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SARA ASHRAF

RANK - 316

POLITICAL SCIENCE TEST - 6



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GS SCORE

TEST - 06

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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. Invigilator's Signature _____

2. Invigilator's Signature _____

Name Sara Ashraf

Mobile No. _____

Date _____

Signature Sara Ashraf

REMARKS

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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

(a) Passive Resistance is provided by both Anubindo Ghosh representing Extremist view and Gandhi belonging to the moderate view.

Passive Resistance was advocated to fight off the British Imperialism. Its techniques including - boycott of foreign clothes & universities and schools, giving up professions of Lawyer, Army and etc. It was resorted to as active resistance (Direct Confrontation).

Wasn't viable and possible in the Indian context thus

Remarks

Gandhis Satyagraha (insistence on truth - Satyagraha) represents a superior model and alternative to Passive Resistance. Satyagraha is employed during fight between good & evil.

A Satyagrahi doesn't hate the evil doer but the evil. His aim is to transform the evil doer by appealing to his Consciousness / conscience. It is founded on principles of love and fraternity. It is not easy, hence only courageous can adopt it. Further, Satyagraha like Passive Resistance is not a matter of choice but a matter of conviction. Gandhis Passive / Truce Phases represented manifestation of Satyagraha. There was no harm towards the evil doer or his property (like boycotting & burning).

(b) 'Non-violence' or the Gandhias conception of Ahimsa was adopted by several leaders like Abdul Gaffar Khan as well as Nelson Mandela to fight the ~~anti~~ apartheid government. Gandhi called "non-violence his creed and religion".

It holds relevance utmost today in domestic sphere when we see rising intolerance, majority fundamentalism and instances of ~~lynchings~~, honor killing and rape incidents.

For Gandhi suggested "I want the cultures of all lands to flow freely in my house but I refuse to be blown off my feet by any". It provides

Remarks

Non-Violent Resistance

a perfect marker to rising cases of intolerance.

Ahimsa is relevant not just in human sphere but also towards plants and animals. For Gandhi took a broad view of Non-violence. Lack of it has resulted in environmental degradation and climate change. Hence, we need ideals of non-violence today to stop exploitation of the ecology, illegal mining and address global warming.

Ahimsa also relevant is International Relations when we see rising militarisation of land as well as seas/oceans, increasing stock of nuclear weapons.

Hence, adopting a broader view of Non-violence, we can address challenges of today.

Remarks

(c) Parliament is considered a mirror of the society representing the nature. The Constituent Assembly also represented the society then.

It was majority dominated by Brahmins who were western-educated and adhered to western lifestyles e.g. as seen in Nehru and Jinnah. Dalit leaders like Ambedkar and peasant leaders like Jayendra Prasad were exceptions.

With respect to the profession, it majority constituted of lawyers - hence the resultant Constitution is called as "lawyers' paradise"

Remarks

Out of the total 39 299 members, only 15 women members were part of the Constituent Assembly like Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur, Hansa Mehta and Sarojini Naidu. But all belonging to elite upper class families.

Politics wasnt considered a profession or a full-time occupation as it has come to be today.

The Constituent Assembly however, didn't represent true nature of Indian Society as only 4% Indians had right to vote. Moreover, it was indirectly elected and partially nominated (by the Princely States).

Remarks

(d) socialist Perspective on freedom struggle is represented Indian socialist like J. P. Narayan, Mos Masani and M. N. Roy. - all part of the Subaltern Perspective on Indian National Movement.

It questioned the categorisation of political activities in the Indian sub-continent from 1757 till 1947 as "national". suggesting them as Communal Movements by the Indians Bourgeoisie to gain advantages from the Colonial state. M. N. Roy called Gandhi as leader of the Bourgeoisie.

The socialist perspective puts question mark on the INC

Remarks

perspective of freedom struggle.

[Gyanendra Pandey] calling it as 'blinkered view' of Indian history.

Socialist perspective can be considered a smaller narratives in response to INC's Meta-narrative viewed from a Post-Modern school.

Despite, Socialist perspective is still relevant after Independence - J.P. Narayan called for 'Lampaone Kranti' leading anti-price rise agitation. Even today, the legislation on Farming & Agricultural Reforms and Labour Code suggest Socialist perspective is not over yet.

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)

(a) The colonialist perspective on Indians National Movement (INM) is represented by colonial administrators, historians and western scholars. They question the notion if there was any "national" movement in India.

The Indian Freedom Struggle was dominated by INC. However, Winston Churchill called INC "party of Brahmins" and Lord Dufferin referred to it as "party of microscopic minority". Thus, question the assumptions if INC represented the masses.

