

**GSSCORE**

**An Institute for Civil Services**

---

**IAS TOPPER'S**

**TEST COPY**

**GOLDI GUPTA**

**AIR - 181**

**(CSE 2022)**

**POLITICAL SCIENCE**

---

 **8448496262**  **iascore.in**

300  
128.5**POLITICAL SCIENCE**

Time Allowed: 3 hr.

Max. Marks: 250

**Instructions to Candidate**

- There are EIGHT questions. Candidate has to attempt FIVE questions in all.
- Question no. 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, THREE are to be attempted.
- Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the Admission certificate which must be stated clearly on the cover of this Question-cum-Answer (QCA) booklet in the space provided. No marks will be given for answers written in medium other than the authorized one.
- Word limit in questions, wherever specified, should be adhered to.
- Attempts of questions shall be counted in chronological order. Unless struck off, attempt of a question shall be counted even if attempted partly. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the answer book must be clearly struck off.

① Incorporate Keywords, Contextual scholars, and Current Affairs.

② Apply Various theories to Explain your points and write Applications

1. Invigilator's Signature \_\_\_\_\_

2. Invigilator's Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Name Gold \_\_\_\_\_  
Mobile No. \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature Gold \_\_\_\_\_

## SECTION-A

Attempt all questions:

1. Answer the following questions in about 150 words each:

(12.5 × 4 = 50)

- Superiority of Satyagraha to Passive Resistance. Comment.
- Examine the relevance of non-violence in today's times
- Examine the nature of the Constituent Assembly's Representation
- Socialist perspective of Freedom Struggle

(a) Satyagraha and passive resistance were the strategy of protests employed during the Indian national movement.

According to M.K. Gandhi, Satyagraha is soul force and does not rely on physical strength. Satyagraha focuses on self-suffering to persuade the opponent; on the other hand passive resistance impacts the other mentally and physically.

Satyagraha is purely non-violent form of struggle as per Gandhi, on the other hand passive resistance allows scope for the use of violent means for the achievement of the goal of independence.

