

GSSCORE

An Institute for Civil Services

IAS TOPPER'S TEST COPY

KUNAL RASTOGI

AIR **15** CSE
2023

POLITICAL SCIENCE

ACCESS **400+**
TOPPER'S COPIES



8448496262



iasscore.in

GSSCORE

An Institute for Civil Services

We are MAINS...



**THE MOST EXPERIENCED & SEASONED
SUBJECT EXPERTS**

Access

**400+
TOPPERS
COPIES**



Scan QR Code
to get the copies

Only **SCORE** Matters!

#SCOREmatters



**MAINS
CLASSES**



**MAINS
TEST SERIES**



**ETHICS
& ESSAY**



**MAINS
OPTIONAL**

- POL. SCIENCE ■ HISTORY ■ GEOGRAPHY
- SOCIOLOGY ■ PUB. AD. ■ ANTHRO. ■ LAW



8448496262



iasscore.in

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.

Name Kunal Rastogi

Mobile No. _____

Date 11/11/18Signature Kunal Rastogi

1. Invigilator's Signature _____

2. Invigilator's Signature _____

SECTION-A

Attempt all questions:

1. Answer the following questions in about 150 words each: (12.5 × 4 = 50)

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

Indian National leaders were in a dilemma as to how to counter the superior British military and administration organisation.

The method of prayer, protest and petition employed by the Moderates like M.R. Ranade, Dadabhai Naoroji had failed.

The first method was proposed by Aurobindo which was method of passive resistance. Under this, individual will not cooperate with the British administration in terms of paying taxes, laws etc. Swadeshi buy Indian goods, following goods will be promoted. The movement was to remain non-violent, ~~not~~ because of fear of colonial repression. However Gandhi opposed

Remarks

the above & gave method of Satyagraha
It was

~~Love force~~ It was an expanded version
~~Satyagraha~~ of passive resistance. Gandhi

~~truth force~~ got the idea from

~~Thoreau & Ruskin~~ Bond "Unto the last."

In this method,
passive resistance was to be followed,

along with non-violence not because of
one's weakness but due to one's strength

Gandhi considered Satyagraha

to be superior to passive Resistance because

① Satyagraha attempts to change the hearts
& minds of adversary through personal

suffering

② Satyagraha brings permanent change

whereas passive resistance results in tactical
retreat

③ Satyagraha represents moral superiority

whereas passive resistance represents

cowardice

Even though Nehru, Patel were
initially not in favour but looking at

Remarks

Gandhis explanation, & its permanence,
satyagraha - Truth shall win over the
motto adopted by congress for India's
independence.

(b) The concept of non-violence was
employed by Gandhiji to lead India
to independence against a much
militarily & organisationally strong
British.

The concept of non-violence or
Ahimsa is not only non-violent in action
but also in mind & spirit. It inculcates
non-hatred towards the opponent as well
as using personal suffering to gain
moral advantage.

Gandhiji first got inspiration
from Bhagwad Gita, however its political
usage was inspired through thoroughaus
and Aurobindos Passive Resistance. This
method according to him is employed
in cases where the opponent is militarily

Remarks

Strong and armed Revolution not possible.
Francis Hutchins calls Gandhi as Martin
politician for this method and Humayun
Kabir further reinforces the above
This method was successfully
used by Nkrumah for African Revolution.
Martin Luther King used Ahimsa for civil
Rights movement in USA whereas Nelson
Mandela used it for anti-apartheid
Resistance.

Lucian Pye further mentions that
the new Social Movements including
LGBTQ+ Environmentalist Movement use
Ahimsa as foundation, appealing to the
liberal understanding of human nature.

Bipin Chandra Pratap Singh
Mehta and the fractional perspective
of Ahimsa where people have used it
as political tool for destabilisation.
JP movement in India.

Feminist like Vandana Shiva,
Bella hooks use Ahimsa to back Eco-feminism

Remarks

Showing the oppressive nature of man could only be renewed through Ahimsa.