Remarks

The Colonialist perspective on INM comes close to Subaltern Perspective on INM who called elite historiography as "blinkered view" of freedom struggle.

further, Colonialist perspective questions the presence of the geographical entity of India. Colonial administrator R. Strachey quotes there is no India and there never was. Replying to him, moderate view S.N. Banerjee calls "India is a nation in making" while extremist view represented by Aurobindo Ghosh said There was always an India.

Cambridge School of Colonialist perspective represented by Anil Seal questions the

Remarks

legitimacy of Nationalist movements rather than
 calling the political activities in the
 subcontinent as communalist - And
 referred to INC as Indian Bourgeoisie.
 For them, INM was not national but
communal and creation of Pakistan
 is the logical result of it.

Post Modernist Edward Said's "Orientalism"

exposes the "knowledge-power
connection" of the colonialist perspective
 for their selfish interests

INM is also criticised by the Marxist
School. It questions the ideological
orientation of INC and role of Gandhi
 towards subaltern and masses. M.N. Roy
 had called Gandhi "a leader of Bourgeoisie".

Remarks

Marxist school do not view 1857 Struggle as first struggle for Independence. Rather considering it as Uprising by the peasants of the Awadh, Central Provinces and United Provinces.

While, another Marxist school Irfan Habib acknowledge the role of Gandhi in bringing together the masses with his political programmes, and the left-leaning ideological orientations of Gandhi.

However, Colonialist and Marxist share similar assumptions that INM wasn't an organic but a parasite movement - shaped by what it opposed i.e. imperialism.

Yet, both perspectives are only one-sided view of INM.

Remarks

(b) Gandhiji's political programme were rooted in his conceptions of Ahimsa, Satyagraha, Swaraj and Sarvodaya.

He changed the course of India's freedom struggle with his political programmes which were first applied in South Africa by Gandhi.

Gandhi's political programme manifested as Struggle - Truce - Struggle (S-T-S)

strategy. He deployed active and passive phases to the movement.

NCM, CWM and Quit India Movement represent the struggle phases. Through which Gandhi exposed the evil British Empire on surface.

Remarks

As it is difficult to fight an opaque state where violence is not visible. Gandhi's political programme as irritants to the Colonial masters forcing it to use violence. On Civil Disobedience, Lord Irwin suggested "doomed if you and doomed if you do not" use violence on the protestor.

The violence used by the colonial state undermined the British legitimacy and its hegemonic ideals of "Benevolent Despotism" and "White Man's Burden".

Remarks

Colonial Masters had established legitimacy using the narratives and "discourse" of Civilised West and Barbaric East.

However, its violent face in Punjab massacre (of Golden Temple) and 'Simon Go Back' protest exposed West is not Barbaric civilised as such.

Gandhi's three phases were represented by Gandhi's views on Gram Swaraj and his 'Ram Rajya', providing fight at ideological level. He categorised

~~"True Civilization" as one which doesn't exploit, isn't full of greed rather focuses on minimization of needs, and practices continuity of ends and means.~~

Remarks

All such suggestions proving British Colonial state is not a True Civilization and based on consumerism, materialism and utilitarianism.

Thus, Gandhi employed a 2-stage strategy of war of position and war of Manoeuvre fighting colonialism at both levels - physical and ideological hence perfect manifestation of Gramscian 2-stage Revolution

Gandhi's critique still relevant today in era of neo-colonialism and cheque-book diplomacy and role of advertisements and pop culture providing legitimacy to western culture and exploiting the eastern countries esp- India and Africa.

Remarks

4. Answer the following questions:

(a) Exceptional power of law-making through ordinance cannot be used as a substitute for the legislative power of the state legislature. Discuss. (300 Words) (25)

(b) Without ensuring equal rights of Dalits, political freedom had no meaning. Discuss in the light of Dalit perspective on Indian national movement. (300 Words) (25)

(a) ordinance was first introduced by the Government of India Act 1861 under Lord Canning.

It has continued since then.

Article 123 in the Indian Constitution provides with power of ordinance-making. It is an extra-constitutional device for legislation to be used for during exceptional circumstances when both the houses of Parliament and state legislature is not present. And a legislation is demanded in public interest or in the

Remarks

interest of the nation.

Lately, India has been witnessing Parliamentary decline - one major reason being frequent promulgation and re-promulgation of ordinances. As seen in case of Bihar.

Supreme Court in D.C. Wadhwa vs. State of Bihar ruled that ordinances are not parallel power of legislation, at par with the powers of the elected houses of legislature.

Due to coalition politics and policy paralysis and a result of

Remarks

executive excessivism, ordinances had been used as a measure to bypass the legislatures and scrutiny by standing committees.