The end of Satyagraha is not personal gratification, rather it is a

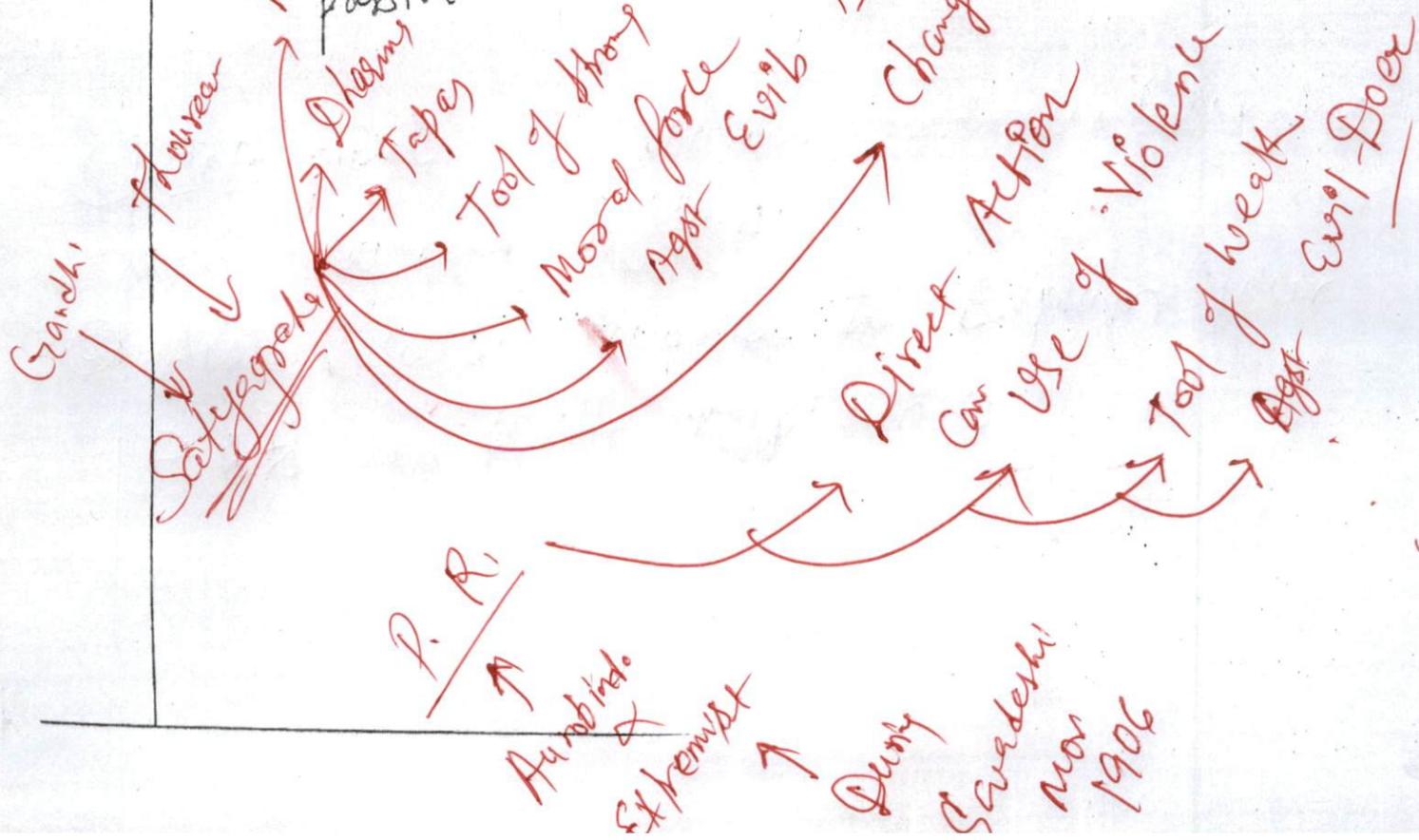
Remarks

device to pursue common good; however passive resistance can be used for the pursuance of personal objectives as well.

Underline Keywords

satyagraha is a democratic means to change the behavior of other. through the change of hearts and minds. It does not presume any hatred towards the opponent. on the other hand passive resistance degrades the other, thus reducing the nobility of mind. Evidently satyagraha is a superior force for social change as compared to passive resistance.

Non-Violence



Not

Change Mind and Heart

Direct Action

Can Use of Violence

Tool of weak Aggr. Evil-Doer

P. R.

Anubindo Extremist

Dandi March 1930

③ Non-Violence is one of the most  
 defining value of Eastern civilizations  
 in general and Indian civilization of  
 particular. Basis of non-violence lies in  
 the respect for multiplicity of truth claims  
 and the recognition of human limitations  
 to know all of truth.  
 In the world marked by conflict like  
 in Syria, Afghanistan, Yemen and Ethiopia,  
 non-violence becomes an important value  
 in establishing order in the world. For  
 similarly to deal with internal conflicts  
 in the country, non-violence can be  
 of use and is of multifold relevance.  
 It can be used to eradicate the  
 practices such as mob lynching, crimes  
 against women and honour killings. These  
 evils can be eradicated with the  
 adoption of non-violent way of life in  
 the society.  
 In the field of ecology, non-violence  
 is of utmost importance in eradicating

Violence against nature and which cause environmental degradation and pollution. A non-violent developmental path would pave way for sustainable future and would also ensure intergenerational equity.

Rising intolerance of views can be mitigated by adhering to the value of non-violence which promotes tolerance and compassion for others.

① Improve Structuring Presentation

- ② Quote - Bhutan
- Chipko
- Trusteeship
- Need vs Greed
- Sarvodaya / SDG

(c) Indian constituent assembly was established as per the provisions of cabined mission plan in 1946. It held its first meeting on 9th December 1946.

Members of the constituent assembly were elected on the basis of indirect elections by the members of provincial legislatures. The members were divided in three categories namely Muslims, Hindus and general.

Due to the indirect nature of elections of the members and limited franchise during the British period, critics argue that constituent assembly was not a sovereign representative body, it only represented certain sections of the population. Churchill said that Indian constituent assembly only represents one particular community.