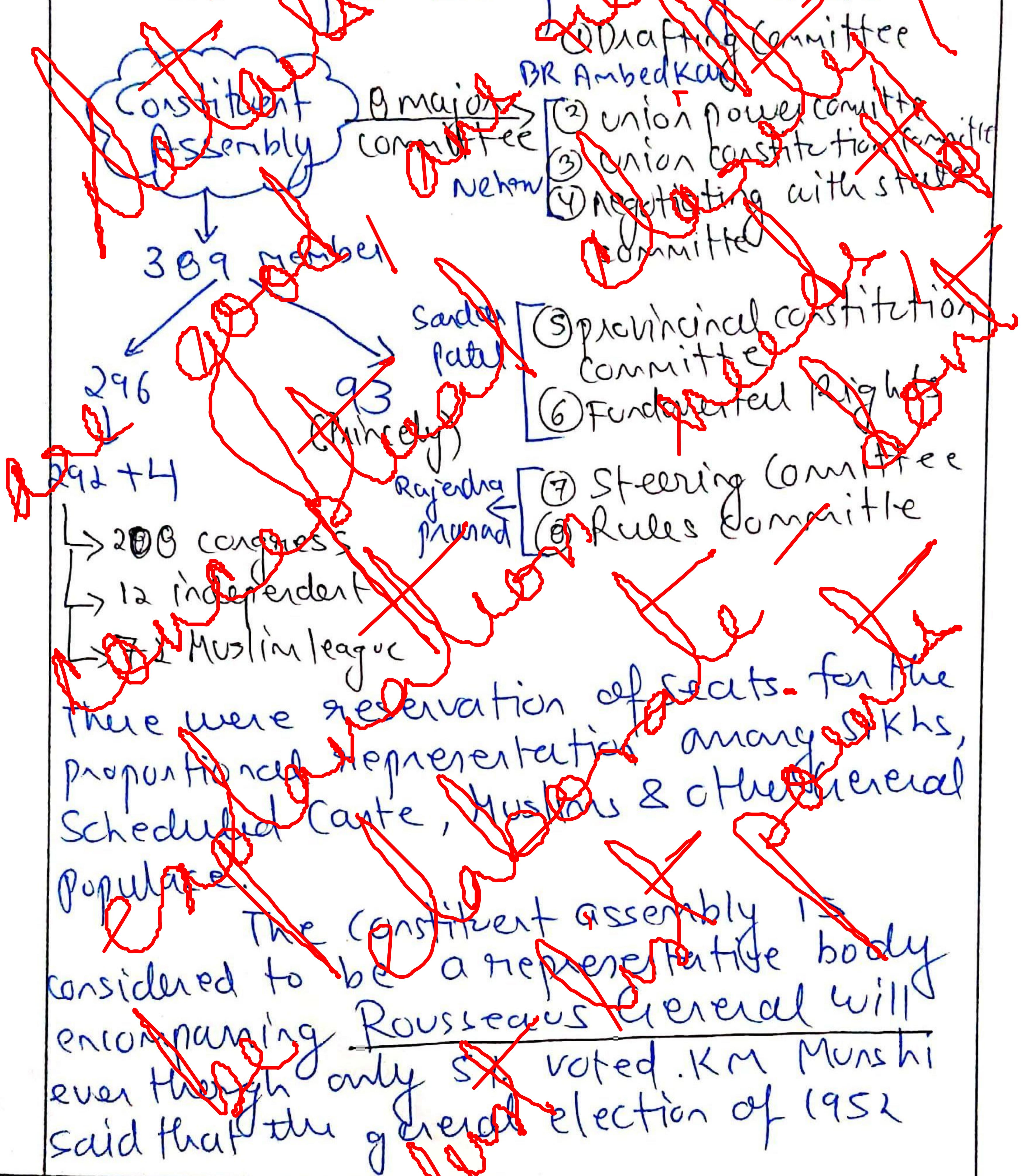
Even certain Marxist have started following Ahimsa as explained by Partha Chatterjee. CPI of India is one such.

