relation between the Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas. The Vyshyas were involved in trade and business whereas Shudras were only confined to serve the upper three castes. Manu said that the shudras must be barred from all social and sacred learning. The fourfold classification was called the Chaturvarna theory.

### **15. Explain the theory of kingship by Manu?**

#### **Ans: Manu on Kingship:**

According to Manu, it was God, who created an entity called king to save the people of a region. Thus, kingship is of divine origin and it is this position held by the king that made the people expresses their obedience to him. Manu stated that though king appears in a human form, he possesses the qualities of God.

The king, according to Manu, had certain qualities of Hindu Gods like Indra (God of War), Vaayu (God of Wind), Yama (God of Death), Ravi (God of Sun), Agni (God of Fire), Chandra or Moon, and Wealth. Thus, the king was described as an embodiment of eight guardians of the earth. The king, therefore, was a divine creation to promote social harmony, peace and welfare.

#### **Qualities of a King:**

Manu was of the opinion that king is next best to God and he must have complete control over himself and his senses. A king was expected to control his anger, satisfy the people and govern the state with their consent rather than the use of force. The king must exhibit those qualities that naturally make citizens obey him, and he must function through pleasing manners and intelligence.

He must overcome the six vices or the Arishadwargas, viz.; Kama (Lust), Krodha (Anger), Lobha (Greed), Moha (Attachment), Mada (Pride) and Mastcharya (Jealousy). If these six evils or vices are kept under control, the welfare of society, according to Manu, is certain.

### **16. According to Manu what are the four ‘ashrama dharma’?**

Ans: The four asramas are: **Brahmacharya (student), Grihastha (householder), Vanaprastha (forest walker/forest dweller), and Sannyasa (renunciate)**. The Asrama system is one facet of the Dharma concept in Hinduism.

### **17. How many organs of the state according to shukra?**

Ans: Shukra Nitisara written by Shukra also accepts ‘Saptang’ principle of a state. While explaining the organic form of a state, in Shukra Niti, at one place, there has been a comparison of the state with human body. Among the seven organs of a state, Raja (king) is referred as head, Mantri as eyes, Mitra as ears, Kosh as mouth, Sena as thoughts (heart), Durg as both the hands and Rashtra as both the feet.

### **18. Discuss the Manu’s views on origin of state?**

#### **Ans: Manu on the Origin of State:**

According to many scholars, people initially lived in a state of nature prior to the origin of an organized state. The state of nature was like a state of war as there was no harmony, peace and goodwill. This period was considered the darkest period in the human history, a situation that is more or less equal to Hobbesian Leviathan.

In such conditions, it is stated in Manusmriti that people approached Lord Brahma, the creator, to relieve them from the tortuous life. Thus, the creator gave them a king to maintain law and order and

punish the wicked. Thus, according to Manu, state is not an institution that evolved gradually, but was a sudden creation.

Apart from the divine origin of the state, Manu opined that the need for the state was not out of economic needs, but out of evil intentions and uncontrollable habits of mankind. In a way, it upholds the theory of divine origin of the state.

### **19. Write down four sources of dharma as described by Manu?**

Ans: Atmatusti is a source of dharma in Hinduism, usually translated into English as being "what is pleasing to oneself." The four sources of dharma are: **śruti (Vedas); smriti, "that which is remembered, tradition: Dharmaśāstra, Puranas, Epics; ācāra, good custom; and ātmatuṣṭi.**

### **20. What are the tests prescribed by Kautilya for ministers?**

Ans: Assisted by his prime minister (mantri) and his high priest, the king shall, by offering temptations, examine the character of ministers (amātya) appointed in government departments of ordinary nature.

The king shall dismiss a priest who, when ordered, refuses to teach the Vedas to an outcaste person or to officiate in a sacrificial performance (apparently) undertaken by an outcaste person (ayājya).

Then the dismissed priest shall, through the medium of spies under the guise of classmates (satri), instigate each minister, one after another, saying on oath, "This king is unrighteous; well, let us set up in his place another king who is righteous, or who is born of the same family as of this king, or who is kept imprisoned, or a neighbouring king of his family and of self-sufficiency (ekapragraha), or a wild chief (ātavika), or an upstart (aupādika)

If any one or all of the ministers refuse to acquiesce in such a measure, he or they shall be considered pure. This is what is called religious allurements.

A commander of the army, dismissed from service for receiving condemnable things (asatpragraha), may, through the agency of spies under the guise of classmates (satri), incite each minister to murder the king in view of acquiring immense wealth, each minister being asked, "This attempt is to the liking of all of us; what dost thou think?"

If they refuse to agree, they are to be considered pure. This is what is termed monetary allurements.

A woman-spy, under the guise of an ascetic and highly esteemed in the harem of the king, may allure each prime minister (mahāmātra), one after another, saying, "The queen is enamoured of thee and has made arrangements for thy entrance into her chamber; besides this, there is also the certainty of large acquisitions of wealth."

If they discard the proposal, they are pure. This is what styled love allurements is.

With the intention of sailing on a commercial vessel (prahavaṇanimitta), a minister may induce all other ministers to follow him. Apprehensive of danger, the king may arrest them all. A spy, under the guise of a fraudulent disciple, pretending to have suffered imprisonment, may incite each of the

ministers thus deprived of wealth and rank, saying, “The king has betaken himself to an unwise course; well, having murdered him, let us put another in his stead. We all like this; what dost thou think?”

If they refuse to agree, they are pure. This is what is termed allurements under fear.

Of these tried ministers, those whose character has been tested under religious allurements shall be employed in civil and criminal courts; those whose purity has been tested under monetary allurements shall be employed in the work of a revenue collector and chamberlain; those who have

been tried under love allurements shall be appointed to superintend the pleasure ground, both external and internal; those who have been tested by allurements under fear shall be appointed to immediate service; and those whose character has been tested under all kinds of allurements shall be employed as prime ministers, while those who are proved impure under one or all of these allurements shall be appointed in mines, timber and elephant forests, and manufactories.

Teachers have decided that, in accordance with ascertained purity, the king shall employ in corresponding works those ministers whose character has been tested under the three pursuits of life, religion, wealth and love, and under fear. Never, in the view of Kautilya, shall the king make himself or his queen an object of testing the character of his councillors, nor shall he vitiate the pure, like water with poison.

Sometimes the prescribed medicine may fail to reach the person of moral disease; the mind of the valiant, though naturally kept steadfast, may not, when once vitiated and repelled under the four kinds of allurements, return to and recover its original form.

Hence having set up an external object as the butt for all the four [18] kinds of allurements, the king shall, through the agency of spies (satri), find out the pure or impure character of his ministers (amātya).

## **Unit 1**

### **Short Questions :-**

**Q1. Write down the four sources of dharma as described by Manu.**

Ans: The Veda, the sacred tradition, the customs of virtuous men, and one's own pleasure, they declare to be the fourfold means of defining the sacred law.

**Q2. According to Manu what are the 4 ashram dharma's?**

The **four ashram's** are:

Brahmacharya (student)

Grihastha (householder)

Vanaprastha (retired)

Sannyasa (renunciate)

**Q3. How many organs of state according to shukra? name them.**

Ans: Shukra, while propagating the organic form of a state, describes its seven organs:

1. Raja (King)
2. Mantri (Minister)
3. Mitra (Allies)
4. Kosh (Treasury)
5. Rashtra (Boundary)
6. Durg (Fortress)
7. Sena (Army)

**Q4. What are kautiliya's view on war?**

Ans: No state can afford to live in a state of continuous war. Kautilya was of the opinion that when a particular issue can solve the problem from peace and war, one should prefer the former. Peace must be according to the circumstances and in the interests of the state. Kautilya described at length conditions under which a king must be ready to wage a war. In his opinion, by being a king, it is his responsibility to protect and for this purpose he should be always prepared to wage a war. According to Kautilya, a king must attack enemy or an ally's enemy and should not be given any opportunity to attack him. As regards the neutral states, he was of the opinion that the king must respect their stance. The king must attack, when he is financially in a better position compared to others. On the other hand, a superior enemy must be attacked at a time when he is embroiled in internal troubles. A king must also take into consideration bravery, energy and the personal drive of himself and also when the people are materially and morally in a better place than the enemy country's people. Kautilya also stated that a king must make use of spies and through methods like giving high inducements; he must ensure that the spies remain in their positions and assist him in espionage. Kautilya very clearly stated that the king must engage in wars at a time when there is less likelihood of monsoons.

**Q5. What does Manu mean by Dvaidibhava?**

Ans: Dvaidhībhāva is a Sanskrit technical term, used in warfare, referring to "dividing one's army into two". Dvaidhībhāva is considered to be one of the six constituents of state-craft that the King shall constantly ponder over. The word is used throughout Dharmaśāstra literature such as the Manusmṛti.

Dvaidhībhāva is 'dividing one's own forces into two parts

1. the king remaining with half the force in the fort and the Commander-in-chief going out and the reverse arrangement.
2. to meet the enemy.



### **Long Questions :-**

#### **Q6. Critically examine saptang theory of Manu.**

Ans:

1. The swami or sovereign: - The king as a head of the state is a swami or sovereign.
  - A good ruler should be equipped with various qualities through meditation sound education, political training, etc.
  - A good ruler should always care people and the state.
2. Amatya: - Amatya means composition of council of ministers and bureaucracy. The king should take advice from all ministers, should consult in all matters but the king could take own decision, this is an Machiavelli approach.
3. Janapada: - The people and territory should be suitable and balanced between jana and pada.
4. Forts: - Construction of various kinds of forts for the protection of state and king as well.
  - Especially, the capital should be well fortified and easily defendable against external and internal attacks.
  - Fort should be self-sufficient enough in periods of crisis both internal and externalcrises.
5. Establishment of strong treasury: - Discretion of king in expenditure.
6. Strong army for the state's defense: - Arrangement of punishment through army as well asother forces should exist in the state.
  - Fear of punishment should be comprehensive to save the state's sovereigntyexternally and internally.
7. The ally: - Friendship with many countries as far as possible.
  - Kautilya is sometimes criticized as Eastern Machiavelli who was too power.