Samir Austin says that constituent assembly was essentially a

one party body, 'assembly was congress and congress was india'.

• However, it must be noted that Congress of 1947 encompassed all social and ideological trends of that time, and other social forces such as Hindu Mahasabha and Dalit were also represented in the assembly through congress support. Thus it is unfair to say to say that constituent assembly was not a representative body.

Diocrite Nature of Seats of CA  
389 — 93 — 20  
296 — 73  
292 — 4  
Quote Contextual scholars

① Socialist thought focuses on the primacy of community, cooperation and cooperatives as against individualism, conflict and private ownership of means of production.

In the Indian National movement, Socialist thought found expression in 1920s in the Trade union movements and Kirti Kishan Sabha. It found organised expression with the organisation of Congress Socialist party within the umbrella of Congress.

Leaders like Acharya Narendra Dev, J.P. Narayan, Minoo Masani were the torchbearers of socialist thought in the National movement. More moderate socialist voices included Jawahar Nehru and B.R. Ambedkar. Socialist perspective recognised the mass character of Indian national movement and Indian national Congress as well.

Their position was in contrast to the position of Communist/Marxist stand

1.0

that saw the INC as a party of bourgeoisie and Indian National movement as silent revolution. A socialist perspective saw nationalism as a social means to establish internationalism of co-operatives. Socialist perspective envisaged a post-independence India which would have common ownership of resources and where the needs of all would be fulfilled.

R.M. Lohia in his book A Wheel of History, criticised the  Nehruvian socialism for its inability to empower community and society. He proposed Chaukhamba-Raj as an alternative to Nehruvian centralised state.

① Note

Gandhi - Sarvodaya  
 Lal - Plan  
 Bageet - AITUC  
 Patel - H.S.R.A  
 Pt Nehru - Karachi Session 1931  
 Bose - Fabian Socialism (Laska)  
 A.N. Das - P.C. 1938  
                   - C.S.P. 1934

2. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Discuss Colonialist Perspective on Indian national Movement. How does the Marxist criticise the nationalist views on Indian national movement? (300 Words) (25)
- (b) Gandhi's political programme was designed to erode British notions of legitimacy and undermine the consent Indians had given to the British government. Discuss. (300 Words) (25)

(a) Indian national movement has been seen by different ideological strands differently. Colonialist perspective on Indian national movement was outlined by the scholars of Cambridge school of history. Its founder expression in the words of John Seely, Valentina Chirol and Perceval

Disagree their views

Colonialists saw Indian national movement as a conservative reaction against the British civilising mission. First war of independence for the nationalists, the 1857 revolt was a just a sepoys mutiny for the Britishers.

Scholars like Seely refute the existence of colonialism and exploitation and argue that British rule was for the good of the Indians. There is no such thing as a Indian nation and thus no Indian ~~development~~ nationalism.

Indian for the colonialists were a group of communities having no sense of nation and patriotism. It was just a geographical expression and fragment of the imagination of the few reactionaries. Indian national congress for the Britishers was a club of elites trying to establish their domination over uneducated millions.

This view has been criticised by nationalist scholars like Sri Anand Mohan and Indian historians like Bipin Chandra Pal who argue that Indian national movement was a mass movement that was organised against the exploitation and racialism perpetrate by the Britishers.

Marxist critique of INM:

Marxist scholars R.P. Dutt have criticised the Indian national movement led by Indian national congress as the attempt by bourgeoisie to prevent the rise of the working classes.

130

According to R.P. Dutt, INC was a party of newly emerging Indigenous bourgeoisie and would advance the interests of capitalist only. Dutt-Bradley Thesis by R.P. Dutt and Philip Bradley called on Communist cadres to infiltrate the INC and take control of the revolution against the evils of colonialism which was the result of unrestrained capitalism. Leaders like M.N. Roy criticised Gandhian non violent struggle as a safety-valve the capitalist to prevent the workers' revolution.