Ahimsa is a timeless under which can be employed in a situation where oppression is militarily stronger to change his perspective. In todays world, where organised government is normal, people can employ for the above for emancipation.

(c) The constituent assembly was formed in 1946 using the cabinet mission plan, responsible for formulating the constitution of free India. In total it met for 2 years 11 months 10 days, undertaking three readings contemplating 7653 amendments to finally come up with the holy grail. In order to be more comprehensive in its representation the constituent assembly undertook proportional

Remarks

representation according to population and nomination from the Princely state



Remarks

was actually the referendum on the constitution, as the makers of it were also elected to form government.

Hence as Dr Ambedkar stated, the constituent assembly rightly represented the wish of the people even though there were critique like Winston Churchill who said constituent Assembly is an instrument of Brahmins. Granville Austin stated that although constituent Assembly was majorly made of congress, it was representative, because India was congress.

(d) The Socialist perspective of freedom struggle systematically developed after 1917 Russian Revolution as a way to counter act the growing marxist influence.

The Socialist narrative was substantial equality in the society using the Indian national movement as a tool.

Although before Russian Revolution, socialist influence informed Sorabjee, Apunba Ghose, Pramitosh Bose, was there, who

Remarks

actively participated in the swadeshi movement, promoting local goods, setting up indigenous factories, supporting workers' strikes.

However, after 1918, socialist narrative was engrained in larger movement. Bhagat Singh HRSA participated in Peasant movements, whereas Lala Lajpat Rai formed All India Trade Union Congress as mean to mobilise workers.

In 1934, Congress Socialist Party was created to vet out the fears of self-alternating Acharya Narendra Dev as medium. Ram Manohar Lohia, Jayaprakash Narayan were also instrumental in Kakuh Narayan. Gandhi ever promoted socialism using his trusteeship model & Sarvodaya principle. Hence Socialist were incomplete support of the National Movement because they knew that until foreign imperialism was kicked out, the substantial equality cannot be achieved. Looking at above ever congress under Nehru and Bose adopted socialism as their goal in (1937) congress session.

Remarks

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)

The Colonial perspective of Indian National Movement was based on Lewis Namier.
Principle of Patron-client Relationship between the savage Indians & orientalist (Edward Said) white man buncles (mindset of British). It is generally promoted in form of two schools.

(1) Imperialist School: British considered it their divine mission to bring order in the world by bringing & installing their political apparatus in savage societies. This school was promoted by Lord Dufferin, Lord Curzon who considered the Indian National Movement as just a response to the disciplining stimulus.

(2) Cambridge School: They never considered Indian National Movement as a freedom struggle, because according to them India

Remarks

10/10

was never a nation but a geographical territory. The subjects who revolted were just trying to subdue others in their competition to gain most out of British Benevolence. Gallagher & Seal are the prime proponents of the above.

- Hence colonial perspective of the Indian national movement sought to
- (1) Undermine the freedom struggle and its noble ideals.
 - (2) Refuse to identify India's composite culture & nationalistic fervour of its people
 - (3) Self glorify the British traditions and their benevolence in trying to bring order.
 - (4) Establish that British rule in India was good for its citizens as it brought political, economical & social stability

Remarks

To repudiate the above, the Nationalistic perspective was created. It contained

① To establish India as an ancient culture having its own unique identity. For ex Aurobindo spiritual nationalism, Bal Gangadhar Tilak ~~rejuvenating~~ revivalism of Hindu culture through Ganesh Chaturthi shivaji festival.

- ② The drain theory of wealth was given by Dadabhai Naoroji to expose that British Raj is not benevolent but a despot as it is looting India.
- ③ Finally Gandhi's Gacchian approach using non-violent methods won used to convert the elitist class based freedom struggle to mass based National movement. Bipin Chandra called this perspective as authentic & Indian national movement. It was a spectacular event which encompassed an idea of anti-imperialism, inclusivity & Sarvodaya.