#### **Q7. Examine shukras view on administrative system?**

Ans: ShukraNiti also known as ShukraNitisara is a part of Dharmasastra and considered as Shukracharya's System of Morals. It is a treatise on the science of governance, structured towards upholding the morals through implementing theories of political science. The code is authored by Shukracharya also known as Usanas and claimed to be originated during Vedic period. However, modern historians claim, the composition dating as early as the 4th century AD Gupta period and some have even claimed it to be a forgery from as recent as a 19th- century.<sup>[1]</sup> The term Niti is derived from the Sanskrit word which, in English translates to To Lead implying proper guidance. ShukraNiti focuses on morality, which it stresses is necessary for the overall well-being of the people and the state (Rajya). Thus, attempts to regulate the economic, social, and political aspects of human activity.<sup>[2]</sup>

According to ShukraNiti, the main responsibilities of the king should be towards the protection of his subjects and punishment of the offenders, and such actions cannot be enacted without a guideline (Niti). According to Shukracharya: a person can live without grammar, logic, and Vedanta but cannot do in absence of Niti, and describes it as an essential aspect required for maintaining social order in the society.

## **Unit 2**

### **Long Questions:-**

#### **Q1. Evaluate the ideas of Swami Dayanand Saraswati in brief.**

Ans: Swami Dayanand was the one who kept the love of freedom alive in hearts of Indians. He travelled throughout India to unite the people. Dayanand was fully convinced that only armed revolution could drive the British out of India. The real aim of Swami Ji was to unify India nationally, socially and religiously, he was the one who taught us the lesson of Swaraj and took it as birth right of men. Dayanand was democratic in his views and wanted general welfare of the countrymen. India has her own priceless heritage to offer to anybody who has anything to contribute to her regeneration thus Swami Dayanand's views gave a new shape and creed to Indian Nationalism.

After the failure of the great mutiny of 1857 three agencies became responsible for the spread of nationalism in India. They were the foreign Christian Missionaries, the Government and the educated Orientalists. The Orientalists were divided into two groups – the English educated Indians and the Indians who had faith in the India's past glory. Swami Dayanand had grasped the importance of India's glorious past as the great lever of national upliftment. Swami Dayanand, the founder of the Arya Samaj stood against Western influences. He was the first reformer to depart from this tradition and gave an indigenous orientation to Indian Nationalism. His Arya Samaj, established in 1875 at Bombay, set into motion strong religious, social and political movements embodying a close and intimate reference to the past glory and cultural heritage of India and reacted against western influences. Swami Dayanand gave a new impetus to Indian Nationalism. Swami Dayanand gave the war-cry of 'Swaraj' is our birth-right. In the country of Dayanand there was no place for Europeans and Indians could manage everything for better than Europeans.

Swami Dayanand Saraswati's was basically a person with a political bent of mind. His views on Hinduism were clarified and expanded. He not only started the most vigorous religious movement of Nationalism, which is known with the name of Arya Samaj means Church of the Aryan but also accepted the comparative method by which he saved the country from the downfall. Swami Dayanand Saraswati proved to be greatest exponent of the most advanced ideas of politics in India. His political views were formulated and advance of his time. He was one of the most ardent prophets of reconstruction and national organization. He evolved a complete system of state craft and political institutions because he wanted to lay the foundation of India's freedom from every aspect. He advocated a moral and ethical state as opposed to the political state of the west.

He also realized that without this freedom it was impossible to give effect to any wide scheme of social and economic reconstruction. That time, it was claimed by the English

educated people of India that the British Government was the best possible government. Dayanand did not waste his time in controverting this claim. He compared Suraj with Swaraj and said that no foreign government however good, could ever equal self-government. This was the time when nobody could dare to teach the meaning of Swaraj. It was in 1906 that Dadabhai Naroji, the Grand old man of India, spoke of self-government in his famous presidential address at the Calcutta Session. Therefore, Swami Dayanand's talk of Swadeshi Raj or Swaraj at a time when the country was so backward in political consciousness. He had already given the slogan 'India for the Indians, this slogan became the basis of the Indian National Congress during the Calcutta Session.

Dayanand believed that without the sense of self-confidence Swaraj could not be achieved. During his time the political good fortune was not in favour of India. India was slave. He was in confidence that if Indians become politically conscious and physically strong, then Swaraj was not far from then. If the people accept the Vedic religion as their national religion, then Swaraj is not far from them. The idea of Swaraj have been fully discussed in the sixth chapter of the Satyarth Prakash. Dayanand was democratic in his view and wanted general welfare of the countrymen. The British Government was plundering Indian Wealth. In pointing out such nature of the government. Swami Dayanand warned Indians to be conscious of such monarch who was responsible for bringing ruins and untold miseries upon them.

Swami Dayanand was influenced by Kautilya's view of state in this respect. He said that the king who administers law beautifully would succeed in fostering the threefold advancement of life i.e. piety, enjoyment and plenty. He said that the annual taxes should be collected through honest persons and the kings and the other officials of the state should treat the people parent – like kings and his assembly should bear two points in mind, first, the smooth carrying on of government work and secondly the well-being of the people. Dayanand Saraswati's views the state is a political organization and it associated with the community indeed. Further, he said that the state would protect the general interest of the community. Basically he was in the favour of Republican form of government means the government Democratic in constitution. He proposed pensions for the government staff and the state was to look after widows and for the weaker sections of the society. Further he suggested that the state should arrange free and universal system of education. He also favoured the enforcement of laws against early marriage and polygamy and also suggested stamping out the corruption. According to him the whole aim of the state was to check evil trends. Swami Dayanand Saraswati ordained that all should be equal before the law and none can be above law. In the Satyarth Prakash, he wanted the king to arrange great public sacrifices. Swami Dayanand Saraswati made Vedas as the common constitution under which all Hindus must live and act. They were authorities in their own right.

Swami Dayanand Saraswati was a precursor of Gandhi in all his freedom activities, moral regeneration of the nation unity of the people, emancipation of the women, uplift of Harijan, Khadi and cottage industries, cow protection, a new orientation to our educational system. From his writings we come to know that he always prayed to God to get self-rule and enjoy Swaraj. Further he said that foreign rule should not stay in our country and we never be slaves. Swami Dayanand Saraswati was certainly one of the most powerful personalities, who have molded modern India and were responsible for its moral regeneration and cultural revival. His zeal for reformation of his motherland was exceeded only by his unbounded

learning. "It is firm conviction that India should attain complete independence. I pray to God to liberate my country system foreign Yoke". These views alarmed the British and the British Indian government gave orders to keep a watch over the activities of this rebel Faqir. It was just because of Swami Dayanand Saraswati's influence that many of the leading freedom fighters and revolutionaries had passed through the crucible of Arya Samaj i.e. Lala Lajpat Rai, Sardar Bhagat Singh, Ram Prasad Bismil, Madan Lal Dhingra and host of others.

The ideas of Swaraj and self-confidence flew side by side like two distinct streams, meeting sometimes at one place. A number of the followers of the Swami began to teach the idea of Swaraj and self-confidence and strengthened the national movement which was going on in India under the leadership of the Indian National Congress. Lala Lajpat Rai expressed his views before the students of the D.A.V. College. He said Swaraj was not to be obtained from others by begging but that a people could get it through their own efforts alone. To learn the lesson of Swaraj they should open national schools and colleges, promote the swadeshi and boycott movements and establish panchayats for the settlement of disputes arising among them. From the year 1909 and onwards the warm feeling of Swaraj arose in India. Dayanand's views began to influence almost all leaders of the country. During the same year about 2000. Arya Samajists enrolled as national volunteers to fight for self-government. During the year 1911 the Arya Samaj became the more powerful association if not in the whole country, at least in the Punjab. It was rapidly increasing in numbers and extending the sphere of the operations.

By the year 1915 the number of enemies of the British Raj in India increased. India's sons in thousands began to feel that it was essential to sacrifice their lives for the country and to cut the bonds of slavery which had enchained their country. When the Non-co-operation Movement was sponsored by the Indian National Congress in 1920-21, the Arya Samajists openly took part in it. Thus from 1876 to 1920 the Swami and the Arya Samaj tried their best to popularise the ideas that the Swaraj was the bright-right of Indians.

In the Indian constitution, untouchability had been declared as a crime and Hindi was accepted as the national language. It was Swami Dayanand Saraswati whose major contribution to Indian Nationalism was firstly for promoting Hindi as national language. Although his mother tongue was Gujrati but he wrote all of his works in Hindi which he usually called Aryabhasha certainly there was no better orator in Hindi and Sanskrit than Swami Dayanand Saraswati throughout the length and breadth of this land. He said that all people should learn Hindi in Devnagari script. Secondly, Swami Dayanand Saraswati was an ardent advocate of Swadeshi. He wished that all things needed by the Indian masses should generally be produced within the country itself and they must have to be independent in every aspect. He felt that India was a supplier of the raw material and England used her as a vast captive market for clothes and many other finished goods. This drained a large amount of wealth out of India to England. So in 1883 AD at Jodhpur he preached in favor of Swadeshi. He felt that India was a supplier of the raw material and England used her as a vast captive market for clothes and many other finished goods. This drained a large amount of wealth out of India to England. So in 1883 AD at Jodhpur he preached in favour of Swadeshi. This nationalist step taken by Swami Dayanand Saraswati was preached by Mahatma Gandhi who added a grand dimension to Khadi and village industrial movement. Thirdly, he opposed government's tax on salt because it was basic item of consumption of all even of the poorest.

With the help of this step he became the forerunner of Mahatma Gandhi's great Dandi March and Salt Satyagrah.

Swami Dayanand was an ardent devotee of India and a worthy supporter of Swaraj. He was the first man to use the term Swaraj, he was the first to India and to discard foreign things. His vision was clearer and broader than any other nation maker. Dayanand's work was carried on by his Arya Samaj. The Samaj succeeded in its aim and brought a rapid progress in all spheres of the Indian life. The Samaj after the death of its founder, stood as the most powerful and energetic indigenous body which started social, educational and religious movements to further the cause of nationalism in India and to fulfil the dreams of Swami Dayanand. No doubt it is said that if Gandhi Ji was the father of nation Swami Dayanand Saraswati is the Grandfather of the nation.

**Q2. Explain Tilak's view on boycott, Swadeshi and national education.**

Ans: Following the Partition of Bengal, which was a strategy set out by Lord Curzon to weaken the nationalist movement, Tilak encouraged the Swadeshi movement and the Boycott movement. The movement consisted of the boycott of foreign goods and also the social boycott of any Indian who used foreign goods. The Swadeshi movement consisted of the usage of natively produced goods. Once foreign goods were boycotted, there was a gap which had to be filled by the production of those goods in India itself. Tilak said that the Swadeshi and Boycott movements are two sides of the same coin.