However Bipin Chandra argues that Marxist thinkers failed to appreciate the mass-based character of INM and also failed to grant any autonomy to indigenous bourgeoisie.

Good points  
Improve presentation

③ Gandhi arrived in India on 9<sup>th</sup> Jan 1915 and analyzed the Indian political environment for two years. As per his understanding as expressed in his book 'Hind Swaraj', moral subjugation and acceptance of the British supremacy was the reason for India's degradation and exploitation by the British. Advancing the argument of civilising mission which was meant to civilize the Indian barbarians who were not suitable for political action and democracy.

Gandhi through his political program started undermining these notions. Through the leadership of the peasants and workers movement in Bihar and Gujarat he showed the political consciousness of the traditional peasants and workers. It showed that the backward of the Indians were capable of political action and do not need Britishers to control them.

Similarly his emphasis on the values of East such as non violence, aversion to industrialisation and modernity and assertion of faith and spirituality undermined the superiority of the Western civilization and values.

As a Gramscian organic intellectual of the Indian people, Gandhi took to project a counter-hegemony of the notions and beliefs of Indians vs the hegemony of western values and notions.

In addition to the spiritual and normative sphere, Gandhi undermined the legitimacy of British by launching non-cooperation movement. He proved the unsustainability of British empire argument of unsustainability of British empire and showed that collective and determined action against the British is the way for Indian Independence.

Non-cooperation and civil-disobedience against the British rule in India, their laws and institutions was the show of

1920

Withdrawal of Consent has to be used by a morally degraded power. It showed the mental and spiritual awakening of Indian masses. The mass based movement created by Gandhi undermined the hitherto existing view of national movement as a fragment of imagination of few.

~~Trust Gandhi~~  
Avoid cutting

- ① Describe  
Gandhi - Irwin Pact, 1931  
Putting Indians at the equal footing  
at RTC meet
- ② S-T-S, Salt Mar, DEM, CDM, AIM  
Declined loyalties of Army/Police/Babus
- ③ Classic Dilemma vs Arrest Gandhi
- ④ External Support

3. Answer the following

- (a) The Basic structure doctrine holds certain implied limitations on Parliament's amending power and at the same time put the judiciary in the exact position of unlimited power. Discuss. (300 Words) (25)
- (b) What do you understand by Militant Nationalism? Discuss the distinctive Characteristics of Militant Nationalism. (300 Words) (25)

(a) The Basic structure doctrine was first time advanced by the Supreme Court in Keshavanand Bharti vs. state of Kerala (1973) case.

According to the Basic structure doctrine, the parliament has the power to amend the constitution only to the extent that it does not infringe or violate the basic philosophy and features of constitution. The Supreme Court has not outlined the exact features of the basic structure however in different cases it has included many features in basic structure. For example in Indira Nehru Gandhi case SC included judicial review as basic structure; in S.R. Bommai case it included federalism and secularism as basic structure of the constitution. The explanation ~~to~~ in support of basic structure doctrine is that the parliament

Write in short Paragraphs

only represent political sovereignty and is not a sovereign in the same way as the constituent assembly of India. Thus it should not be allowed to change the constitution's basic features. Thus it limits Parliament's power in the defence of democracy to prevent authoritarianism and majoritarianism in politics.

~~However~~ Pratap Bhanu Mehta argues that while limiting the power of parliament, the judiciary continues to increase its power vis a vis other organs. It is becoming a self-perpetuating institution and giving rise to 'judicial aristocracy' in India. Critics argue that the open-ended nature of the basic structure doctrine means that parliament's amending power is subject to the whims and fancies of individual judges.

Justice Katju argues that the judges should observe judicial restraint while using the basic structure doctrine, otherwise it may lead to loss of legitimacy for judiciary and may cause repulsive

Remarks

11.5

attacks on the independence of judiciary. Irrespective of the ~~theoretical~~ academic and judicial debate on the issue, the basic structure doctrine has served well to protect the soul of Indian constitution and has increased the faith of people in judiciary.

