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Political Science & International Relations

PSIR Crash Course– 2025

Test 2

Time Allowed: 3 Hours **Max Marks: 250**

Name	Animesh Jain
Test Submission Date	3/7/25
Email Address	
Test Start Time	2:00
Test End Time	5:20
UPSC Roll Number	5810932
Phone Number	

Instructions:

1. There are EIGHT questions divided in TWO SECTIONS and candidate has to attempt five questions in all.
2. Question Nos. 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, any three are to be attempted choosing at least ONE question from each section.
3. Answers must be written in the medium authorised in the admission Certificate, which must be stated clearly on the cover of the booklet in the space provided.
4. Content of the answer is more important than its length.
5. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the Question-Cum-Answer Booklet must be clearly struck off.
6. All parts of the question should be written at one place itself.
7. **Filling all the details in BLOCK LETTERS is mandatory.**

Marks Table (To be filled by Evaluators):

S. No.	a	b	c	d	e	Total
1						
2				X	X	
3				X	X	
4				X	X	
5						
6				X	X	
7				X	X	
8				X	X	
Grand Total						

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Remarks by Evaluator:

1. Contextual understanding

2. Content

3. Structure & Flow

4. Introduction

5. Conclusion

6. Language

7. Presentation

Student's Queries: -

Evaluator's Feedback: -

Que.1 (a) "मूल संरचना सिद्धांत" केवल एक न्यायिक नवाचार नहीं है, बल्कि एक राजनीतिक हस्तक्षेप भी है। (10 अंक)

The Basic Structure doctrine is not merely a judicial innovation, but also a political intervention.

Indian democracy is based on idea of Constitutionalism. This means a form of government limited by the constitution. This is reflected in the Basic structure doctrine given by S.C in Keshvananda Bharti case.

B.S.D is a judicial innovation to safeguard basic tenets of constitution without constraining Parliament's power to amend the constitution to realise socio-economic objectives. Thus, rejecting Golaknath verdict that fundamental rights are unalterable, S.C held that it can be amended for realising DPSP, without harming B.S.P.

With time, elements like federalism, secularism, free & fair election, welfare state etc have been interpreted under B.S.D. This gives it a political color. It aims at checking authoritarianism. For example, S.C struck down 39th amendment Act in Indira Gandhi vs. Raj Narain case.

Scholars like Zia Modi held that without BSD India would have 'constitution without constitutionalism'. However it has been criticised as judicial activism and violating of principle of parliament sovereignity by Vice President Jagdeep Dhankar.

Nonetheless, B.S.D remains a North star in guiding the judiciary in words of DY Chandrachud ensuring protection of Indian democracy

Que.1 (b)

भारत में लोकतांत्रिक शासन के लिए महत्त्वपूर्ण संवैधानिक संस्थाओं में से एक के रूप में नियंत्रक एवं महालेखा परीक्षक (CAG) की भूमिका। (10 अंक)

Role of CAG as one of the constitutional agencies critical to democratic governance in India.

CAG is often called fifth pillar of Indian democracy (Vinod Rai). His constitutional mandate is given in Art 148-151 and CAG Act 1971 lays down his duties.

CAG performs the function of ensuring financial accountability of executive to legislature. This is ensured through various audits :-

1) Audit of Consolidated fund, Contingency fund, public account of India.

2) Audit receipt, expenditure of Centre, states, profit, loss accounts of PSU.

3) Doing propriety audit to ensure efficiency in public expenditure.

Through above methods, CAG has highlighted prominent scams like 2G, coalgate, Bofors, Adarsh society scam etc. In Yamuna Expressway case, it did propriety audit to show wastage of public resources. Thus he ensures transparency & accountability in governance.

However, his role is under challenge due to :

1) political nature of appointment - solely appointed by executive leads to biased appointments (K Joseph).

2) Exclusion of PPP projects and PRI. from audit of CAG.

3) He is also criticised for hindsight bias leading to over-critical reports causing policy paralysis.

Nonetheless, CAG office remains critical and must be strengthened through reforms like Collegium for appointment, decentralisation of functions to state units etc

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Que.1 (c)

उन दो महत्वपूर्ण संशोधनों की पहचान कीजिए जिन्होंने भारतीय संविधान की प्रकृति और स्वरूप को मौलिक रूप से परिवर्तित कर दिया। (10 अंक)

Identify the two significant amendments to the Constitution of India that radically altered its texture & nature.