Supreme Court under A.K. Roy v/s UOI puts power of ordinance-making as under judicial scrutiny of malafide intention.

It is the result of such politicization and decline of Parliament that we see a phase of Post-electoral Democracy in India. Non-elected bodies like Supreme Court, High Courts and CBI, NCRB & CAG enjoy

Remarks

most legitimacy by the electorate
and as repositories of trust

Q Indian Democracy.

To arrest this decline, we need
to have certain reforms — judicial
reforms, prison reforms and cap over
unfettered discretion of the executive —

Centre and state

with
Ordinance
by
Govt
by
Court
Details
Remarks

Discrete example of overreach

Govt's Indecisive or unfair

Concurrent in

(b) The Dalit perspective on Indian National Movement (INM) is presented in works of Phule, Periyar and Ambdekar. Mahatma Phule even calling "British Raj is better than Peshwa Raj".

The Dalit perspective questioned the meta-narrative of INC historians of a "national" movement. It further points out the failure of Indian Bourgeoisie to speak for the nation as a whole.

Ambdekar remarked that if Tilak was born an untouchable - he would

Remarks

have demanded "abolition of untouchability as his Birth Right.

Grievances of Dalit perspective are represented in INC and Gandhi's failure to address socio-economic disempowerment of Dalits and abolition of untouchability.

Ambbedkar remarked that if Dalits listened to the INC they would remain "drawers of water and drawers of wood". Even today Dalits are engaged in the most menial jobs - as scavenging and mine-hole cleaners.

Remarks

For Ambedkar, nation meant rejection of communalism and adoption of brotherhood and fraternity. He called India not a nation but a big community of communities.

for his remarks, he is criticised as anti-national by right-wing leaders like Bruj Showrie:

Since, Dalits represent a great percentage of Indian population and since Ambedkar represented the largest Indian ~~political~~ community, he cannot be called as anti-social Indian.

Remarks

Today, India has achieved political freedom for all, — one man, one vote but we failed to secure One man - one value. We have failed to realize the socio-economic potential of ^{all} communities alike.

Untouchability is still practiced in the country — Mehars and Valmikis of Rajasthan. Dalits in U.P., Bihar still treated as "subordinates".

Hence, Dalit perspective still holds relevance today, when the subalterns need to Educate, Agitate & Organise.

Remarks

SECTION-B

Attempt all questions:

5. Answer the following questions in about 150 words each: (12.5 × 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

(a) National Commission of Women (NCW)
was constituted in response to
the glaring fact-findings of the
'Towards Equality Report'. NCW still
stays relevant.

NCW's persistent relevance suggests
women inequality still exists & it has
been increased particularly after the
Covid pandemic.

The enforced mandatory lockdowns
have seen rising reporting cases

Remarks

of Domestic violence against women.

NCW reported upto 2500 cases of such violence in 24 hours. Further seeing rise of unwanted pregnancies and marital rapes

The impact on women migrant labours is equally unjust, as today out of 24%, women workforce is involved in informal jobs hence no provision of social security. Job loss impact has come down heavily on women and their families.

Covid pandemic provides a reminder of vulnerable position of women. Hence, NCW needs not just "fire fighting approach" but empowerment of women.

Remarks

(b) Preamble was first contained in GOI Act 1919. However, the Indian Preamble takes much inspiration from American Preamble - America being the oldest democracy.

Unlike USA preamble which is an opening to the Constitution. Indian Preamble entails the Indian Constitution.

It was passed in the end to ensure harmony with the ideals contained in the Constitution.

~~Ambdekar called Preamble as the opening key to the minds of the Constitution-makers.~~

Remarks

~~The significance of the Preamble / how it reflects the nature~~

The ideals contained in the Preamble - liberty (of thought, expression, belief & worship), justice (political, social, economic) and fraternity state significance of the Preamble more. In today's time of rising inequality, poverty, intolerance.

Supreme Court in Kesava Namboodiri case and LIC vs UOI called preamble as the guiding light of the Constitution emphasizing on its significance. The ideals in Preamble can be compared with Doctrine of Basic Structure necessary to see spirit of India lives.

Remarks

(i) Marxist perspective on Indians

National Movement is represented by the subaltern school of historiography and Indian Marxist scholars.

Marxist perspective questions the role of INC and Gandhi to uplift the downtrodden. M.N. Roy criticised Gandhi as "mascot of the Bourgeoisie" and INC representing the Indian Bourgeoisie.

~~It further highlights failure of the INC to represent the masses as INC only represented microscopic minority.~~

Remarks

However, the Marxist perspective is divided over the role of Gandhi ji. Scholars like Arifan Hobib acknowledge Gandhi organised the masses and indeed provided a left-orientation to the freedom struggle.