Create some heading  
Unlimited power of 5

- ↳ NJAC struck down
- ↳ Scope of PIL / Review
- ↳ Judicial Outreach
- ↳ Crossing Taxman Pethe
- ↳ W/A 50

Quote various  
Judgements  
Articles

(8) Militant nationalism refers to the violent and aggressive variant of nationalist politics during the anti-colonial movements in the country. In Indian national movement violent and militant ~~variant~~ nationalism started emerging in the early 1900s and found first organised reaction in the aftermath of partition of Bengal.

Militant nationalism in India developed in response to growing exploitative and repressive character of the colonial government and the failure of moderate nationalism led by INC to include the concerns of masses in its political program. The moderate nationalists led by Bipin Krishna Chakravarty and Pherozshah Mehta were unable to extract concessions from the British in terms of increased political freedom etc.

Distinctive character of militant nationalism :

Militant nationalism found its early expression in the leadership of Lal-bahadur-sahni.

Remarks

Tilak, B. C. Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai and Anand Mohan mark a break in the working of Indian struggle for Independence.

The militant nationalists were distinguished from Britishers as against the moderate demand of political reforms and representation. Tilak famously said "Swaraj is my birth right and I shall take it".

Moreover the militant nationalists were distinguished by their inspiration that came from the glories Indian past, the struggle of Shivaji and the nationalist movement in foreign lands such as Ireland.

Militant nationalists used multiple means including boycott, passive resistance, and propaganda and secret revolutionary organisation in their struggle against Britishers. This was different from the reliance of moderates on constitutional means like prayers and petitions. While the moderates believed in the providential mission of the

19.5

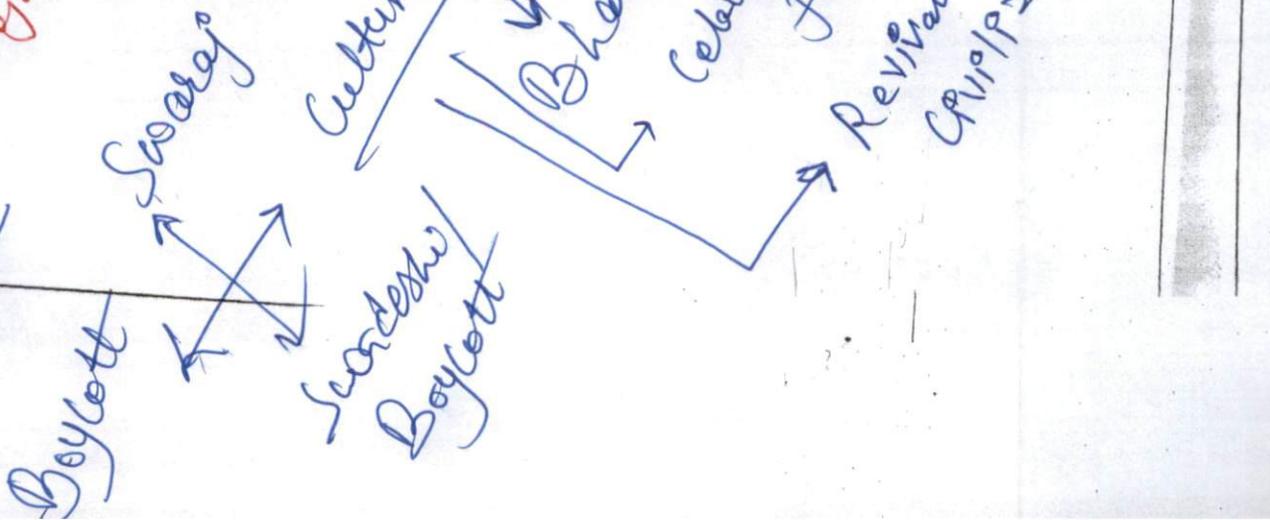
Britishers, the militant nationalists believed in the reserved strength of 'the masses' to fight for their own liberation.

Ideologically, the militant nationalist did not believe in the argument that 'India was a nation in making' rather Aurobindo argued that Indian nation is a 'mighty shakti' and not just the forger of 'imagination of some people'.