However this was not accepted

Remarks

by the Marxist scholars. RP Dutt "India Today" and AR Desai's Social Condition of Indian National Movement. According to Marxist the Nationalistic perspective is flawed because

① The Indian National movement wanted by the elites for the emancipation of the elite

② MN Roy said, that Gandhian movement was a bourgeoisie movement looking for favours for the rich zamindars than

③ the Subalterns were neither part of the movement nor were there any benefits accrued to them as a result of freedom

④ The freedom was transferred from foreign british imperialist to indigenous Indian elites bypassing subalterns on no radical land reforms will take place

⑤ MN Roy criticised Gandhi for his chakna Economics, as it favoured traditional

Remarks

Handed eliter.

(b) Sudipto Kaviraj criticised Indian National Movement for its exclusivity from peasant problems, workers problems and favour of traditional conservative Hindu eliter.

Hence Marxist leaders never recognised India's independence till 1956 Palaphat conference, all the time demanding for a second true Revolution.

(2b) Bipin chandra defines India's national movement under Gandhian leadership as perfect implementation of Gramscian approach to defeat an opaque state. British rule in India was a semi-authoritarian, semi-democratic benevolent despot because it ruled not only via naked military force, but also through certain innovative approaches like

Remarks

- ① Introduction of legeslative council to vent out political grievance introduced through Council Act 1862.
- ② Introduction of railways in 1853, telegraph in 1851.
- ③ Modern Anglicised Education System through Macaulay recommendation and Woods' Report.

The above created an illusion that British rule was not only militarily invincible but also benevolent in action. Leaders like MH Ranade described it as Blessing in disguise, Naraoji as harbingers of justice & modernity.

Hence Gadhvi followed Gramscian two-fold approach to first establish the historical bloc and then use it for total revolution.

- ① War of Position: In this phase Gadhvi used the Struggle - Truce - Struggle strategy. With the help of mass movements, using non-violence method like champaran.

Remarks

satyagraha, Kheda satyagraha, Non-cooperation movement Gandhi achieved two fold objective.

① allowed to attract mass populace who earlier were afraid of Revolutionary violent means.

② British were in dilemma if they didn't disperse the crowd, Gandhi would raise in stature, on the other hand violence would expose the malign nature of British.

British used violence more often than act via the Tallianwalla Bhag Massacre, execution of Bhugat Singh, Lathi charge that killed Lala Lajpat Rai.

③ War of Manovere: The above repressive acts exposed that British use was no benevolence rather the facade of their goodness was removed. Their altior motives of exploitation was revealed.

This made entire nation question the British Motives in India.

Remarks

It helped in converting Indian populace from class in itself to clan for itself.

The historical block was formed using organic intellectual like Nehru, Patel, an all out war in the form of quit India movement was declared.

After the manufactured consent obtained through unsavory means was removed via Gandhi's slogan of non-violence, Gandhi gave the slogan for do or die and mobilised the population through Quit India Movement. It was the most Gandhian, uncontrollable & violent means of protest, but as Gandhi said necessary to remove an opponent who himself was ruling through unjustified means.

Hence Gandhi as Francis Hatching and Homayun Kabin explain was a master politician & strategist, Gandhi strategically positioned himself to counter first hegemonic consensus & then subsequently attack its base.

For this reason, Bipin Chandra calls it a spectacular movement.

Remarks

SECTION-B

Attempt all questions:

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

 $(12.5 \times 4 = 50)$

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

As Susan Moller Okin says, woman due to pandemic have been subjected to the triple burden - covid-19 virus, patriarchy and poverty related issues.

Liberals like Susan Strange, believe that covid-19 has curtailed the political, civil & social rights of woman. Enforced lockdowns, lack of access to Education and household chores have reduced not only women's mobility but chances for empowerment. Domestic violence, firing from jobs are common site as existing laws are not being properly enforced by the respective governments.