Indian Constitution is an organic document that has been amended 106 times in past 75 years. Two significant amendments can be: 1st amendment and 42nd Amendment.

1) 1st amendment + it added provision like:
   a) Art 15(4), 16(4) to protect reservation policies from judicial interventions after they were striked down in Champakam Dorairajan case

   b) Restrictions on Art 19 by adding public order, friendly relations as additional grounds of restrictions thus giving huge scope to limit liberty. It also Made restrictions reasonable and thus justiciable in nature.

c) Added 31A, 31B, 31C to shield land reform policies from being challenged in S.C

2) 42nd amendment - This is dubbed mini constitution due to wide scale changes like:

a) Cabinet advice binding on President

b) scope of Art 31C extended to all DPSP thus only DPSP can be implemented without violating fundamental rights.

c) put constitutional amendments for DPSP beyond scope of judicial review.

d) Added new DPSP like Art 39A (equal justice & free legal aid), Art 48A (protection of environment).

Both these amendments made far reaching changes. However, active judicial interventions eg Minerva Mills case ensured essence of constitution is not violated.

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Que.1 (d)

"आरक्षण" को सामाजिक न्याय और चुनावी राजनीति को द्वंद्वात्मक रूप से जोड़ने वाले साधन के रूप में समझाइए। (10 अंक)

"Reservation" as an instrument of dialectically linking social justice and electoral politics.

Reservation are a tool of affirmative action. In India it is provided on basis of caste, gender and class.

It links social justice and electoral politics. This link was first established through Art 330 which made provision for SC/ST reservations in Lok sabha. Recently, 106th amendment also extended it to women.

Reservation is also a tool for electoral mobilisation for social justice. Thus, Mandal politics in 1990s demanding OBC reservation lead to political empowerment of OBCs (Yogendra Yadav - 2nd democratic upsurge).

Recent demands for reservations by Jats, Patidars and Marathas also highlight links between social justice and politics. Demand of Caste Census by Congress and its acceptance by BJP shows how caste politics based on reservations remain primarily driver for electoral politics.

However, politicisation of reservations has made any reforms difficult. genuine suggestions like sub-categorisation (Davinder singh case), creamy layer exclusions etc have been met with stiff resistence by entrenched beneficiary class.

Despit these challenges, reservations remain a primarily tool of social revolution in India through constitution in words of Pratap Bhanu Mehta.

Que.1 (e) संविधानिक पाठ में लिंग की अवधारणा तथा विधायी डिज़ाइन और न्यायिक हस्तक्षेपों द्वारा उसकी पुनः व्याख्या। (10 अंक)

Conceptualisation of Gender in constitutional text and re-articulation by legislative design and judicial interventions.

Gender in the constitution is often linked with biological sex i.e men and women. This narrow interpretation is a reflection of societal understanding of gender in mid 20th century.

Constitution prohibit discrimination only on grounds of religion, race, sex, place of birth in Art 14, 15. Not on gender. similarly Art 15(3) extended affirmative actions to women and children again a narrow interpretation.

Art 38(b) asks for equal pay for equal work for men & women. Art 51A in fundamental duty asks for respect for women. Art 43 provides for

maternity relief for women. Thus textual understanding of gender is narrow.

This is re-articulated by legislative design. In Transgender persons (protection of rights) Act, provides for dignity & rights for transgender, gay, lesbian, inter-sex etc thus giving comprehensive interpretation. Similarly PoSH Act and POCSO Act are expansive in nature focusing on wide meaning of gender

Judiciary too through Progressive judgements have recognised wide interpre-tation of gender. In NALSA v/s U.O.I, it recognised third gender. In Navtej singh Johar, it protected transgender relations. However in Supriyo v/s U.O.I it failed in extending same-sex marriage right to LGBTQ.