However the militant nationalists failed to give definite direction to Indian national movement. It was too much focused on individual efforts and could not survive the state repression for long. It was in the landman era that the national movement

assumed a mass based character.

Further Enrich your subject matter



Remarks

## SECTION-B

Attempt all questions:

5. Answer the following questions in about 150 words each:

(12.5 × 4 = 50)

- Discuss impact of COVID-19 on women and Working of National Commission of Women (NCW)
- Discuss the Significance of the Preamble
- Comment on Marxist Perspective on Indian National Movement
- Criticism of Directive Principles

(a) Covid 19 has impacted the women in multiple ways:

(1) It has resulted in rising violence against women in the household due to increased proximity to perpetrators.

(2) It has caused loss of employment for millions of informal sector women workers and thus resulted in the feminization of poverty.

(3) Socially it has forced the women to assume the traditional role of house maker and reversed the trend of their liberation.

(4) It has also caused increased stress and mental illness among women due to alienation and work stress.

Quote  
NCW  
CMI  
Reports

6.5

evidently covid19 has caused disproportionate hardship for women.

Update by Current Affairs

- In this backdrop, National Commission of women has taken multiple decisions to aid the women:
- It has opened a 24x7 helpline to help the women in distress.
- provided localised to report violence in family through neighbourhood shops.
- Recommended the government to increase patrolling and police activity in the context of protection of women.

However National Commission for women has not been able to work effectively due to inherent problems such as

lack of substantive power and nature of the <sup>only</sup> recommendatory body  
 Improve structuring and presentation

(B) Indian Constitution was one of the few constitutions to have a preamble. It was inspired by the preamble of the US Constitution.

It is based on the Objective Resolution put forward by Jawahar Lal Nehru in the Constituent Assembly. According to Ernest Barker 'preamble is the keystone of the Indian Constitution', it shows the thinking philosophy of the constitution makers.

Preamble's significance lies in the articulation of the basic features of the constitution. In Keshavenand Bharti case the Supreme Court argued that the preamble was a part of the constitution and thus it can be amended in same manner as other parts without violating the basic structure of constitution.

The preamble brings out the basic character of Indian state in the

7.0

Avoid cutting

Words " <sup>Sovereign</sup> ~~Socialist~~ secular, socialist, ~~fraternity~~ democratic, republic". ~~The fact that~~

It also brings out the goals of the constitution which is to ensure the social, economic and political justice to the people of enumerates the sacred liberties of thought, belief, faith and worship.

Most importantly it notes that the source of legitimacy for state and constitution lies in the people and that it is a people's constitution for people's welfare

Describe as mentioned in

the pre-ambles

Update by

current Affairs

farmers

of Jodhpur

Protest →

Example

Economic Justice

Quote Judgements

(c) Marxist perspective on Indian National movement comes out in the views of scholars like R.P. Dutt, M.N. Roy and S.A. Dange.

Marxist scholars have particular objection to the idea of nation and nationalism that covers the class differences prevailing in the society.

Marxist perspective on IMM focuses on this aspect and argues that the Indian National movement was a bourgeoisie movement to prevent the rise of proletarians and to keep the power with themselves.

R.P. Dutt argued that the Indian National Congress was a party of indigenous bourgeoisie that have developed from the working of capitalism in India. They also criticised the non-violent movement of Gandhi as a 'drama' and Gandhi as an 'agent of capitalists'.

6.5

However the marxist perspective mixes the basic idea that the Indian national movement encompassed voices from all the sections of society including workers, peasants and women. Bipin Chandra argues that Indian national movement was a movement of masses fighting for their freedom from exploitative rule of Britishers.

Further Enrich  
your Subject-Matter  
like Karpur / Meerut  
Conspiracy

(1) Directive principles of the state policy are enumerated in the part IV of the constitution. They are in the form of directions for the state to pursue in the working of the republic. DPSPs were inspired by the constitutions of Ireland and the instruments of instructions found in the Government of India Act 1935.

