



# POLITICS FOR INDIA

Complete PSIR Solution for UPSC-CSE

## PSIR Test Series

|                  |     |
|------------------|-----|
| Test             | 1   |
| Max. Marks       | 120 |
| No. of Questions | 8   |

|                |                         |
|----------------|-------------------------|
| Date           | July 8, 2024            |
| Duration       | 1.5 hours               |
| Topics Covered | Section 1A, Topics 9-10 |

|          |               |
|----------|---------------|
| Name:    | BLESSY THOMAS |
| Roll No: |               |

Marks Secured:

| Que. No | Max. Marks | Self-Evaluation | PFI Evaluation |
|---------|------------|-----------------|----------------|
| 1       | 10         |                 | 6              |
| 2       | 10         |                 | 4              |
| 3       | 15         |                 | 7              |
| 4       | 15         |                 | 7              |
| 5       | 15         |                 | 8              |
| 6       | 15         |                 | 8              |
| 7       | 20         |                 | 9              |
| 8       | 20         |                 | 8              |
| Total   | 120        |                 | 57             |

**Evaluator's Feedback:** Please read this after going through your evaluated copy.

Blessy,

Overall, your copy was good. I couldn't find much room for improvement. So that's a good thing.

For feedback, I'll give it in two parts i.e. Presentation and Content.

As far as presentation goes, your handwriting is good, and the writing style is clean. In terms of writing, avoid using the pronouns like he/she throughout the answer. It is advisable to mention the name of person we're referring, in between, just to keep reader on track. I've pointed it out in some places, hope you noticed it.

With regard to content, you've answered all questions the way it was expected. In fact some of your answers were very much matching with our model answers and I was pleasantly surprised. For correction part,

1) You may need to work on conclusion part a little more... Intros have been fairly good. You've connected it with question at hand. That's good.

2) One more thing that you need to do is, sometimes you don't connect the two paras very well. You just assume that examiner will understand the connection and correct accordingly. However, it is important to keep in mind that throughout our writing, we should try to make examiners task easy. If we can write in language that is easy to follow, we guide him/her through our answer, it will fetch us exceptional marks.

I was happy to evaluate your copy. We've to give similar experience to examiner as well. Also know that usually everyone performs well in these two topics i.e. IPT and WPT, so the task is not done yet. I hope you will write in similar fashion for other tests as well.

Best wishes for upcoming tests! Looking forward for next copy.

Regards,  
Abhijeet, Politics for India

**Que 1. Comment on Gandhi's views on the state. (10m)**

Gandhi has given a different outline of nature of the state. He was an anarchist who did not believe in the institution of State. He did not offer a theory of state, but based on his personal, spiritual, religious experiences, declared the institution of state is based on force.

Good introduction... you're talking about Gandhi as well as state.

He believed state and freedom are antithetical. He held that state cannot be based on his foundational principles - Ahimsa and ends and Means. State is an instrument of coercion, hence it restricts individual freedom. ~~Complete freedom was the~~ Individual freedom was the first and last goal of Gandhi.

He wanted to establish "Ram Rajya" - a stateless society. Ram rajya was based on his concept Swaraj. Gandhi's swaraj means Self-control, no need to have an external control.

✓ Even though Gandhi saw state as a necessary evil, unlike Marx, he did not advocate for abolition of states by violent means. He believed that state should provide bare minimum of protection. However, it should not be entrusted with so many functions that the man's individuality and values are compromised. <sup>Gandhi</sup> He advocated for decentralization of power, whereas state is the epitome of centralization of power. Also, he envisioned for voluntary co-operation in his 'Welfare state.' It is supposed to be a self-governing society.

Good arguments

✓ <sup>Gandhi</sup> He wanted to establish an ethical foundation of state instead of existing violent state. For him, state is not an end in itself. State could be used to promote the overall welfare of the society.

✓ As many countries are facing military coups, wars in the present world, where using state as a force, Gandhiji's perspective on state remain relevant.