Tilak opposed the moderate views of Gopal Krishna Gokhale, and was supported by fellow Indian nationalists Bipin Chandra Pal in Bengal and Lala Lajpat Rai in Punjab. They were referred to as the "Lal-Bal-Pal triumvirate". In 1907, the annual session of the Congress Party was held at Surat, Gujarat. Trouble broke out over the selection of the new president of the Congress between the moderate and the radical sections of the party. The party split into the radicals faction, led by Tilak, Pal and Lajpat Rai, and the moderate faction. Nationalists like Aurobindo Ghose, V. O. Chidambaram Pillai were Tilak supporters.

When asked in Calcutta whether he envisioned a Maratha-type of government for independent India, Tilak answered that the Maratha-dominated governments of 17th and 18th centuries were outmoded in the 20th century, and he wanted a genuine federal system for Free India where everyone was an equal partner. He added that only such a form of government would be able to safeguard India's freedom. He was the first Congress leader to suggest that Hindi written in the Devanagari script be accepted as the sole national language of India.

Tilak started two weeklies, Kesari ("The Lion") in Marathi and Mahratta in English (sometimes referred as 'Maratha' in Academic Study Books) in 1880–81 with Gopal Ganesh Agarkar as the first editor. By this he was recognized as 'awakener of India', as Kesari later became a daily and continues publication to this day. In 1894, Tilak transformed the household worshipping of Ganesha into a grand public event (Sarvajanik Ganeshotsav). The celebrations consisted of several days of processions, music, and food. They were organized by the means of subscriptions by neighbourhood, caste, or occupation. Students often would celebrate Hindu and national glory and address political issues; including patronage of Swadeshi goods. In 1895, Tilak founded the Shri Shivaji Fund Committee for the celebration

of "Shiv Jayanti", the birth anniversary of Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha Empire. The project also had the objective of funding the reconstruction of the tomb (Samadhi) of Shivaji at Raigad Fort. For this second objective, Tilak established the Shri Shivaji Raigad Smarak Mandal along with Senapati Khanderao Dabhade II of Talegaon Dabhade, who became the founder President of the Mandal.

**Q3. Define total revolution as propounded by Jayprakash Narayan.**

Ans: From the very beginning I have been saying in the course of my speeches that the objective of our movement is total revolution. In other words this movement aims at bringing about a revolutionary change in all aspects of the life of both society and individual. The objective of this movement is not merely to change the Government, but also to change the society and the individual. That is why I have called it total revolution. You can also call it a comprehensive revolution. There is some difference in the meaning of the terms 'total' and 'comprehensive', but both are almost the same to me. A comprehensive revolution can also be total... This is not something that can be achieved in a day or in a year or two. In order to achieve this we shall have to carry on a struggle for a long time, and at that same time carry on constructive and creative activities. This double process of struggle and construction is a necessity in order to achieve total revolution. The situation at present is that the people are afraid and thousands of leaders and workers are in prison. Hence it is possible that, in their absence, the revolution may not continue in the form in which it was proceeding last year. However, since we have to bring about a revolution in every sphere, my appeal to all of you who think of the country and the society is that you all should play a part in it. For instance, take the field of education. It is generally felt by all, including eminent educationists and members of the Kothari Commission, that there should be a radical change in the field of education from the primary to the secondary stage. But very little has been achieved in this direction. There is deep discontent among the students on this point, as the education they are receiving is full of defects and the future before them is dark. The outward manifestations of their discontent have been suppressed now. But discontent continues to be present in their hearts and will come out into the open at some time or the other when there is a suitable opportunity. The problem will not be solved by this. But whenever such an explosion takes place, the society and the leaders of the society get a warning that they should beware, destruction is around the corner, they must change their ways, they must think and they must do something.

There are other similar problems, particularly the economic and social problems of Harijans and the tribal people. From the economic point of view they are poor and backward. From the social point of view their condition is even worse. Even today Harijans are treated badly and kept separate as untouchables by the people belonging to the so-called upper castes. Not only this. The anger of the people of these castes towards them sometimes assumes a dangerous character. So many incidents involving the burning alive of Harijans have taken place and are continuing to take place. The soldiers of total revolution will have to find a constructive solution to this explosive situation. For this they will have to enter the lives of the Harijan and tribal people and, after winning their hearts through service, bring them into the mainstream of Indian society. This is the sort of constructive service without which total revolution will remain complete. Now the question arises, what to do for total revolution in the present

situation? There are four aspects of the work for total revolution: struggle, construction, propaganda, and organization. In the present situation we should concentrate on the constructive aspect. For example, it should be the main plank of our programme to turn the people's and the youth's minds against such evils as the dowry system, caste-distinctions, untouchability, communalism etc. and to work untidily for social and cultural integration. Total revolution is permanent evolution. It will always go on and keep on changing both our personal and social lives. This revolution knows no respite, no halt, certainly not a complete halt. Of course, according to the needs of the situation its form will change, its programme will change, its processes will change.

**Q4. Name two books of Gandhi.**

Ans:

- a) Constructive programme its meaning and place
- b) My experiments with truth

**Q5. Write two contributions of Raja Ram Mohan Roy towards social thoughts.**

Ans: Raja Ram Mohan Roy conceived reformist religious associations as instruments of social and political transformation. He founded the Atmiya Sabha in 1815, the Calcutta Unitarian Association in 1821, and the Brahmo Sabha in 1828 which later became the Brahmo Samaj.

He campaigned against the caste system, untouchability, superstitions and use of intoxicants. He was well known for his pioneering thought and action on the emancipation of women and especially on the abolition of sati and widow remarriage.

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**Q6. Mention 4 point programme of Tilak.**

Ans: It was proposed by Tilak that the practical implementation of swaraj would be achieved by adopting a four-point programme (chatuhsutri) of boycott, swadeshi (purchase of local goods rather than produce from abroad), education and passive resistance. Adi Hormusji Doctor has noted of the last of these, which Tilak first proposed at the Benares Congress, that although it was Mahatma Gandhi who later popularized the idea, "to Tilak goes the credit of being the first to conceive its enormous potentialities. Tilak toned down his rhetoric from 1916, emphasizing that his concern was the bureaucracy rather than the British monarch, and seeking British citizenship for Indian people. Together with Annie Besant and others, he formed the All India Home Rule League and then, in 1919, he voiced the idea of responsive cooperation - a term originally coined by Joseph Baptista, and a concept that Tilak described as a "divine revelation"- whereby he thought that the Indian people would cooperate with British reforms if the British were willing to cooperate with the Indians in return. His point

was made in relation to the proposed Montagu–Chelmsford Reforms, which were also the tipping point for Gandhi, who reversed his own position to one of non-cooperation. In 1920, shortly before his death, Tilak proposed to contest elections through the vehicle of his newly formed Congress Democratic Party and this, too, had aims consistent with his previously stated philosophy.

### **Long Questions :-**

#### **Q7. What was the aim of Gokhle’s political testaments?**

Ans: Introduction: G.K. Gokhale (1866-1915) was a leader of the Indian National Congress who had been deeply involved in the preparation of the Morley-Minto Reform. Shortly before his death he was asked by the Governor of Bombay, Lord Willingdon, for a note on his suggestions for post-war constitutional reforms. This text was later on called his „Political Testament“. Gokhale’s suggestions were not aimed at a distant future but referred only to the scheme of „provincial autonomy“ which the British intended to grant as a next step of constitutional reform. Gokhale did not yet envisage „responsible government“ which was then introduced by the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform. He specifically referred to the German Reichstag as a model for the impending Indian reform.

The grant of Provincial Autonomy foreshadowed in the Delhi Dispatch would be a fitting concession to make to the people of India at the close of the War. This will involve the twofold operation of freeing the Provincial Governments on one side from the greater part of control which is at present exercised over them by the Government of India and the Secretary of State in connection with the internal administration of the country and substituting on the other, in place of the control so removed, the control of the representatives of tax-payers through provincial legislative councils. I indicate below in brief outline the form of administration that should each province should have:

1. A Governor appointed from England at the head of the administration
2. A Cabinet or Executive Council of six members, three of whom should be Englishmen and three Indians with the following portfolios
  - Home (including law and justice)
  - Finance
  - It be set up in different provinces to carry out this idea. Agriculture, irrigation, and public works
  - Education
  - Local self-government (including sanitation and medical relief)
  - Industries and commerce.

A Legislative Council of between 75 and 100 members of whom not less than four-fifth should be elected by different constituencies and interests.

The relations between the Executive Government and the Legislative Council so constituted should be roughly similar to those between the Imperial Government and the Reichstag in Germany. The Council will have to pass all provincial legislation and its assent will be necessary to additions to or changes in provincial taxation. The Budget too will have to come



to it for discussions, and its resolutions in connection with it will have to be given effect to unless vetoed by the Governor.....the members of the Executive Government shall not depend, individually or collectively, on the support of a majority of the Councils for holding their offices.

The Government of India the provinces being thus rendered practically autonomous, the constitution of the Executive Council or Cabinet of the Viceroy will have to be correspondingly altered. At present there are four members in that Council with portfolios which concern the internal administration of the country – namely, home, agriculture, education and industries and commerce. As all internal administration will now be made over to the provincial governments and the Government of India will only retain in its hands nominal control to be exercised on very rare occasions, one member to be called member for the interior should suffice in place of these four. It will, however, be necessary to create certain other portfolios and I would have the Council consist of the following six members (at least two of them shall always be Indians) : a) Interior, b) finance, c) law, d) defense, e) communications (railways, post and telegraph) and f) foreign. The Legislative Council of the Viceroy should be styled the Legislative Assembly of India. Its members should be raised to about 100 to begin with and its powers enlarged, but the principle of an official majority (for which it will perhaps suffice to substitute a nominated majority) should for the present be maintained until sufficient experience has been gathered of the working of autonomous arrangements for provinces. This will give the Government of India a reserve power in connection with provincial administration to be exercised in emergencies. In fiscal matters the Government of India so constituted should be freed from the control of the Secretary of State, whose control in other matters too should be largely reduced, his Council being abolished and his position steadily approximated to that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Commissions in the army and navy must be given to Indians, with proper facilities for military and naval instruction.