DPSP includes principles such as Gandhian principles of promoting village swarnaj, cottage industries etc.; socialist principles such as participation of workers in the industry and liberal principles such as promotion of international peace and security, uniform civil code etc.

DPSPs, though of significant importance have been criticised by judicial and political scholars. Firstly they are criticised for their non-justiciable nature. ~~Secondly~~ They can not be enforced by court and there is no remedy for their violations. Thus remain just as ornaments of the Constitution and does not make any

7.0

Practical sense.

Secondly they are criticised for creating confusion in the working of Constitution and come in conflict with the working of other provisions such as fundamental rights.

Thirdly the DPSPs have been used by authoritarian governments to trample the fundamental rights for example 42nd constitutional amendment ~~subjected~~ them to prioritised them over fundamental rights. In Minerva Mills case, SC reversed this provision.

Despite these limitations, as Dr. Ambedkar argues DPSPs are inviolate provisions and would advance the cause of social and economic democracy in the country.

① Improve Structure of DPSPs  
 ② Quote Contextual Scholars

Answer the following questions:

- (a) An obvious measure of effective working of Parliament is the number of days it sits and the amount of business it transacts. Examine the given statement in the light of Decline of Indian Parliament. (300 Words) (25)
- (b) Issues pertaining to Accountability of Judges and need for reforms. Discuss. (300 Words) (25)

(a) Granville Austin famously said that the Indian parliament is the major instrument of bringing social revolution in India. However, in the recent year, there have been questions on the role of parliament in promoting the cause of social and economic development in the face of its inefficient and unsatisfactory working. The inefficiency becomes apparent when one looks at the progressively declining number of sittings of both the houses of parliament in recent years. While the first Lok Sabha worked for more than 300 days in the tenure, the 16th Lok Sabha met only for 150 days. It has affected the number of bills of took up for debate and the declining space for detailed discussion on important legislation. The recent farm issues were discussed for

Q. No. 1  
Scraping  
Winter  
Session  
Performance of And  
Monsoon Session  
Q. No. 15-16 Report  
Topic on

less than two hours before being passed. This has resulted in multiple adverse effects on working of parliament and its legitimacy as an effective vehicle of social change. Prof. M.P. Singh, Subhas Kishan and other scholars call this the 'decline of parliament'.

• According to Prof. M.P. Singh, the decline of parliament is the result of rise of ordinance route as a rule rather than exception; growing subordination of legislature; rise of street politics in the parliament and decline of the importance of parliamentary committees in the passage of bills.

Scholars like B.L. Shankar and Venkatesh Rodrigues rebut the argument of the decline of parliament and argue that the increasing faultlines are the result of rising plebiansation of the democracy in India and that this is a transitional phase.

Despite these

20

GS SCORE

Recently vice president Venkiah Naidu also noted the growing absenteeism among the members of parliament and declining quality of debate. The vice president proposed a 10-point reform agenda to restore the centrality of the parliament in the working of Indian democracy.

In addition to these, electoral reforms such as state funding of elections, prevention of criminalisation of politics and performance based pay for MPs can also be taken to arrest the decline of parliament.

Quote  
2nd AEC / NCRWC  
Punchhi / Sarkaria  
Law Comm Reports  
Quote Best Practices  
Globally

48

(b) Judiciary is one of three organs of the government that is entrusted with the task to ensure justice and working of the constitution in fair and accessible manner.

In the constitutional scheme of integrated Judiciary, it has been granted significant autonomy and independence in appointment, removal and day to day working. In addition to this power to punish for contempt has also been provided to higher judiciary to protect the justice system and ensure compliance.

However, in the recent years, various incidents have brought out the inadequacy of mechanisms to ensure the accountability of judiciary. Scholars like Pratap Bhanu Mehta argue that through the power of judicial review and basic structure doctrine Judiciary has assumed unlimited power and judges have used this power as per personal preferences in the manner of 'Judicial barbarism'.

Impeachment under Article 124(4) is the only mechanism to remove the judges and ensure their ~~autonomous~~ accountability. However the recent case of "Unbecoming behaviour" by Justice Karnan has proved that this provision is close to non-existent due to stringent process.