Good conclusion as well.

6/10

Que 2. Discuss, 'All silencing of discussion is an assumption of infallibility' (JS Mill)  
(10m)



reduce it.

J.S. Mill, who add importance to liberty in liberalism, was a champion of free speech and expression. He considered it as fundamental value and the precious gift to man by God to express his feelings and opinions. In his book 'ON LIBERTY' he gives a comprehensive defence to the individual freedom.

Good introduction again. You've not only mentioned Mill but also his emphasis on freedom of speech...

In his work, he talks about the benefits of freedom of speech and expression.

- 1) Prevent tyranny of majority over one.
- 2) Majority should hear minority for solving their grievances.
- 3) People should allow others to speak, then only truth or false can understand.
- 4) Understanding truth is the ultimate purpose of life, which can be done by dialectics.
- 5) Even truth can emerge from a mad man.
- 6) Humans are prone to error. Hence silencing dissent prevents our errors from being corrected.

You could have paraphrased it to appear as a 'benefit'. Rather it is more like a suggestion. Writing something like... IT ALLOWS MAJORITY TO UNDERSTAND THE GRIEVANCES OF MINORITIES... would have been better.

7) Foundation of knowledge is not simply holding factually correct views. It is important to understand why certain views are correct, while some others are not.

8) Even falsehoods can improve our knowledge.

States must encourage criticism. Because,

"No state becomes great by dwarfing its own people (J.S. Mill)"

Next para, you're directly starting with example of India. Try connecting two paragraphs by using appropriate words... otherwise it breaks continuity of reader. e.g. 'To understand the views of Mill better, we can give example of pre-independence India. In 18th century, India was plagued with.....'

India was plagued with social evils

such as sati, child marriage in the earlier times. Reformers such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, expressed their dissent through speeches, books.

With the use of free speech and expression,

India gained freedom and developed as a democratic country and it is a fundamental right in India.

Thus, we can say that free speech, free enquiry and <sup>open</sup> debate are the keys to human progress

and Mill was right in emphasising the importance of freedom of speech and expression.

Overall, first part of the answer is good. Conclusion could have been better. You should have related it to Mill. I've given example of how you could have extended the conclusion to make it more relevant... try something on those lines.

Always remember, if you even run out of content, you can always give your own views on the subject matter.

4  
10

Que 3. The sole end for which mankind is warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number is self-protection. (JS Mill). Discuss. (15m)

J.S. Mill, the champion of liberty, held that liberty is a precondition for development. No state can become great by dwarfing its own people. The central concern of his book "ON LIBERTY" is to find a way to draw the line between individual freedom and social control.

You should have focused only on Harm Principle in introduction... the last sentence is relevant.. the first part, not so much.. Okay introduction.

Mill (He) spoke about the amount of freedom should be given. Here, he introduced the concept of 'HARM PRINCIPLE'. He broadly classifies human actions into two:

1) Self regarding (freedom) - "Over himself and over his body and mind, man is sovereign."

No scope for state intervention.

2) Others regarding (liberty) - The only instance where state can intervene when the action of one person harms others.

Self Harm is a choice of a person. No need to have a paternalistic authority here. Because, Mill asserts that individuals are their own best judges of their tastes and preferences. Hence, they should be permitted to make choice if they are to grow and flourish as individuals. Here Mill stresses the fact state have no right to interfere in the private life.

However, he suggests that state should inform the person about the consequences of his action. For instance, Mill does not support the banning of cigarettes. But state can provide warnings on the packet.

Also, he states that state can prevent a person by using force if that action harms the person. He explains this by giving the example of a person who is trying to cross a dilapidated bridge even after warning.

His concepts on ~~for~~ individual freedom and state control made him an 'inconsistent thinker'.

At <sup>the</sup> same times, he supports state intervention, but rejects it.

Barker called him as the prophet of Empty Liberty. Even though <sup>Mill</sup> ~~Marx~~ champions for liberty (absence of interference), he could not defend it. Very few actions are self-regarding.