Marxist believe that the economic rights of woman are curtailed. Indiscriminate loss of jobs amongst women

Remarks

because of lack of enforcement mechanism of existing labour laws further amplify problems. Social security schemes like free food, cylinders, health care benefits are not being able to reach women because of their lack of mobility.

In these tough times National Commission for woman, whose foundational values are based on 1975 "Declaration of Mexico" & equality report of 1974 is trying to provide legal aid and alleviate some of the sufferings.

- ① trying to provide legal aid and assistance to women who are subjected to domestic violence
- ② collaborated with Ministry of woman and child development to establish Garima Kendra's for homeless woman.
- ③ Take out slogan for vaccines awareness using Television & social media
- ④ Educate and create awareness through

Remarks

extension schemes regarding various Govt schemes like PM GAYA, Pushan Abhiyan, free cylinder in UJWALA scheme etc.

Hence a multi-dimensional approach has been taken, trying to address all the three burdens, especially one associated with covid-19

(b) Granville Austin describes the preamble to be a "revolutionary document" revealing the inner minds of the constitution makers. KM Munshi further adds on to above by stating that Preamble is the horizon scope of the Indian Constitution.

The Preamble was the last document added to the constitution, acting as a book of ideals encompassed in the constitution. It sets the foundation principles on which India was built upon - sovereign, Socialist, Secular, democratic & Republic.

Remarks

Together with this, it also describes justice envisaged in the constitution. Lord Bryce states that to measure excellence of nation, measure its judicial outlook. Hence Preamble goes far subs ~~to~~ ^{to} Justice - Political, social & economic justice. Together with this it also talk about equality - equality of states and opportunity in the form of social justice.

It also inculcates Immanuel Kant's belief of dignity, which is annexed in Preamble.

The above qualities help the executive & legislature in developing public policy as described by the AK Chopra's case.

In Bezwadi's case, Supreme Court further said that Preamble is to act as a light house in providing guidance.

Finally in Keyhan Nanda Bharat case, Supreme Court through its interpretation of preamble, stated

Remarks

that the constitution acts as the general will of the people.

Hence preamble is a ~~foreword~~ cornerstone document. Ivan Jennings calls it as one of the most revolutionary documents in line with Magna Carta of UK, Bill of Rights of USA.

(c) The Marxist are very critical of the Indian National Movement. In fact most of them believe that India did not gain independence in 1947, a reality they believed till 1956 Palghat conference.

The Marxist perspective of the Indian National Movement is popularised by R P Dutt and A R Desai.

According to them the Indian National movement was a bougeoisie movement comprised of the elites of the Indian Society looking for transfer

Remarks

of power from the British imperialist to indigenous capitalist. The viewpoint of the subaltern class - dalits, ST, PWD, peasants were either understood nor propagated.

RP dutt gives the following examples to substantiate the argument

① Gandhi's 11 demands not including land reforms for political participation of the down trodden.

② Mahatma Satyagraha, Temple entry movements, Workers strike were not supported by the provisional Govt. For ex Bomabazar trade dispute act was introduced by Jeville labour union.

③ No support was given by Congress to the Mappillah labourers or the Eka movement which involved going against traditional landed aristocracy.

Hence Sudipto Kaviraj along with M N Roy term the Indian National movement as an attempt to consolidate power among the elite. Hence they call

Remarks

for a second Revolution. CP Ramaswamy Iyer called for a second revolution to overthrow the Congress after 1947 as it did not reflect the thoughts of the Indian people.

(d) The Directive Principle of State policy (DPSR), according to Ambedkar is a novel feature of the Indian Constitution. Although its root can be traced to the Irish Constitution, yet the traits and features of it are unique to Indian condition.

Ambedkar holds these principles to be fundamental in the governance of the country (Art 36), but does not make them enforceable in court of law due to paucity of Resources. He considers that once political Rights are given to people, with time social & Economic Rights given in DPSR will automatically have to be implemented due to electoral pressure.