Recent framing of criticism by the use of contempt power by the Supreme Court also point out that the Fourth pillar i.e. media can not ensure the Judicial accountability. The Sexual harassment allegations against Justice Kohli, also brought out the conflict of interest and inadequacy of in-house mechanisms.

In this context, there have been rising demands for Judicial reforms. Judicial accountability bill must be taken up by the parliament on the priority basis to increase avenues for Judicial accountability in India. ~~Similar~~ Moreover, as 2nd Administrative Reforms Commission (ARC) suggested, a post

of judicial values commissioner should be established to ensure probity in judicial conduct. 2nd ARC also suggested the establishment of National Judicial Commission with power of removal to ensure accountability in judiciary.

Recent SC decision on line stream the working of courts is a right decision on the way of ensuring transparency. verdict in Subhas Ranjan case involving CJI under RTI ambit is a step in the right direction. It will go a long way in establishing a transparent and accountable judiciary and increase people's confidence in the institution.

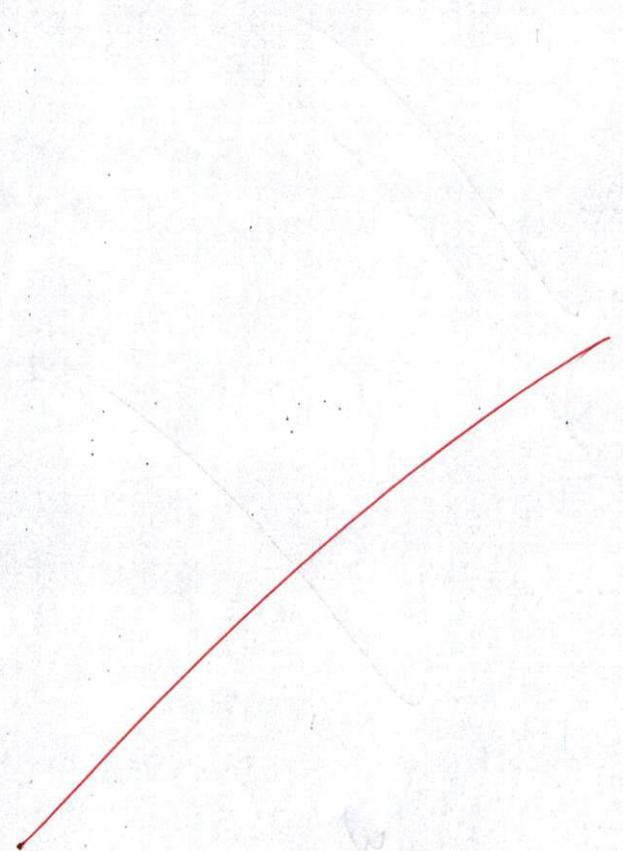
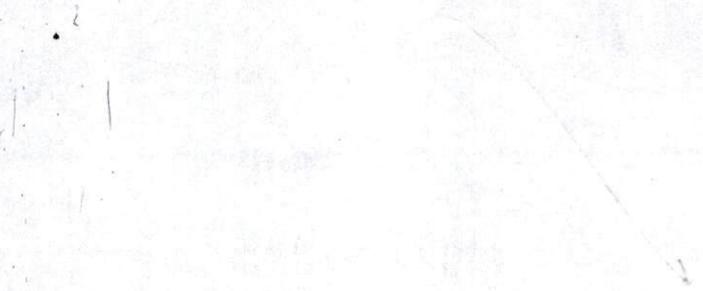
- Content - ok

- Further Enrich your Subject Matter

- Quote like Suggestions

- Quote Accountability B.N. Lokesh Best Practices in Corporate Governance

21  
C



Handwritten notes, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. The text is mostly illegible due to fading and blurring, but some words like "A", "B", "C", "D", "E", "F", "G", "H", "I", "J", "K", "L", "M", "N", "O", "P", "Q", "R", "S", "T", "U", "V", "W", "X", "Y", "Z" and "1", "2", "3", "4", "5", "6", "7", "8", "9", "0" are visible.