**Q8. Write any 2 means of protest of Tilak.**

Ans: Tilak was dubbed as the Father of the Indian Unrest while Gandhi The Father of the Nation. Both played crucial role throughout freedom movement of India. Both adopted Swadeshi Swarajya, Boycott, National Education, and Nationalism as means of protest and helped to kindle the flame of patriotism by involving masses in the freedom struggle.

**Q9. Define ektam – manavvad as propounded by Deen Dayal Upadhyay.**

Ans: Panditji's most valuable contribution to mankind was his enunciation of the concept of Integral Humanism. Those deeply involved in the make-and-break politics may mistake Panditji's Integral Humanism as a new 'ism' or doctrine or dogma propounded by him in order to counter all other prevailing 'isms' or to add a new one. It is all too well-known that prophets of an 'ism' or a new political thought claim originality. It is more so in the West. A slight deviation or difference with the current thought entitles one to proclaim himself the founder of a new doctrine. But no such thought ever crossed Panditji's mind. As a true votary of culture, he was not given to this narrowness. He believed in what Bhagwan Sri Krishna said in the Gita that true knowledge is timeless. One may observe some variation in its expressed form owing to varied situations and conditions but that does not mean the creation

of new knowledge. Panditji, through his creative ability and positive outlook put a new gloss on the true and eternal thought current and reinterpreted it to suit the changed and contemporary world. It would be clear, therefore, that integral humanism was conceived only to perfect 'isms' so that they could meet the challenges posed to them. It was farthest from his thought to add to the ideological bitterness obtaining in the society by outright rejection or repudiation of any of the contemporary ideas, ism or viewpoints while expressing his own.

The unit next to family is nation, society or national society. Somehow, it appears that owing, perhaps, to the overwhelming influence of the Pope over European masses, the awareness of nation or nationalism could not develop. But the same grew out of the reaction against the Pope's interference in religion and against foreign and imperialist aggression. This background gave birth to a reactionary type of nationalism in Europe, which reinforced the view that if nationalism and the authority of the Pope could not go together, nationalism and internationalism were also opposed to each other. Consequently, a crude and extremist form of nationalism was born in every country of Europe. Later a reaction to this extremist nationalism was natural, which led to the emergence of another extremist ideology – **Communism**.

Communism discarded the concept of religion nation or nationalism etc., as being redundant and meaningless and required everyone to think in terms of internationalism which alone was considered relevant. When in **1914** during the First World War, workers in several countries supported their respective national governments; **Lenin** could not help expressing his anguish over their stance. He suggested that the workers, instead of co-operating with their governments, should have turned traitors and strengthened the wave of internationalism.

#### **Q10. What was Gokhle's attitude towards British rule?**

Ans: Gokhale, though now widely viewed as a leader of the Indian nationalist movement, was not primarily concerned with independence but rather with social reforms; he believed such reforms would be best achieved by working within existing British government institutions, a position which earned him the enmity of more aggressive nationalists such as Tilak. Undeterred by such opposition, Gokhale would work directly with the British throughout his political career to further his reform goals.

In 1899, Gokhale was elected to the Bombay Legislative Council. He was elected to the Imperial Council of the Governor-General of India on 20 December 1901, and again on 22 May 1903 as non-officiating member representing Bombay Province.

The empirical knowledge coupled with the experience of the representative institutions made Gokhale an outstanding political leader, moderate in ideology and advocacy, a model for the people's representatives. His contribution was monumental in shaping the Indian freedom struggle into a quest for building an open society and egalitarian nation. Gokhale's achievement must be studied in the context of predominant ideologies and social, economic and political situation at that time, particularly in reference to the famines, revenue policies, wars, partition of Bengal, Muslim League and the split in the Congress at Surat.

**Q11. Mention any 4 reforms suggested by Raja Ram Mohan Roy to improve the status of women in India.**

**Ans:**

**Abolition of Sati:** Raja Ram Mohan Roy raised his voice against the Sati system. In the funeral pyre of the deceased husband, his wife was mercilessly thrown if she did not enter into the flame voluntarily. She was termed as Sati. The Brahmins and other higher castes in the society encouraged it.

Ram Mohan protested it vehemently. Even he went to England to give witness before the Privy Council against this cruel practice where the orthodox Indians had appealed hot to repeal his system. His efforts bore fruits and this practice was stopped by an Act passed in 1829 during Lord William Bentinck. Thus, a long prevailing ugly practice of the Hindus was uprooted.

**Voice against idolatry:** Ram Mohan raised his voice against idolatry. In his book Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhidin' he championed the cause of Monotheism. He criticized idol-worship by the Hindus. He also opposed the principle of Trinitarians' (God, Son Jesus and the holy spirit) of the Christianity. He rejected polytheism, idol-worship and rituals of different religions. He advocated monotheism or unity among gods. He also advised people to be guided by the conscience. He inspired men to cultivate rationality. To all he appealed to observe the principle of unity of God.

**Champion of Women Liberty:** Raja Ram Mohan Roy advocated the liberty of Women. He was determined to give women her proper place in the society. Besides abolishing Sati, he advocated in favor of widow remarriage. He also told that like the sons, daughters have also their right over parental property. He also influenced the British government to bring necessary modification in the existing law. He raised voice against child-marriage and polygamy. He was the advocate of women education. Thus, he advocated women's liberty out and out and awakened them.

**Opposition to Caste System:** The caste system was a very ugly practice prevailing in Indian society right from the later Vedic age. Indian society was fragmented by the name of different castes. The higher castes like Brahmins and Kshatriyas looked down upon the Sudras, Chandalas and other aboriginals. Ram Mohan opposed this ugly system of the Indian society. To him everybody was a son or daughter of the God. So, there is no difference among men.

There should not exist hatred and animosity among them. Everybody is equal before God. Thus, ignoring differences among themselves they should embrace each other ignoring differences. Then, the true purpose of God will be materialized. By advocating this equality among men. Ram Mohan became the eyesore of many highercaste Indians.

## **Unit 3**

### **Short Questions :-**

#### **Q1. Define the concept of non-alignment as propounded by Jawaharlal Nehru.**

Indian Non-alignment had its origins in India's colonial experience and the nonviolent Indian independence struggle, which left India determined to be the master of its fate in an international system dominated politically by Cold War alliances and economically by Western capitalism and Soviet communism. In the words of Rejaul Karim Laskar, a scholar of India's foreign policy and ideologue of the Congress party which was the ruling party of India for the most part of the Cold War years, the Non-Aligned movement was the "formula" devised by Nehru and other leaders of the newly independent countries of the third world to "guard" their independence "in face of complex international situation demanding allegiance to either of the two warring superpowers". The principles of nonalignment, as articulated by Nehru and his successors, were preservation of India's freedom of action internationally through refusal to align India with any bloc or alliance, particularly those led by the United

States or the Soviet Union; nonviolence and international cooperation as a means of settling international disputes. Nonalignment was a consistent feature of Indian foreign policy by the late 1940s and enjoyed strong, almost unquestioning support among the Indian elite.

The term "Non-Alignment" was coined by V K Menon in his speech at UN in 1953 which was later used by Indian Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru during his speech in 1954 in Colombo, Sri Lanka. In this speech, Nehru described the five pillars to be used as a guide for Sino-Indian relations, which were first put forth by Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai. Called Panchsheel (five restraints), these principles would later serve as the basis of the Non- Aligned Movement. Jawahar lal Nehru was the architect of the Non-Alignment Movement. The five principles were:

1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty
2. Mutual non-aggression
3. Mutual non-interference in domestic affairs
4. Equality and mutual benefit
5. Peaceful co-existence

Jawaharlal Nehru's concept of nonalignment brought India considerable international prestige among newly independent states that shared India's concerns about the military confrontation between the superpowers and the influence of the former colonial powers. New Delhi used nonalignment to establish a significant role for itself as a leader of the newly independent world in such multilateral organisations as the United Nations (UN) and the Nonaligned Movement. The signing of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation between India and the Soviet Union in 1971 and India's involvement in the internal affairs of its smaller neighbours in the 1970s and 1980s tarnished New Delhi's image as a nonaligned nation and led some observers to note that in practice, nonalignment applied only to India's relations with countries outside South Asia.

## **Q2. Point out Dr. Ambedkar's views on Buddhism.**

Ans: Ambedkar has answered this in an essay titled 'Buddha and Future of His Religion', which was published in 1950 in the monthly magazine of Kolkata's Mahabodhi Society. In the essay, compares the personalities of founders of four religions, which "have not only moved the world in the past, but are still having a sway over the vast masses of people". The four are Buddha, Jesus, Mohammed and Krishna

### **Buddha is human, not a self-declared God**

Ambedkar starts by stating that what separates Buddha from the rest of the other is his self-abnegation. "All throughout the Bible, Jesus insist(s) that he is the Son of God and that those who wish to enter the kingdom of God will fail, if they do not recognise him as the Son of God. Mohammed went a step further. Like Jesus he also claimed that he was the messenger of God. But he further insisted that he was the last messenger. Krishna went a step beyond both Jesus and Mohammed. He refused to be satisfied with merely being the Son of the God or being the messenger of God; he was not content even with being the last messenger of God. He was not even satisfied with calling himself a God. He claimed that he was 'Parameswhar' or as his followers describe him "Devadhideva," God of Gods," Ambedkar writes about them.

But Buddha, he wrote, "never arrogated to himself any such status. He was born as a son of man and was content to remain a common man and preached his gospel as a common man. He never claimed any supernatural origin or supernatural powers nor did he perform miracles to prove his supernatural powers. The Buddha made a clear distinction between a Margadata and a Mokshadata. Jesus, Mahommed and Krishna claimed for themselves the Mokshadata. The Buddha was satisfied with playing the role of a Margadata."

### **Reason and experience, not blind faith**

Ambedkar compares the four religious teachers to find another distinction between Buddha and the rest. He says that both Jesus and Mohammed claimed that what they taught was the word of God and (thus) was beyond question. Krishna was, according to his own assumption, a God of Gods and therefore the question of infallibility did not even arise. The Buddha claimed no such infallibility for what he taught. In the Mahaparinibbana Sutta, he told Ananda that his followers should not accept his teaching as correct and binding merely because they emanated from Him. Being based on reason and experience, the followers were free to modify or even to abandon any of his teachings if it was found that at a given time and in given circumstances they do not apply.