Que.2(a)

स्वतंत्र भारत का संविधान बनाते समय संविधान निर्माताओं ने नागरिकता के मुद्दे को किस प्रकार देखा और संबोधित किया? यह भी स्पष्ट कीजिए कि हालिया विधायी प्रावधानों के संदर्भ में नागरिकता की पुनः परिकल्पना कैसे हो रही है। (20 अंक)

How did the Constitution Makers approach and address the issue of citizenship while framing the Constitution of independent India? Illustrate how citizenship is being reinvented in the context of newer legislative stipulations.

Que.2 (b)

"भाषा का संविधानिकरण एक अत्यंत सामाजिक एवं सांस्कृतिक रूप से विविध देश में सबसे जटिल मुद्दों में से एक है।" इस पर टिप्पणी कीजिए। राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा नीति (NEP) के तीन-भाषा सूत्र और केंद्र सरकार की हिंदी को बढ़ावा देने की नीति ने विभिन्न राज्यों में किस हद तक विरोध उत्पन्न किया है? (15 अंक)

"Constitutionalising of language is one of the trickiest issues in an immensely socially and culturally diverse society like India." Comment. To what extent has the National Education Policy's (NEP's) three-language formula and the Union government's push for Hindi sparked a hostile reaction from several states?

Que.2(c)

धर्मनिरपेक्षता और संविधानिक लोकतंत्र के बीच संबंध को स्पष्ट कीजिए। भारत में धर्मनिरपेक्षता की पुनर्व्याख्या में न्यायपालिका की भूमिका का आलोचनात्मक परीक्षण कीजिए, उपयुक्त मामलों के उदाहरण सहित। (15 अंक)

Explicate the relationship between secularism and constitutional democracy. Critically examine the judiciary's role in the reconceptualisation of secularism in India with relevant case laws.

Que.3(a)

क्या आप इस दृष्टिकोण से सहमत हैं कि संविधान के भाग XVIII में आपातकालीन प्रावधान लोकतांत्रिक शासन के मौलिक आदर्शों के विपरीत हैं और संवैधानिक अधिनायकवाद के लिए एक आसान रास्ता प्रस्तुत करते हैं? भारत के राजनीतिक इतिहास से उदाहरण देकर अपने उत्तर को पुष्ट कीजिए। (20 अंक)

Do you agree with the view that the Emergency provisions in Part XVIII of the Constitution stand in contradiction with the fundamental ethos of democratic governance and provide an easy option for constitutional authoritarianism? Substantiate your arguments with facts drawn from India's political history.

Que.3(b) अनुच्छेद 370, जो संविधान सभा की मूल योजना से भिन्न था, संविधान में कैसे शामिल हुआ? अनुच्छेद 370 के निरसन के संदर्भ में सर्वोच्च न्यायालय ने क्या टिप्पणियाँ की हैं? (15 अंक)

How the inclusion of Article 370, which was at variance with the constitutional scheme envisioned by the Constituent Assembly, found place in the Constitution?. What has been the Supreme Court's observation with respect to abrogation of Article 370?

Que.3 (c) भारत में समकालीन नारीवादी आंदोलन का कार्य केवल जाति, वर्ग और पितृसत्ता के बीच अंतःसंबंध को नहीं, बल्कि उपनिवेशोत्तर संदर्भ को भी जोड़ना है। स्पष्ट कीजिए। (15 अंक)

The task of the feminist movement in India today is to establish the interlinkages between not only caste, class & patriarchy but also post-coloniality. Elucidate.

Que.4 (a)

क्या आप इस मत से सहमत हैं कि जब तक न्यायालयों की सार्थक भूमिका बनी नहीं रहती, तब तक नौकरशाही और कॉर्पोरेट जगत पर्यावरण की रक्षा हेतु आगे नहीं आएंगे? भारत में पर्यावरण आंदोलन में सर्वोच्च न्यायालय की भूमिका का आलोचनात्मक मूल्यांकन कीजिए। (20 अंक)

Do you agree with the view that unless the salutary role of the courts is in place, there is no guarantee that bureaucracy and corporations would rise to the occasion to protect the environment? Critically evaluate the role of the Supreme Court in the environmental movement in India.