Remarks

Hence Granville Austin states that DPSP tries to make Social & Economic democracy out of India. However there are lot of criticism of above.

(1) Since DPSP are not enforceable as part III, the Socio-economic aspirations are at bottom of political matter (K.M Munshi).

(2) Ivon Jennings term DPSP as veritable dustbin of values as they are inconsistent and contradictory. For ex "prohibition of intoxicating substance" is in contradiction to article 39.

(3) TT Krishnamachari called DPSP as superfluous values because the level of commitment made in them are not possible to meet with Indian values & traditions. For ex Uniform Civil Code against article 25, 26 which are Fundamental Rights. Inspite of above DPSP provides a anchor point towards which the Indian society needs to progress to.

to full fill Indian's trust with destiny

Remarks

6. 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) The parliament, often touted as the temple of democracy, is the supreme law making body, accountable institution for executive in a parliamentary democracy such as India.

Indian constitution creates Indian parliament under article 79 of the constitution and by virtue of being a parliamentary democracy also gives the mechanism of creation of executive from parliament in article 74.

However there has been a constant decline in the Indian parliament as elaborated by Morris Jones.

① Imported institution

② Deep social cleavages

③ Plebiscitization of democracy

The above act as foundational bed rock

Remarks

and
uni-

of problems ailing the Indian democracy. Shankar & Rodriguez further describe the decline of parliament in three stages.

Stage I (1947 - 1967)

- ① Morris Jones describe it as Concealed Nehruvian presidency.
- ② During this phase parliament functioned under the control of Nehru, who due to his exalted stature was not questioned. Moreover, most of the members were either elites, or had become one due to their foreign education. Hence, problem of subalterns was not discussed.
- ③ Moreover, members were part-time politicians.

Stage II (1967 - 1990)

- ④ Due to green revolution, linguistic reorganisation of states, Rudolph & Rudolph claim that there was upsurge of the ~~democrat~~ bullock capitalist. These brought money.

Remarks

and muscle power. Green revolution uplifted a large number of middle class farmers who started asserting their rights resulting in fragmentation of politics.

- ① Cabinet was converted into Kitchen Cabinet, resulting in what Yogendra Yadav says deinstitutionalisation of govt & democracy. Hence Parliament was reduced to a rubber stamp.
- ③ The two above resulted in lack of discussion, authoritarian tendency

Phase III (1990 - present)

- ① Era of Coalition Politics due to Bidyut Chakravarty's statement
- ② Above phenomena there is criminalisation of politics
- ③ According to Lokniti, 34% of MPS have criminal history.
- ④ Above also has resulted in corruption

Due to all the above phases, the Parliament is on a continuous declining trajectory.

Remarks

① Committee System has deteriorated due to lack of interest by the parliamentarians. Lack of Education, short tenure, non-remedial nature has eroded the System. PRS Legislative Survey states only 25% bills recommended to committee instead of 71% in 2009 Lok Sabha

② The average number of days for which the session sits is only 65 days as opposed to earlier 100 days

③ The number of bills passed has reduced to 151 in 2014 Lok Sabha as opposed to 251 in 2004 Lok Sabha

④ During covid important sessions like the zero hour was removed giving no way to opposition to question

⑤ Politicisation of the post of speaker resulting in biased decisions. For ex a large controversy erupted over Aadhar named a money bill

Remarks

Hence elimination of all above has seriously eroded credibility of the Parliament. Pratap Bhau Mehta & Devenh Kapoor has stated that parliament is a self serving institution. Moreover Christopher Jaffrelot attributes parliament the reason for corrupting law from Rule of India from Rule of Law to Rule of Money. In order to remove above, notably rigorous electoral reforms like of Vokha committee, Mallinath committee, Dinesh Goswami committee and enhancement of legislation bill must also be passed. but efficiency commission started by Venkatchalliah minimum 100 days of work per year as a starting way forward.