"Buddha wanted his religion to remain evergreen and serviceable at all times. That is why he gave liberty to his followers to chip and chop as the necessities of the case required. No other religious teacher has shown such courage. They were afraid of permitting repair, because the liberty to repair may be used to demolish the structure they had reared. Buddha had no such fear. He was sure of his foundation. He knew that even the most violent iconoclast will not be able to destroy the core of His religion."

## **Morality, not rituals**

Comparing Buddhism with Hinduism, Ambedkar writes, "Hinduism is a religion which is not founded on morality. Morality is a separate force which is sustained by social necessities and not by injunction of Hindu religion. The religion of Buddha is morality. It is imbedded in religion. It is true that in Buddhism there is no God. In place of God there is morality. What God is to other religions, morality is to Buddhism."

Ambedkar then differentiates between 'Dharma' (Hinduism) and 'Dhamma' (Buddhism). "The Vedic meaning of the word "Dharma" did not connote morality in any sense of the word. The Dharma as enunciated by the Brahmins meant nothing more than the performances of certain karmas or observances, i.e. Yagans, Yagas and sacrifices to Gods. The word Dhamma, as used by the Buddha, had nothing to do with ritual or observances. In place of Karma, Buddha substituted morality as the essence of Dhamma."

## **Renouncing Hinduism**

By asking one central question that Ambedkar believed "every religion must answer", he gives out the reason why Hindus might turn to Buddhism. He asks what mental and moral relief does a religion bring to the suppressed and the downtrodden? "Does Hinduism give any mental and moral relief to the millions of Backward Classes and the Scheduled Castes? It does not. Do Hindus expect these Backward Classes and the Scheduled Castes to live under Hinduism which gives them no promise of mental and moral relief? Such an expectation would be an utter futility.

"Hinduism is floating on a volcano. Today it appears to be extinct. But it is not. It will become active once these mighty millions have become conscious of their degradation and know that it is largely due to the social philosophy of the Hindu religion. One is reminded of the overthrow of Paganism by Christianity in the Roman Empire. When the masses realised that Paganism could give them no mental and moral relief, they gave it up and adopted Christianity. What happened in Rome is sure to happen in India. The Hindu masses when they are enlightened are sure to turn to Buddhism."

Ambedkar had declared his decision to renounce Hinduism in 1936, in his 'Annihilation of Caste' speech. But he converted to Buddhism only in 1956. Ambedkar spent these two decades to study other prominent religions and chose one he found to be the best among all. His quest for a morally sound religion that looked at the welfare of every human being took him to Buddhism. And that is how he and his followers converted to Buddhism.

## **Q3. Write the name of the four thinkers who influenced Jayprakash Narayan.**

Ans: Jayaprakash Narayan was one of those people who were influenced by Gandhian concept of non-violence. He accepted the way of non-violence for social reconstruction such as Bhoodan and Gramdan and used nonviolent revolution during emergency period of 1975-1977 to save democratic values. During freedom movement, Jayaprakash Narayan did not believe strongly in non-violence. He accepted violent way of revolution for freedom movement and established Azad Dasta which was a group of violent revolutionaries for freedom movement. He said that the discussion on violence and non-violence is meaningless; both are good in the reference of freedom movement.

Materialism to Spiritualism – When Jayaprakash Narayan came in the effect of Marxism, he believed in materialist philosophy.<sup>14</sup> The equality and brotherhood was the main factor of his thoughts. He said, “At the same time, Marxism provided another beacon of light for me; equality and brotherhood freedom was not enough. It must mean freedom for all—even the lowliest and this freedom must include freedom from exploitation from hunger, from poverty.

At Wisconsin, Jayaprakash Narayan developed a close friendship with Avrom Landy, whose ideas had a strong influence on him.

**Q4. When and where was the first arya samaj established.**

Ans: Arya Samaj ("Noble Society") is a monotheistic Indian Hindu reform movement that promotes values and practices based on the belief in the infallible authority of the Vedas. The samaj was founded by Maharishi Dayanand Saraswati on 10 April 1875. Members of the Arya Samaj believe in one God and reject the worship of idols.

**Q5. Define Gandhi's concept of Satyagrah.**

Ans: The Gandhian philosophy of satyagraha is a natural outcome of the supreme concept of truth. If truth is the ultimate reality, then it is imperative to safeguard the criteria and foundations of truth. A votary of God which is the highest Truth and the highest Reality must be utterly selfless and gentle. He should have an unconquerable determination to fight for the supremacy of spiritual and moral values. Thus alone can he vindicate his sense of ethical devotion.

Satyagraha means the exercise of the purest soul-force against all injustice, oppression and exploitation. Suffering and trust are attributes of soul force. The active nonviolent resistance of the 'heroic meek' makes an immediate appeal to the heart. It wants not to endanger the opponent but to overwhelm him by the over flooding power of innocence. Satyagraha or stupendous effort at conversion can be applied against the Government, the social Czars and leaders of 'orthodoxy'. Satyagraha is an inherent birthright of a person. It is not merely a sacred right but it can also be a sacred duty. If the Government does not represent the will of the people, and if it begins to support dishonesty and terrorism, then it should be disobeyed. But one who wants to vindicate his rights should be prepared to bear all kinds of suffering. Gandhi referred to the teaching of Thoreau in this connection. However, Gandhi stated that Thoreau was not a complete champion of nonviolence. Probably Thoreau limited his breach of governmental laws to the revenue law, i.e., he refused to pay taxes. The dynamics of satyagraha as formulated by Gandhi are broader and more universally applicable. From the family to the state—wherever one meets injustice and untruth—one can resort to satyagraha. In his autobiography, Gandhi has referred to some experiences of satyagraha practiced in his own family life. He said that the alphabet of ahimsa is learnt in the domestic school and can be extended to national and even international levels.

Gandhi felt that the Abyssinians, the Spaniards, the Czechs, the Chinese and the Poles could have offered nonviolent resistance against the aggressors. There are different techniques of satyagraha. Fasting can be one form of satyagraha, but it has to be applied only against those who are bound by ties of close personal affection. Voluntary migration can be another form of satyagraha. “Tyranny is a kind of plague and when it is likely to make us angry or weak, it

is wisdom to leave the scene of such temptation,” said Gandhi. He even supported Hijrat. The exodus refers to the planned flight of the Israelites. In Russia, there was the flight of the Doukhabours who were nonviolent. Gandhi would not consider the ‘scorched earth’ policy to be a form of satyagraha. He ruled out underground activities, even though entirely innocent, as a part of legitimate fight for freedom based on truth and nonviolence. Satyagraha as conceived by Gandhi is not a formula of social and political disintegration. A satyagrahi must have first rendered willing obedience to the laws of the state. Gandhi writes: “a satyagrahi obeys the laws of the society intelligently and of his own freewill, because he considers it to be his sacred duty to do.

The capacity for civil resistance comes from the discipline undergone in the process of obeying the civil and moral laws of the state. A satyagrahi while resisting the laws of the government should see that the social structure is not subverted. Gandhi laid down strict canons of moral discipline for the satyagrahi. He must have an unshakeable faith in God, otherwise he will not be able to bear calmly the physical atrocities perpetrated on his person by the authorities with superior force of violence at the command. He must not hanker after wealth and fame. He must obey the leader of the satyagraha unit. He should practice Brahmacharya and should be absolutely fearless and firm in his resolve. He must have patience, single-minded purposefulness and must not be swayed from the path of duty by anger or any other passion. Satyagraha can never be resorted to for personal gains. It is a love process and the appeal is to the heart and not to the sense of fear of the wrong-doer. Thus, satyagraha is based on personal purification. The Gandhian stress on purity as a criterion for political power is a great contribution to political thought. It is essential to employ pure means for serving a righteous cause. There are different forms of satyagraha. Non-cooperation with the evil doer is a mild form. Civil disobedience of the laws of the government is a strong and extreme form of satyagraha. There can be individual as well as mass civil disobedience. The latter means spontaneous action by the masses. In the beginning, masses will have to be rigorously trained for action. According to Gandhi, complete civil disobedience implying a refusal to render obedience to every single state-made law can be a very powerful movement. It can become more dangerous than an armed rebellion; because the stupendous power of innocent suffering undergone on a great scale has potency. By bringing the scrutinizing glare of public opinion on the evils of an autocratic state, the fall even of a despotic political regime is ensured. It is not correct to say that Gandhi would not sanction satyagraha in a democratic form of government. He had no special attachment for parliamentary democracy. He did not accept the axiomatic superiority of the majority within parliament. The basic problem, according to him, was life in accordance with the canons of truth. Several times Gandhi opposed a law or system even if he were in a minority of one, because for him non-cooperation with evil was a sacred duty. A democracy can be swayed by all types of passions, prejudices and petty considerations, but a devotee of truth would not tamely accept this. He would not be content with merely trying to change the membership of the legislatures after four or five years. He should certainly educate public opinion. According to the political teachings of Gandhi, satyagraha is a perpetual law against anything repugnant to the soul. Even if alone, a man of truth and conscience will resist the laws and commands issued by a representative legislature if they go against the higher law of the atman. A true satyagrahi will risk all dangers for the sake of truth. Gandhi wrote: “But even so a call may come which one dare not neglect, cost it



what it may. I can clearly see the time coming to me when I must refuse obedience to every single state-made law, even though there may be a certainty of bloodshed. When neglect of the call means a denial of God, civil disobedience becomes a preemptory duty.” Sometimes Gandhian satyagraha is confused with the passive resistance advocated by the Quakers. But there are vital differences between them. To begin with, satyagraha is a dynamic force because it contemplates action in resistance of injustice. Passive resistance is compatible with internal violence towards the enemy but satyagraha stresses continuous cleansing of the mind. It emphasizes even inner purity. Passive resistance is mainly contemplated at a political level. Satyagraha can be practiced at all levels—domestic, social and political. Satyagraha goes beyond passive resistance in its stress on spiritual and moral teleology because the final source of hope and consolation for the satyagrahi is God. The Gandhian theory of satyagraha is far more comprehensive than the passive resistance as advocated in India in 1906-1908. Tilak and Aurobindo would not condemn violence on moral grounds. But Gandhi accepted the absolute of ahimsa. The passive resistance of 1906-1908 was a political technique of limited application. Sometimes it meant only Swadeshi and boycott, while at other times it was extended to cover disobedience of unjust laws and decrees. The Gandhian theory of satyagraha is a philosophy of life and politics and it contemplates stupendous mass action for paralyzing the total structure of a despotic government. It is true that there are points of similarity between the ideas of Gandhi and the British liberals, especially in their grudging attitude to the spheres of state action but they emerge from different traditions. Gandhi was more radical and trenchant in his opposition to the state than any British liberal nurtured in the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. Essentially Gandhi was a moral prophet who had declared his unequivocal resistance to all concentrations of power, force and violence. The influence of the individualistic spirit of the old Sanyasi and the Bhikshu tradition of India combined with the protestant individualism of Thoreau and the radical anti-static of Tolstoy was too pronounced in Gandhi.