Marxist perspective is relevant even today when we see rising inequality - India's top 10% hold 78% of wealth (Oxfam).

However, from a post-modernist view, Marxist perspective is a smaller narrative to the Meta-narrative of INC.

Remarks

(d) Directive Principles of state (D.P.S.P.)
Policy are presented in Part IV
of the Constitution from Article
36 to 52.

D.P.S.P.s acts as instruments of instruction to the central and state governments in bringing socio-economic equality. However, it is not legally justiciable - it is major criticism.

Another criticism being it is not logically ordered or arranged as we see in case of fundamental rights.

Remarks

Further, since DPSUs depend on the will of the state, only few provisions like Article 40 on Gram Panchayats are manifested through 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act.

Article 46 represented by Schedule 5, 6 and Prevention of Atrocities (SC/ST) Act and reservation in Parliament and State legislature.

Being unenforceable, there is no separate allocation of resources to fulfill its objectives. Today India of 2020 is not India of 1950, which lacked ~~resources~~. Hence, we must consider giving DPSUs its due importance.

*Important with
regards to
our final
exams
and its
future*

7. 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)

(a) The Peasant Movements Perspectives on Indian National Movement is represented by the Subalterns School of historiography. It questions if the 'National' movement was indeed national.

Peasant Perspectives suggests there was no national movements but autonomous movements by Peasants. There were independent peasant struggles - Santal, Kol, Munda and Chuar uprising. whereas, INC

Remarks

suggests it was the coming of Gandhi on the national scene which consolidated peasants and first such movement was 'Gudigo Rebellion 1916' of peasants.

The Peasant perspective comes close to the views of Cambridge School scholars like Anil Seal who suggest it was not a national movement but a 'communal movement' by the INC. Calling INC a party of the microscopic minority.

From a post-modernist view, peasant

Remarks

perspective represent a smaller-narrative to the meta-narrative provided by INC.

Further, Peasants perspectives question the failure of INC bourgeoisie to speak for the nation as a whole:

[Rajit Guha] called INC perspective a "blinkered view" of India's history.

Peasants even today are in a desert state in the country. The process of Green Revolution brings no socio-economic upliftment of the peasants. It has furthered widened the gap between agriculturalists (farmers) and agricultural laborers.

Remarks

Economists like V.K. R. V. Rao suggest statistics show decline in agriculture usages post Green Revolution. The era of neo-liberalisation and Globalisation have further exposed farmers to price fluctuations. According to NCRB Data, at least one farmer attempts suicide every 30 min.

The unfulfilled promise of Land Reforms is further grievance of the peasant community. Gyanendra Pandey suggests

JNM is unfulfilled given the peasants

constitute a large community.

Remarks

(b) British imperialism ruled India's subcontinent for over 200 years.

The coming of Gandhi on the political scene dramatically transformed the freedom struggle.

British imperialism legitimised its programme of colonialism with myth and discourses like 'Benevolent Despotism' and 'White Man's Burden'.

suggesting child-like, Barbaric East needs masculine, Civilised West to bring about its transformations.

Gandhi successfully countered the myth with his essentialist element.

Remarks

The Essentialist school suggests two communities are antagonistic and their interests are always at odds with each other. Hence; any reconciliation of interests is impossible.

Gandhi incorporated the essential elements in his strategy to fight the British Imperialism.

His conception of Satyagraha in context on Indian struggle labelled colonial empire as 'evil' and Indian state as 'truth'. Hence, is the fight of truth against evil, a Satyagrahi.

Remarks

is bound to win; applying logic of
Dialectics. Further, Gandhi called
 Indians "Ram Rajya" as "True Civilization"
 and Colonial Imperial state as
Evil and Satanic.

Gandhi used his conception of
swaraj to provide a critique
 to Modern Civilization represented
 by the Imperial state. Swaraj implied
 not just 'rule by self' but also
'rule over self' - discipline over one's
 desires. Hence, charity and humanism
 are Indian civilizational ethos also
 needed for Gandhi's model of
Tolerance, whereas Imperial state
 based on concessions & utilitarianism
 is in contrast to India's state.

Remarks

Gandhi's idea of Swa 'Ahamga' and Indian culture of Pacifism and Vasudeva Kutumbakam also come in direct confrontation to British evil empire based on force and violence.

Gandhi's idea of political Iswaraj coinciding with views of Aurobindo Ghosh prove Indians ^{do} not need British Rule but are very much capable of governing themselves.

Today, the essential element in relations between states is presented by Marxist I. Wallerstein's World Systems Theory.

The neo-colonialism of today makes Gandhian elements relevant even in the 21st century.

Remarks