(h) Lord Bryce states "The excellence of a particular country is measured by the excellence of its judicial system."

Remarks

The same is true for the Indian state as well. With time, and due to coalition politics, Pratap Bham Mehta has said that India has turned into judicial sovereignty with judicial governance.

Further Deverk Kapoor has said that in name of judicial independence judiciary has become "self serving, paradoxical & self perpetuating institution". Lan Rajmaniya further adds, that due to stringent provisions of the constitution judiciary has become ill equipped to perform its constitutional mandate because it is focussing on others domain breaching separation of power.

The above has resulted in over 60000 cases to be pending in supreme court. Nari Palkhiwala states that closest thing to a tenity is progress of civil case in judiciary. The major reason for above

Remarks

is lack of accountability mechanism.

① The contempts of court Act prohibit civil engagement in the form of social accountability due to risk of imprisonment.

For ex Prashant Bhushan case

② Lack of external oversight mechanism
The Judicial oversight bill, set to regulate judicial behaviour, was not implemented resulting in only internal mechanism to hear complaint against judges done behind closed door. For ex sexual allegation against previous CJI was disposed by himself resulting in violation of principle of natural justice.

③ No code of conduct or Code of Ethics
The Bangalore Code of private conduct guidelines are the only provisions resulting in judges getting convicted of corruption like Allahbad scam, Ghaziabad Carter. For ex Justice Loya Scam.

Remarks

④ RTI only applicable for the CJI office

One of the biggest threats to accountability is the selection procedure of next judge. In constituent assembly, Ambedkar stated that judges selecting judges would create "imperium in imperio", "state within state"

violating checks & balance.

Hence executive selecting judges with priori consultation was mechanism opined under 124

However judiciary through the three judges case reduced executive to a rubber stamp and establishing

collegium system.

The collegium system, as elaborated by Katju is a failed system

because

① No transparency in selection procedure as minutes are not subject to public release

② Executive can only refuse once the recommendation which on subsequent naming must be accepted

③ Judges follow no rational parameters which are publicly known

Hence 99th Constitutional Amendment Act introduced National judicial Appointment Commission for recommendation of names of judges.

NJAC 2 senior most SC judges
union law minister

2 civil society
responsible for recommendation

A panel from above an Law commission
259th Report suggest, the contempt of
courts act must be re-evaluated.

National litigation mission should
be implemented to reduce pendency
in judiciary.

A serious evaluation regarding
the introduction of All India judicial
service should be considered.

Plato said justice is the architectonic idea
which any modern society needs. Hence
India must reform its 20th century
judiciary to succeed in the 21st century

Remarks

Q. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Discuss Peasant Movements Perspectives on Indian National Movement.
(300 Words) (25)
- (b) Discuss the essential elements in the Gandhian strategy of struggle against British imperialism.
(300 Words) (25)

The peasants perspective of the Indian national movement highlight the contribution of the peasants in the political, social and economical emancipation from the british. The peasant movements do not represent a monolithic form of protest but has evolved with time inculcating various ideologies and amalgamating.

The first phase was in the pre 1900, specifically between 1800-1900. They were localised, spontaneous leaderless movements often not specifically against the british, but the zamindars, in whose defence the british army inevitably came. The first

Remarks

Such was the Indigo revolt in 1859-60 due to artificial production of synthetic dye in Germany, the prices of Indigo plummeted, not the revenue being extracted from zamindars. Hence indigo planters revolted. Similar was the pabna revolt in Bengal or the deccan cotton revolt. In both the above peasant first revolted against local zamindar but the revolt subsequently targeted British.

Second phase was during 1900-1920's. By this time the consciousness had developed against the British due to Dadabhai Naoroji, Drain theory. Moreover leaders like Gandhi, Nehru & Patel were acting as Gramscian organic intellectuals. Champaran Satyagraha, Kheda satyagraha, Eka Revolt, Mappillah Rebellion all are examples of peasant movements. The nature of these movements are secular.