**Q6. Name any 4 books written by M.N. ROY.**

1. The historical role of Islam
2. New humanism
3. Radical humanist
4. Science and philosophers

**Long Questions :-**

**Q7. Give a critical estimate of Ambedkar’s view on the upliftment of depressed class.**

Ans: Born in a socially backward caste, educated along the lines of the western system, rational in outlook and somewhat rebellious in mentality and temperament, Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (1891-1956), ‘a symbol of revolt’ (as called by Jawaharlal Nehru) came at the appropriate moment to assume the natural leadership of his kinsmen and participated in social movement and got involved in founding the constitutional edifice of the country. He was one of the front-ranking nation-builders of modern India. He is popularly considered as the ‘pioneer’ who initiated the ‘liberation movement’ of roughly sixty-five million untouchables of India of his time. For, Ambedkar, notwithstanding his birth in a lower

caste, the Mahar community of Maharashtra, has made an indelible imprint on the body politic of the country. As regards the emancipation of the backward classes, first he criticized the caste Hindus for their social apathy towards the depressed classes, blamed the British for their political and economic backwardness and stood as the unrivalled champion of the depressed classes, and dedicated his life to the cause of their amelioration. As a brilliant scholar on Indian Society and intellectual well-versed with writings of great scholars in east and west, Ambedkar all through his life reflected the problem of untouchables. A glance at his profuse writings would evidently show that despite his preoccupations with the problems of the dalits, Ambedkar had, in his own way, made significant contribution to the contemporary political ideas. The present study is an attempt to make a brief objective analysis of the various strands of the political ideas of Ambedkar while keeping in mind the gaps and lapses in the existing literature on Ambedkar. Several factors that Ambedkar encountered with, contributed to the formation of his political ideas. In fact, the experiences he gathered during his life at different levels-personal, intellectual as well as socio-political-exerted deep influence on the formulation of his ideas. Encounter with English education in India and abroad helped Ambedkar to come into contact with several contemporary thinkers intellectuals. However, in some cases, the contact was not personal, but through their ideas, those thinkers had attracted Ambedkar intellectually. Ambedkar was greatly inspired by the ideas of Indian social reformers. He was greatly influenced by the philosophical ideas of Lord Buddha, Mahatma Jotiba Phule, Kabir and Dalit saints like Nandnar, Ravidas and Chokhamela. He dedicated his book, "The untouchables who were they and why they become untouchable?" to the memory of Nandanar, Ravidas and Chokhamela. The three renowned saints were born among the untouchables and by their piety and virtue won the esteem of all. Ambedkar admired those saints for their challenge to the orthodox Hindus and religious guidelines to the downtrodden.

Ambedkar was a different reader and had been very good in Sanskrit, Persian, Marathi, Hindi and English. Through the books he read, he drew lot of inspiration. These books had great impact on Ambedkar's struggle for social justice. Ambedkar's proficiency in Sanskrit made him to have wide knowledge about Hinduism. Ambedkar would recite Mahabharata, Ramayana, Upanishads, Manusmriti, and other religious texts. Due to his vast reading, he could assess the drawbacks of these texts and could build his own theories. His books on "Caste in India", "Annihilation of caste", "Philosophy of Hinduism", "Revolution and counter Revolution in Ancient India", "Who were the Shudra" and "Riddles in Hinduism". Which Ambedkar had derived from the original Hindu religious texts. Ambedkar had studied great deal of literature on religious, social, political and economic life of India. Hopkins's "The Great Epic of India", C. V. Vaidya's "The Riddle of the Ramayana" and "History, Manners and Customs" and Prof. D. S. Trivedi's "The original home of the Aryans" were some of great books which Ambedkar read with great interest and delight which contributed in no mean way to the development of his own ideas. Further, Ambedkar had studied stand by Rice's Hindu customs and their origins. He read this book to know how untouchability had come into existence. Ambedkar saw much in common in Prof. Enville Durkheim's "The Elementary forms of the Religious life," Goethe's "Marxisms and Reflections" Gorky's literature and life. They gave imagination and intuition to Ambedkar to write on the origin of untouchability. Since Ambedkar has exposed to western countries, he was

attracted by western liberal doctrines and tradition which he upheld in his approach to the study of socio-economic problems of India. Ambedkar thoroughly read books written by liberal writers like Walter Bagehot, James Bryce, Jennings, Pendleton Herring, Prof. A. B. Hart, Prof. L. T. Hobhouse, John Shore, Prof Dicey, Porritt, Prof. L. H. Laski and many others. Ambedkar's traces the failure of the liberal party in India by referring to Pendleton Herring's "Politics of Democracy" Ambedkar's reading on constitution and constitutionalism was very extensive and the citations from the books of constitutional expert in the constituent Assembly are a clear evidence of his awareness of the writings of experts in the field. Ambedkar appreciated Dicey's "Law of the constitution" for its serious limitations on sovereignty. According to Bagehot, parliamentary government means government by discussion and not by fisticuffs. Ambedkar's had vast knowledge about parliamentary form of democracy. This was possible due to his extensive reading to the writings of experts of democracy. He said that to his knowledge, no one had explained the relationship of the king and his minister in a responsible government better than Macaulay. Books were a constant company and Ambedkar managed to read books even when he was totally involved in public life. His very extensive reading helped him to speak and write with authority and confidence on the political, social, economic, religious problem of India. Tormentation of depressed classes by the upper class to which Ambedkar himself was a victim has made indelible impression on his intelligent mind. Secondly, as a brilliant scholar on Indian Society and intellectual well-versed with writings of great scholars in east and west, Ambedkar all through his life reflected the problem of untouchables. The analysis of influences of the philosophical ideas of Buddha, Kabir, Phule, Tukaram, Burke, Seligman, Dewey, Russell etc. on Ambedkar unfolds the impact of various intellectual personalities on Ambedkar which might have led Ambedkar towards making a critical analysis on the concrete problems facing humanity. Undoubtedly, progressive thinking of those intellectual personalities had shaped his mindset. The social aspects of Ambedkar's political ideas- issues of caste, politics of untouchability highlighting Gandhi and Ambedkar debate, his views on social justice made an indelible imprint on Indian society. Ambedkar was born in a society based on inequality. He was privileged enough to receive education in the west where he came under the influence of the liberal-minded professors like Dewey, Harold Laski, Seligman and others. It was, therefore, quite natural that he imbibed the spirit of liberty. This explains why he was against dictatorship, autocracy and totalitarianism. As a social philosopher, Ambedkar had developed logical structure of interrelated ideas which he used as a theoretical framework to explain the social phenomenon as well as to suggest changes in the existing pattern of social relations. Being an integral and organic part of that stratum of society which for generations together had been the victim of organized exploitative system, he had the advantage of having clear vision of the problems and complexities of the social system. Ambedkar tried to eliminate inequality and injustice and reformed the untouchables through the weapon of education. Ambedkar's birth in an untouchable community and in a system based on graded inequality and injustice and deprivation of basic human rights to his community was responsible for giving a purpose and a mission to his life. Unquestionably, he played a major role in quest for constitutional rights and social justice in the Constituent Assembly. Constitutional provisions aimed at preventing discrimination and promoting social justice are his major achievements. Ambedkar's philosophy of constitutionalism revolved around social justice and change

through perfectly constitutional means. He dreamt of an equal society in India where there would be no discrimination, no exploitation, no untouchability and no degradation. As an untouchable, Ambedkar was subjected to severe insults and indignities not only during his student days but also during the days he was occupying important positions in Government. The ghost of untouchability was closely haunting him wherever he went. That made him fight tooth and nail to remove its root and branch. It may be noted in this connection that the method resolving the issue of untouchability, adopted by Ambedkar was not the liking of Mahatma Gandhi who had also at the time fought against the problem in his own way. Although Ambedkar and Gandhi began social and political activities for eradication of untouchability at most in same period, Ambedkar firmly believed in social movement rather than political movement. In the struggle for the freedom of the country, Gandhi, on the other hand, had the support of the millions of Indians, but in the struggle for liberation of the untouchables, many opposed him. Ambedkar was for the establishment of absolute equality in all spheres of national life. Gandhi claimed that he was the sole representative of the Hindus and as such he considered that untouchables were a part of Hindu community, he would not like anybody expect himself to represent the untouchables only. Gandhi also opposed Ambedkar's participation in the Round Table Conference (RTC) as a representative of the untouchables. Congress boycotted the RTC. But, Ambedkar made no secret about the controversy over the separate electorates arguing its advantages. The idea behind "Communal Award" scheme was to give proper representation to the depressed classes in the legislatures on the ground that it would be difficult for them to get elected in the general constituencies. Gandhi was afraid that if the British government would accept the scheme of separate electorates, the caste Hindus' relationship with the untouchables would come to an end, and the Hindu society would be divided. II Now, an attempt has been made to evaluate Ambedkar's self-generated vision regarding nationalism with reference to the current debates relating to his role in freedom struggle, his idea of democracy, equality and freedom, political resistance and also his idea of socialism. Ambedkar's nationalism started with a different cause which amounted to the welfare of the downtrodden and the poor. He had full faith in the greatness of his country and the dignity of his countrymen. Nationalism in him began as a protest, both against external domination and internal oppression. Ambedkar has expressed his feelings as regards nationalism, in terms of majority and minority. Ambedkar opposed the civil disobedience movement started by Gandhiji in 1930. He thought that it was extremely inopportune. He remarked that this movement was not a rebellion as it could not throw out the British bureaucracy. Similar reaction was expressed by him on the eve of the "Quit India" movement. The failure to situate Ambedkar in a proper historical and nationalist perspective has left the ground quite wide open for such critics, for example, Arun Shourie to launch hurtful attack on Ambedkar. Arun Shourie finds fault with Ambedkar for opposing the National Movement. It is true that Ambedkar never participated in the freedom struggle rather he opposed it. But, it is indeed a fact that his opposition helped to widen the internal scope of the freedom which made it really significant for thousands of oppressed people. Nationalism is not is a blind worship of the motherland. It is true that Ambedkar's opposed the mainstream national movement, but this kind of attitude indirectly contributed much by laying the broad social foundation on which the present Indian nation state stands. Without Ambedkar's intervention to bring about some measures of material empowerment of the former