Authoritarian regimes such as Fascism and Nazism interfered with the liberty of people to impose their system. Fundamental rights are granted to individuals for their overall development. State intervention is justified when one's action ~~affects~~ becomes a threat to the other.

The conclusion is relevant, but you could have connected it better. You've not established how this Mill's permission of state is used by authoritarian states to interfere in liberty of individuals... you've mentioned it, but you could have connected it better.

Overall, a good answer, to the point. Introduction and Conclusion could have been better.

7  
15

**Que 4. Discuss Sri Aurobindo's views on cultural nationalism. (15m)**

Sri Aurobindo belonged to the extremist tradition with radical views towards nationalism.

He was critical of moderates methods. He believed India is a nation from beginning and criticized moderates view of India as a nation is making. He provided New Lamps for Old. Hence, he introduced CULTURAL NATIONALISM.

Cultural nationalism refers to the recognition of culture as the base of national unity.

He was inspired by Vivekananda (Neo-Vedantism). Vivekananda held that nationalism should be the religion for youth. Likewise,

Aurobindo also considered, as religion nationalism is also divine. It is God given.

He spiritualized the concept of nation.

Inspired by German scholars, he held that every nation is a reflection of one or the other dimension of the Universal Spirit. Hence,

all humans are part of universal spirit. Through his theory of nationalism, he gave the 'integral view of humanity.'

For Aurobindo, India represent the spiritual element of universal spirit. India should fulfill its divine mission to spread spirituality message throughout the world. India cannot do it in bondages.

He held that India should be free from its chains. As spiritual element is with India, it is the necessity of the world to set India free.

It is foolishness to imitate other. According to Gita, one should follow the law of one's dharma. When one follows one own dharma, it leads to rebirth, otherwise 'successful suicide.' India's purpose is to spread the message of spirituality instead of imitation.

He even used the idea of 'mother India' as 'goddess of Kali' to represent the strength of Indians. Hence, he spiritualized

✓ the entire concept

However, he was criticised for leaning more towards religion and incorporating its practices.

✓ He used orthodox elements to propagate his exclusivist idea.

Aurobindo had cosmopolitan outlook. His

✓ He advocated ~~for the sake~~ to incorporate eastern spiritualism with western materialism to

✓ balance moral degradation and sustainable livelihood of Indians.

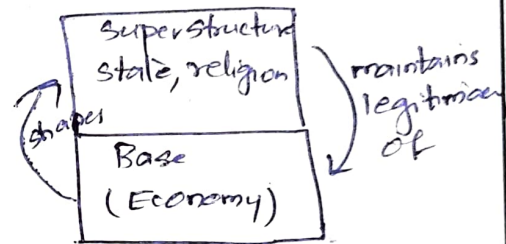
15

Good answer overall. You've answered the demand of the question, the introduction and conclusion is good.

**Que 5. Is Gramsci a theoretician of super-structures? Give reasons to your answer. (15m)**

Marx's theory of social structures was criticised as 'Crude Economic Determinism' or 'Raw theory of History'. His social structure consisted of a base and a super structure. For him, economic structure was the base of economy and superstructure has no independent existence.

By changing the basic structure will automatically change superstructure.



Hence, Gramsci wanted to protect Marxism and understand why the history is not moving according to Marx's prediction. He inspired from scholars like Benedetto Croce who held that 'culture' also shapes history. Marx overemphasised on economic factors by ~~over~~ ignoring culture factors. Gramsci held that culture is also a part of social structure.

Thus, Gramsci made modifications to Marx's 'base and superstructure model'.

He introduced an additional layer of superstructure to represent culture. There are 2 superstructures.

### 1) Civil Society

Acts as a first line of defence for base.

It is an instrument of state that acts as a shock absorber. Civil society in West appears to be neutral, enjoys freedom, but it's an eyewash.