Remarks

local and certain economic concessions are what they demand. The peasants apart from them also participated in non-cooperation Movement.

The third phase occurs in the 1930's & 1940's. This is the mature phase of the revolt. Here the peasants have gained class consciousness and have transformed from clan in itself to class for itself. A broader outlook towards British imperialist policy is developed. And the main aim of the movement is not economic concession but British removal of India. Also there is an all India character in the movement because of formation of All India Kisan Sabhas by Swami Sahajanand Saraswati. Moreover Marxist organisation like CPI are also sympathetic towards peasants cause. The Telangana movement, led against the

Remarks

Razakars by Telangana Communists party obtained a Marxist revolutionary orientation. Tebhaga movement in Bengal was also such.

Hence the peasant movements, which started as Socialist movements, a means for equitable distribution by the end of British Revolution had become Marxist revolutionary movements with an aim of emancipation of poor. During the early phase, CPI had huge sway among farmer & peasants, yet peasants did not support their call of staying away from Quit India movement. Instead they actively participated in it. In nutshell, peasant movement played an important role in political mobilisation & political socialization of the rural area, which was necessary for Gandhiji's Sugrahan movement. It was for this reason that Shekhar Bandopadhyay

Remarks

calls the peasant movement as the backbone of Indian national movement. Bipin Chandra terms it rightly as the keystone of Indian independence.

(b) The British rule in India was semi-democratic, semi-authoritarian regime who not only used naked force to rule, but also used hegemony to control the minds of the people. Shashi Tharoor states that the British had colonised the minds of the Indians.

Shekhar Bandyopadhyay states that the British had created hegemony using

① building railways in 1853 & introducing telegraph lines in 1851

② Democratic institution of Indian Legislative Council through councils act 1861, 1893, 1909 etc.

Remarks

- ③ Introducing modern education system through Woods Dispatch, Saddle University Commission, Hartog Committee
④ Indianization of Civil Services and recruitment of the Indians in the British Army
⑤ Destroying India's native culture, by belittling their beliefs, traditions, calling them as savages & their culture as ancient dogmas
⑥ By using force like in Anglo-Saxon wars, Battle of Plassey, Buxar etc., British developed overarching military supremacy.

Therefore, for a successful revolution, people first needed to be made aware that the British rule as Mu Ramade hand ~~#~~ said was not a blessing in disguise.

Hence Gandhi undertook the classical Gramscian approach

Remarks

to alleviate the false conceptions.

① Ways of Position: In the first phase Gandhi needed to create a historical block by lifting the veil of benevolence over the British. Here Gandhi used ways

② Satyagraha: Truth fence. Francis Hutchin stated that Gandhi was a master politician. Gandhi in order to mobilise large masses could not use violence, because women, older people couldn't participate. Hence satyagraha through non-violence was used

③ Ahimsa & Swadeshi: Humayun Kabir stated that Gandhi was a master psychologist. Hence Gandhi in order to first inculcate respect for local customs, traditions and culture, promoted swadeshi. Once people had again become connected to self, he launched

Remarks

The non-cooperation movement & the civil disobedience movement. This act only mobilised the masses but also revealed the true face of the British government. As they used force against ahimsa satyagrahis. Dadasaheb, Pather, Chatterjee

~~(3) Principle of Faunal Succession~~

~~stated that Cenozoic faunas have evolved from older ones.~~

~~This is modelled to reconstruct ancient environments & geological evolution.~~

~~class contains "oldest"~~

~~the mass is class conscious & antiyodayer, "Upliftment slogan resonated of all - This particular & urban poor clan consciousness~~

④ Sauvodaya & Antyodayer slogan by creating a common religion: Christopher Jaffrelot suggest that Gandhi used perhaps took advantage of Khilafat, that Gandhi took idiom of Ranvirya type sauvodaya used teach & every mobilise masses.

Kan
mobilise masses.
Gandhi knew used each & every
method at his disposal against
of position?
movement for his final Gramscian
war of manoeuvre.