untouchables, they would have been unable to their rightful place in national life. The above mentioned interaction made it possible the proper understanding of the true significance of the scheduled caste problems. Ultimately, this influenced Gandhiji's unhesitant decision to accept the request of the scheduled caste members of the constituent assembly that Ambedkar should be included in India's first Government. It was Ambedkar's political challenge which compelled congress to appreciate the national significance of the problem of the scheduled castes and to adopt certain measures which significantly contributed towards broadening and strengthening the social base of Indian nationalism. A detailed analysis of his life and mission reveals that Ambedkar held the basic and fundamental norm, to be equality- social, economic and political, from which he proceeded to lay down a collection of 'ought' propositions; in this hierarchy of 'ought', the initial fundamental 'ought' on which the validity of all the other ultimately rests, the fundamental norm seems to be the social equality, the justification for the rest of the legal reforms and changes he persistently fought for. It was a society full of social inequalities in which Ambedkar was born. The humiliation he experienced in such an in egalitarian society bore on imprint in all thought his life. Analyzing the idea of democracy of Ambedkar in details, it can be found out that Ambedkar had unshakeable faith in democracy. In his conception of exploitation less society, democracy has an extra-ordinary role which he defined as 'one person, one vote'; and 'one vote, one value'. Democracy means empowerment of any person for participating in the process of decision-making relating to him, democracy means liberty, equality and fraternity - Ambedkar's definition of democracy had such a tone. Because he presided over making of the Constitution and is being projected as its chief architect, there is a misunderstanding that parliamentary democracy is what he wanted. But nothing could be farther from the truth than this. He himself spoke against parliamentary democracy. His conception of democracy appears to be purely people oriented. He showed that the bookish concepts of equality are detrimental to the disabled sections of society in the prevailing social setting and proposed a fundamental change in the concept of equality. It envisaged complete abolition of inequality. His principle of positive discrimination is based on this very concept of equality. But, the operational aspects of this concept involved the need for some kind of autonomous institution, which was met by 'State' and 'religion'. Ambedkar firmly believed that political democracy cannot succeed without social and economic democracy. In his concept of democracy, he opined that political democracy is not an end in itself, but the most powerful means to achieve the social and economic ideals in society. State socialism within the framework of parliamentary democracy can defeat dictatorship. Fundamental rights without economic security are of no use to the have-nots. He was against coercive centralized institutional authority that Hobbesian philosophy maintains. Associated life is consensual expression of shared experience, aspirations and values. Thus, Ambedkarism is of great bearing to Indian society even in the present day in achieving social justice, removal of untouchability, in establishing equality and freedom and true democracy. Democratic socialism is the key note of his political thought and constitutionalism is the only way to achieve it. In conclusion, it can be said that this research gives closer and analytical insight into the thoughts of Ambedkar and provides an answer to the question of whether we, the Indians, achieve religious tolerance, human equality and freedom, true democracy, gender respect in the society.

### **Q8. Discuss the political ideas of Jawarlal Nehru.**

Ans: Nehru imparted a socialistic vision to the Indian development. Nehru adopted Marxism in the 1930s as a tool for understanding society, social development and the national movement itself. He disagreed, on one basic question at least after 1936, with the contemporary Marxist position.

He used Marxism to understand Indian social development even after 1947. It was diluted over the years. He did not see nationalism as inherently a 'bourgeoisie' ideology, though he saw the national movement being dominated at the time by the middle classes. He felt, in the colonial and post-colonial situation that nationalism could be and had to be, articulated and integrated with socialist ideology.

Nehru kept his commitment to nationalism, national unity and national independence after 1947. He safeguarded the political independence won in 1947, and he laid the foundations of a democratic and civilian polity, and also carried forward the process of the making of the Indian nation.

Nehru was interested in building a just and democratic society and in consolidating India into a nation. Nehru set out to build the structure of an independent and self-reliant economy, and made an all-out effort to break out of colonial under development and to ensure self-sustaining and self-generating growth, both in agriculture and industry.

Nehru emphasized self-reliance and cautioned against dependence. And the biggest achievement he claimed for planning and for Congress rule was the creation of 'a feeling of self-reliance'. Nehru emphasized on rapid industrialization, planning, public sector and development of heavy industry, science and technology and technical modernization, the training of a large technical and scientific cadre and atomic energy, and saw them as necessary in the effort to achieve independent economic development.

At the same time, he believed that an independent economy and self-reliance would strengthen the psychological basis of national independence and thereby increase the self-confidence and self-respect of the people.

There is hardly any doubt that Nehru was successful in laying the foundations of an independent economy, otherwise known as mixed economy, through a capitalist economy. Elections, civil liberties and freedom to organize and grass root democracy through institutions such as Panchayat Raj would enable the people to mobilize themselves to exert pressure from below, compelling the political party in power either to make the necessary changes or get swept away.

Nehru acknowledged in 1964 that we are also losing the battle for socialism and equitable distribution and frankly accepted this. While industrial and agricultural production has increased considerably, though not to the extent planned, the tendency has been towards the accumulation of the national wealth in the hands of few people at the top, that is, the big business; because of this inequitable distribution of wealth, it led to a serious economic crisis.

Nehru was fascinated by the Soviet Union's Five-Year-Plans and tried implementing the same in India. He wanted India to have the best combination of socialism and capitalism and

tried to implement 'Democratic Socialism'. He wanted the state to be a principal entrepreneur and all its citizens its equal shareholders.

He strengthened the democratic pillars of the nation by creating proper wealth distribution systems at all levels. Critics often confuse Nehru's economic policies with those of his daughter, Indira Gandhi, who was seen more as left-oriented. Nehru's economics of state intervention and investment were conceived at a time when the transfers of capital and technology that were important to India were not easily forthcoming from the developed world.

Economic equality means nationalization of means of production, economic rights and participation in decision-making along with the management, granting of economic rights in all spheres, ceiling of property, progressive legislation on property rights, de-concentration of wealth, and state intervention to the extent of securing economic equality.

Soviet Union was the only major power to allow India to develop independent capabilities in many spheres of heavy industry, engineering and cutting edge technologies. India's combination of internal political freedom, economic and political independence throughout its existence can be favorably compared with many client states of the United States and the Soviet Union.

Nehru pursued a foreign policy of non-alignment and became a founder and leader of the Non-aligned Movement. As prime minister, he pursued India's claim to Kashmir in the face of Pakistani opposition, resulting in the First Kashmir War (1947). Military defeat at the hands of the People's Republic of China in the Sino-Indian War (1962) brought strong criticism of military unpreparedness and Nehru's policy of friendship with India's mighty neighbor.

During the Cold War period, on 27 November 1946, Prime Minister Nehru appealed to the United States and the Soviet Union to end nuclear testing and to start nuclear disarmament, stating that such an action would 'save humanity from the ultimate disaster'. His charisma extended to the world stage where under his leadership, India was often able to be 'punching above its weight'.

For him, political equality implies universal adult suffrage, organization of a strong democratic polity, political parties, legislatures with a true representative character, public opinion, freedom of the press, electoral reforms, political rights, constitutional safeguards, constitutional methods, faith in constitutional process, legitimization of the constitutional system and lastly secularism.

Nehru helped to create a country with enduring civic institutions, a strong and socially responsive judiciary, a committed civilian oversight of the army and overall egalitarianism.

For him, social equality aims for the removal of social discrimination on the grounds of race, sex, gender and natural incapacities. It means equal opportunities to lead a happy life in the social sphere. It also includes elimination of poverty, social stigma and inhuman activities; extension of voting rights to the underprivileged, equal participation without gender inequality, in the political process and receiving equal benefits as the members of a society.

India is one of the few ex-colonial countries, which made the structural transition from a colonial to an independent economy. The anti-zamindari land reforms were implemented in a manner that the agrarian structure was transformed, but the rural poor were left high and dry, leaving behind a legacy of economic inequality, social oppression and violence in rural India. The second stage of land reforms represented by the land ceiling legislation was not successfully implemented in India.

Moreover, the other weaknesses in the agrarian sector were the failure to prevent large scale ejection of tenants at will in both zamindari and ryothwari areas and the absence of any ameliorative radical measures so far as the agricultural laborers, who constituted nearly 40 per cent of the rural population, were concerned. Nehru's policies are credited with setting up India's infrastructure for scientific education, nuclear programme, space programme, the extensive Indian Railways network, and the pharmaceutical industry. It is to his credit that he did not abuse his power and constantly attempted to deepen the democratic nature and institutions of the newly independent times.

However, in his later years, nationalists have criticized him, both past and present, for not sufficiently confronting Pakistan and China in their differences with India. India's defeat in the war with China seemed to bear out his critics, and dimmed his public stature, affecting his great personality. Critical commentators of the present day often criticize Nehru, when the transfers of capital are unhindered, easily channeled by the recipient nations, and even encouraged for their high returns in the emerging markets.



This question paper contains 4 printed pages.

Roll No. ....

**B.A. (Pt. I)**

**Pol. Sc.-II**

**1108-II**

**B.A. (Part-I) Examination, 2020**

**355248**

(Three-year Scheme of 10+2+3 Pattern)

[Also Common with Subsidiary Paper of B.A. (Hons.) Part-I]  
(Faculty of Arts)

**POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**Second Paper**

(Representative Indian Political Thinkers)

**Time Allowed : Three Hours**

**Maximum Marks : 100**

समय : 3 घंटे

अधिकतम अंक : 100

Answer of all the questions (short answer as well as descriptive) are to be given in the main answer-book only. Answers of short answer type questions must be given in sequential order. Similarly all the parts of one question of descriptive part should be answered at one place in the answer-book. One complete question should not be answered at different places in the answer-book.

No supplementary answer-book will be given to any candidate. Hence the candidates should write their answers precisely in the main answer-book only.

Write your roll number on question paper before start writing answers of questions.