It manufactures 'consent of hegemony' with

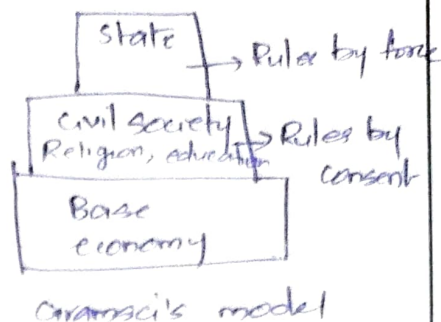
the help of intellectuals to maintain the dominance of the bourgeoisie class. It develop an attractiveness to the capitalist

way of life among workers, hence they would not revolt. With the help of civil society, capitalists bring oppressed under their control,

without using hard power.

### 2) State

Acts as second line of defence. When civil society fails to establish its hegemony, State comes into the picture and uses force



✓ to protect capitalism.

✓ Therefore, Gramsci held that superstructures are independent of base. They need separate revolt for ~~its~~ their reformation. His emphasis made Gramsci a theoretician of super-structures.

Very good answer... not much scope of improvement.

One correction though - If you could have wrapped the content of first page in some less words, it would have been even better.

8/15

Que 6. 'It is not the consciousness of men that determine their being, but, on the contrary, their social being determines their consciousness'. (15m)

Karl Marx, in his work 'COMMUNIST MANIFESTO' had concern for the exploitation of workers and exhorted for violent overthrow capitalism and establish communism.

He wanted that workers should identify their existence or status in the society.

He criticise ideas and ideologies to create false consciousness in men about their existence.

He criticised Hegel for giving historical idealism.

Hegel held that history is the movement of idea and matter is a reflection of idea.

He connected state with God by saying "State is the march of God on earth". ~~By using divine concepts, Hegel created a~~

Marx gave the concept of Historical Materialism, a criticism of Hegel. History is a dialectical movement of materials. Man enter into

✓ Society for production process. The mode of production determines the position of man in the society. Capitalists became owners <sup>(exploiters)</sup>, whereas worker became exploited.

✓ In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relationships that are independent of their will. The relations of production correspond to the definite stage of development in their material production. These relations form the base of the society - economy.

✓ From the base, legal and political superstructure arises which correspond to social consciousness.

✓ Hence the mode of production determines social, political life and intellectual life.

Hence, working class should understand their <sup>interests</sup> class, which is different from capitalists.

✓ Capitalists motive is to maximize profits while workers trying to meet their ends. When the workers understand their objective conditions

✓ i.e., exploitation of capitalists, consciousness will

develop.

So,

class in itself + Consciousness = class for itself

In India, Gandhiji called Dalits as 'Harjan' (children of God). Dr. B. R. Ambedkar criticised this and said Gandhi is spreading false consciousness because Dalits are the most depressed class in the society. Only by understanding ~~own~~ ~~consci~~ own existence, man can be able to understand his exploitation.

A good answer.

Conclusion is good. However, you could have phrased it in even better manner.

Something like... We can give an example from Indian history to understand the concept of false consciousness. When Gandhi called Dalits as 'Harjan'.....

8  
15

Que 7. 'Rule of law is better than the rule of men' (Aristotle). Discuss. (20m)

Aristotle, the father of constitutionalism gave primacy to the rule of law over rule of men. He was not supportive of Plato's idea of philosopher king. Aristotle asserts that collective wisdom of ages is better than rule of men. We can see the tradition of upholding rule of law in the works of Machiavelli, John Locke, A.V. Dicey and John Rawls.

A.V. Dicey gave three elements of Rule of Law:

- 1) Absence of arbitrary power i.e., no one is punished except for the breach of law.
- 2) Equality before law
- 3) Primacy of the rights of the individual.

Rule of Law demands authority ~~in~~ should exercise their powers within the constraining framework of well-established public norms rather than in an arbitrary, adhoc and

~~discretionary~~ discretionary manner, on the basis of the ideology. The government should be accountable through the framework of law, whereas rule of men undermines accountability and transparency and becomes tyrant.

Rule of law is applicable to citizens also. They should respect and follow, even <sup>when</sup> ~~if~~ they disagree with them. No one is above or below the law. Everyone is equal before the law. In case of violation of their rights, even by arbitrary laws, people can approach legal institutions to uphold their rights. Rule of law ensures independence and impartiality of judiciary, transparency and accountability of the government and integrity of legal procedures.

#### 4 core principles of Rule of Law

- 1) Laws must be clear and accessible
- 2) Equality before law.
- 3) Right to participate in the creation and refinement of law.
- 4) Strong independent judiciary.

You should have supported this by giving some example/some sloka or some other evidence from upanishad.

Test 1

for example - In India, rule of law can be traced back to Upanishads. We find multiple verses explaining the rules of conduct for various classes of people, for household, for king, for priests etc.....

Section 1A, Chapter 9-10

In India, Rule of Law can be traced back to Upanishads. Article 14 of the Indian Constitution ensures equality before law and Equal Protection of Laws. In Maneka Gandhi case, Supreme Court introduced 'Due Process of Law' concept which ensures not only the procedures, but also the law itself is reasonable and fair. It reduces arbitrary usage of laws by the authorities.

However, Rule of Law is not out of challenges. It is sometimes turns to RULE BY LAW. Even the incidences of fair criticism, ~~mob lynching~~ has been forced by use of force by states such as sedition law, Use of Section 144 of Cr.P.C., unnecessarily.

Rule of Law is a dynamic concept which must be employed to safeguard and advance civil and political rights of a individual in a free society.

What you've written is different from what's written in model answer. However, your approach is also correct. The answer is good.

Also know that whenever we make some argument, it should always be backed up by some proof/reasoning. That makes it all the more authentic.

9/20

strike out the area where you're not writing anything.

Que 8. 'Political democracy could not last unless social democracy lay at its base'.  
(BR Ambedkar). Comment.. (20m)

Ambedkar is known as the father of Constitution. His firsthand experience with untouchability and the exploitation of the depressed classes in the society, whom he called 'Dalits', made him realize that without eliminating social injustices, India cannot emerge itself as a nation. He believed India is a house divided itself.

Good Intro

Social democracy is a way of life which recognize liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life. He considered liberty, equality and fraternity are not separate entities, they form a union. So, divorcing one from another will defeat the very purpose of democracy.

~~In the~~

The pre-independence India was not equal and fraternal. Hinduism was itself divided into many sub-castes. Caste Hindus

Saw lower castes as 'untouchables'. They practiced endogamy. They justified their actions using Vedas and Puranas. In this context, Ambedkar exhorted to put dynamite on Vedas and Manusmriti. <sup>suggested/argued - these could have been better words</sup> Gandhi also advocated to do not sanction such undesirable action even though it is mentioned in holy scriptures. ~~Unequal~~ Inequality in the society led to the absence of fraternity in the Indian society.

Political democracy ensures equal participation of all sections in the society in governance. However, the down-trodden class were <sup>tired :)</sup> tried of being governed. They also needed their representation. In order to provide better inputs to the governments and states, one should be aware and educated. However, due to social ills in the society, down-trodden classes could not assert their position. Hence, equality and fraternity

✓ become indispensable in any society.

Dr. Ambedkar believed in democracy as a model of associated living.

✓ Associated life is a consensual expression of shared experiences, values and aspirations. If minority of the society is allowed to manipulate majority

✓ sections, then the process became undemocratic. When the society is closed, it has no growth.

✓ J.S. Mill rightly said, "No nation becomes great by dwarfing its own people". A society

✓ should be mobile. There should be channel of for conveying messages throughout the state.

In other words, there must be SOCIAL

✓ ENDOSMOSIS.

✓ For Ambedkar, political democracy is not an itself. It is the most powerful means to achieve social and economic equality.

✓ Hence he asserted, social and economic democracy are tissue and fibre of a political democracy.

The answer is okay... looks little overstretched. Please refer model answer for value addition.