सभी (लघुत्तरात्मक तथा वर्णनात्मक) प्रश्नों के उत्तर मुख्य उत्तर-पुस्तिका में ही लिखिए। लघुत्तरात्मक प्रश्नों के उत्तर प्रश्नों के क्रमानुसार ही दीजिए। इसी प्रकार किसी भी एक वर्णनात्मक प्रश्न के अन्तर्गत पूछे गए विभिन्न प्रश्नों के उत्तर उत्तर-पुस्तिका में अलग-अलग स्थानों पर हल करने के बजाय एक ही स्थान पर क्रमानुसार हल कीजिए।

किसी भी परीक्षार्थी को पूरा उत्तर-पुस्तिका नहीं दी जाएगी। अतः परीक्षार्थियों को चाहिए कि वे मुख्य उत्तर-पुस्तिका में ही समस्त प्रश्नों के उत्तर सही ढंग से लिखें।

प्रश्नों के उत्तर लिखने से पूर्व प्रश्न-पत्र पर रोल नम्बर अवश्य लिखिए।

**PART-I & II**

**Maximum Marks : 40**

Question paper shall consist of **three** parts. Part-I shall carry 20 marks and shall consist of 10 compulsory questions of 2 marks each candidate to be answered in 20-25 words each.

Part-II shall carry 20 marks and shall consist of 4 compulsory questions of 5 marks each to be answered in 150 words each.

प्रश्न-पत्र के तीन खण्ड होंगे। प्रथम खण्ड 20 अंकों का होगा। इस खण्ड में दो अंकों के 10 अनिवार्य प्रश्न होंगे। जिनमें से प्रत्येक प्रश्न का उत्तर परीक्षार्थी को अधिकतम 20-25 शब्दों में देना होगा।

द्वितीय खण्ड 20 अंकों का होगा। इस खण्ड में 5 अंकों के 4 अनिवार्य प्रश्न होंगे, जिनमें से प्रत्येक का उत्तर 150 शब्दों में अपेक्षित होगा।

**K-30/1108-II**

**P.T.O.**

### Part-I (भाग-अ)

1. Explain 'Vijigeeshu' as describe by Mannu.

मनु द्वारा वर्णित 'विजिगीषु' को स्पष्ट कीजिए।

2. Write the name of the seven organs of the state according to Kautilya.

कौटिल्य के अनुसार राज्य के सात अंगों के नाम लिखिए।

3. Write type of Punishment, as suggested by Kautilya.

कौटिल्य द्वारा सुझाए दण्ड के प्रकार लिखिए।

4. Point out two main functions of the state in 'Shukraneeti'.

शुक्र नीति में वर्णित राज्य के दो कार्यों को इंगित कीजिए।

5. What is Sati system?

सती प्रथा क्या है?

6. Write two major religious ideas of Dayanand Saraswati.

दयानन्द सरस्वती के दो धार्मिक विचार लिखिए।

7. Name the two institutions established by Tilak.

तिलक द्वारा संस्थापित दो संस्थाओं के नाम लिखिए।

8. What is 'Sarvodaya'?

'सर्वोदय' क्या है।

9. What do you understand by 'Democratic Socialism' theory given by Pt. Nehru?

पंडित नेहरू के अनुसार 'लोकतान्त्रिक समाजवाद' क्या है?

10. What slogan was given by Ambedkar for the upliftment of the Dalits?

अम्बेडकर ने दलितों के उत्थान के लिए कौन-सा नारा दिया?

## Part-II (भाग-ब)

11. Describe the Manu's theory of Seven organs.

मनु का सप्तांग सिद्धान्त समझाइए।

12. Analyse the political ideas of Tilak.

तिलक के राजनीतिक विचारों का विश्लेषण कीजिए।

13. Clarify thoughts of Dayanand Saraswati related to education.

शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में दयानन्द सरस्वती के विचार स्पष्ट कीजिए।

14. Examine the Gandhi's Views on Trusteeship.

ट्रस्टीशिप पर गाँधी जी के विचारों का परीक्षण कीजिए।

## PART-III DESCRIPTIVE

Maximum marks : 60

Attempt **three** questions in all, selecting **one** question from each Section. All questions carry equal marks.

प्रत्येक खण्ड में से एक प्रश्न का चयन करते हुए, कुल तीन प्रश्नों के उत्तर दीजिए। सभी प्रश्नों के अंक समान हैं।

### SECTION-A ( खण्ड-अ )

15. Examine the Manu's contribution in Indian Political thought.

राजनीतिक चिन्तन में मनु के योगदान का परीक्षण कीजिए।

Or/अथवा

Describe the ideas of Kautilya on the origin, aims and functions of State.

राज्य की उत्पत्ति, उद्देश्य व कार्यक्षेत्र के सम्बन्ध में कौटिल्य के विचारों का वर्णन कीजिए।

### Sections-B / ( खण्ड-ब )

16. "Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the father of modern India." Discuss.

“राजा राम मोहन रॉय आधुनिक भारत के पिता थे” व्याख्या कीजिए।

Or/अथवा

Describe the Political ideas of Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

गोपाल कृष्ण गोखले के राजनीतिक विचारों का वर्णन कीजिए।

**SECTION-C / खण्ड-स**

7. Write an essay on relevance of Gandhi in contemporary India.

वर्तमान भारत में गांधीजी की प्रासंगिकता पर निबन्ध लिखिए।

**Or/अथवा**

Discuss the major Political ideas of M. N. Roy.

एम. एन. रॉय के प्रमुख राजनीतिक विचारों का विवेचन कीजिए।

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Roll No. ...39...

**1108-II**

(Faculty of Arts)

# POLITICAL SCIENCE

## Paper – II

## Maxim

अ

गों के उत्तर लिखने से पूर्व प्रश्न-पत्र पर रोल नम्बर अवश्य लिखें। किसी भी परीक्षार्थी को पूरक उत्तर-पु  
: परीक्षार्थियों को चाहिए कि वे मुख्य उत्तर-पुस्तिका में ही समस्त प्रश्नों के उत्तर सही ढंग से लिखें।

(लघुत्तरात्मक तथा वर्णनात्मक) प्रश्नों के उत्तर मुख्य उत्तर-पुस्तिका में ही लिखें। लघुत्तरात्मक प्रश्नों के उत्तर क्रमांकित रूप में दीजिए। इसी प्रकार किसी भी एक वर्णनात्मक प्रश्न के अन्तर्गत पूछे गए विभिन्न प्रश्नों के उत्तर अलग-अलग स्थानों पर हल करने के बजाय एक ही स्थान पर क्रमानुसार हल करें।

## Maxim

पत्र में तीन खण्ड होंगे। प्रथम खण्ड 20 अंकों का होगा। इस खण्ड में दो अंकों के 10 अनिवार्य प्रश्न का उत्तर परीक्षार्थी को अधिकतम 20-25 शब्दों में देना होगा।

खण्ड 20 अंकों का होगा। इस खण्ड में 05 अंकों के 04 अनिवार्य प्रश्न होंगे, जिनमें से  
द्वों में अपेक्षित होगा।

**94/1108-II (Reg.)**

**PART-I / भाग-I**

1. (i) What are the four Varnas according to Manu?  
मनु के अनुसार चार वर्ण कौन से हैं?
- (ii) Name the famous writing of Kautilya.  
कौटिल्य की प्रसिद्ध रचना का नाम।
- (iii) Name of two newspapers started by Raja Rammohan Roy.  
राजा राममोहन राय द्वारा प्रारंभ किये गये दो अखबारों के नाम।
- (iv) What was Shuddhi Movement?  
शुद्धि-आन्दोलन क्या था?
- (v) Mention any two economic ideas of Gokhale.  
गोखले के कोई दो आर्थिक विचारों का उल्लेख कीजिए।
- (vi) What was the aim of Home Rule Movement?  
होमरूल आन्दोलन का लक्ष्य क्या था?
- (vii) What is Ahimsa according to Gandhi?  
गाँधी के अनुसार अहिंसा क्या है?
- (viii) Any two writings of Ambedkar.  
अम्बेडकर की कोई दो रचनायें।
- (ix) What did Nehru say about Democracy?  
लोकतंत्र के बारे में नेहरू क्या कहते थे?
- (x) Who had proposed Partyless Democracy in India?  
भारत में दलविहीन लोकतंत्र का विचार किसने प्रस्तावित किया?



## PART-II / भाग-II

2. Briefly explain Kautilya's Saptang theory of State.  
कौटिल्य के राज्य के सप्तांग सिद्धान्त को संक्षिप्त में स्पष्ट कीजिए।
3. Discuss Tilak's views on Swaraj.  
स्वराज पर तिलक के विचारों का वर्णन कीजिए।
4. Describe major movements started by Mahatma Gandhi.  
महात्मा गाँधी द्वारा प्रारंभ किये गये प्रमुख आन्दोलनों का विवेचन कीजिए।
5. Write short note on Nehru's Democratic Socialism'.  
नेहरू के लोकतांत्रिक समाजवाद पर एक संक्षिप्त लेख लिखिए।

## PART-III (DESCRIPTIVE)

Maximum Marks : 60

Attempt three questions in all, selecting one question from each Section.  
marks.

प्रत्येक इकाई में से एक प्रश्न का चयन करते हुए, कुल तीन प्रश्न हल कीजिए। सभी प्रश्नों व

### Section-A / खण्ड-अ

6. Explain the major functions of King as Manu described.

मनु द्वारा विवेचित राजा के प्रमुख कार्यों को स्पष्ट कीजिए।

OR / अथवा

Discuss prominent political ideas of Kautilya.

कौटिल्य के प्रमुख राजनीतिक विचारों का वर्णन कीजिए।

**Section-B / खण्ड-ब**

7. Describe main social ideas of Dayanand Saraswati.

दयानंद सरस्वती के प्रमुख सामाजिक विचारों का विवेचन कीजिए।

**OR / अथवा**

Write down the major political ideas of Gokhale.

गोखले के प्रमुख राजनीतिक विचार लिखिए।

**Section-C / खण्ड-स**

8. Critically examine Gandhi's concept of Trusteeship.

गाँधी के न्यासिता की अवधारणा का आलोचनात्मक परीक्षण कीजिए।

**OR / अथवा**

Write a detailed note on Total Revolution of Jayprakash Narayan

जयप्रकाश नारायण के संपूर्ण क्रांति पर एक विस्तृत लेख लिखिए।

□□□