Intro

"polluted rivers, polluted air, destroyed forests, disappearing fauna is what we have after 70 years of independence"
- environmentalist R.C Guha

Environment protection has been treated as a secondary concern after independence when uplifting people from poverty was the biggest concern. In words of PM Indira Gandhi - 'poverty is the biggest polluter'. Thus, India's bureaucratic state treated environmental movements with suspicion. In

1970s, Sunderlal Bahuguna was seen as a CIA Agent. Thus Environmental movement was 'interleper'. Bureaucrecy while implementing Green Revolution for food sufficiency neglected its disastrous impact on environment. (Vandana Shive. 'Violence of green Revolution')

Same was the case with corporations, with profit as primary motive, it went for rampant exploitation of resources. It led to disastrous impact on people in terms of displacement, loss of livelihood etc. For example, Vedanta mining in Jharkhand led to spread of radioactive waste spoiling environment and harming people.

In this direct assault on environment by corporate-bureaucratic nexus, S.C has stepped in and evolved environmental jurisprudence in India (Lavanya Rajamani). This is reflected in M.C Mehta judgements on ganga pollution when it directed closure of tanneries near river. Similarly in Goa Foundation case, it directed banning of mining in western ghats harming ecosystem.

In recent times, S.C has also started recognising natural entities as 'legal persons'. It gave status of legal entity to ganga river in Mohammed Salim vs state of Uttrakhand. S.C has also expanded the scope of Art 21

by incorporating right to be free from adverse impact of climate change in M.K Rajthsingh case (2024).

However, this activist role of S.C has come under criticism for violating separation of power. S.C is entering into policy domain, a role it is not equipped in, and neglecting its core tasks. This was visible in Delhi cracker ban case.

Secondly, S.C activism may create challenges for development of infrastructure. This was visible in delayment of Char Dham project due to S.C hearing.

Thus, SC role though welcome is not a panacea. It requires cooperation among state, bureaucracy, corporation and people to ensure sustainable development.

Que.4 (b) स्वतंत्रता के बाद भी, भारत में पूंजीवाद के विस्तार ने कृषि आंदोलनों के लिए स्थान बनाए रखा, यद्यपि भूमि संबंधों और राज्य नीतियों में कानूनी सुधार किए गए। चर्चा कीजिए। (15 अंक)

Even after independence, the continued expansion of capitalism in post-colonial India left a lot of space for the continuation of agrarian movements despite incremental legal changes in land relations and state policies. Discuss..

Agrarian movements were a recurring feature during freedom struggle as evident from Champaran satyagraha, Bardoli movement, Tebhaga movement etc.

After independence, with focus on state led land reforms and agri welfare measures, it was expected that agrarian movements would subside. However, due to multiple reasons, they got strengthened.

The primary reason can be attributed to continued expansion of capitalism. Despite lip service to land reforms, state failed to effective redistribute

land due to entrenched feudal power structure in villages based on caste and class. Thus Marxists blame bourgeoise nature of Indian state for undermining land reforms.

Secondly, the introduction of green revolution and associated technologies (High yield seeds, pesticides, fertilizers) led to widening rural inequalities. The condition of rural elites improved (Rudolph & Rudolph - "bullock capitalist"). These intermediate castes mobilised for continuation of state subsidies like MSP, water, seed subsidy etc. In Maharashtra, shetkari sangathan mobilised for welfare of farmers.

The recent introduction of farm laws again showed expansion of capitalism with provisions like - contract farming. Farmers groups like Bhartiya Kisan Union led by Rakesh Tikait mobilised against capitalist farm laws. They were also supported by various left parties like CPI.

These demands later turned into legalisation of MSP. However, agrarian Movement today remain divided on caste, region and ideological basis compromising their effectiveness against better organised corporate lobbies. As per Yogendra Yadav, a united front is needed to effectively safeguard farmers interest against Capitalism.

Que.4 (c)

"भारतीय राज्य ने हमेशा गहरे सामाजिक-आर्थिक परिवर्तन की आकांक्षाओं और ऊर्जा को कृत्रिम सहमति और समन्वयी राजनीति के माध्यम से सीमित करने का प्रयास किया है।" — फ्रांसिन फ्रैंकल। आलोचनात्मक परीक्षण कीजिए। (15 अंक)

"The Indian state has always tried to delimit the aspirations of and energy for radical socio-economic changes through a fabricated consensus and accommodative politics." — Francine Frankel. Critically examine.

The Indian state performs the delicate balancing act among different groups and their aspirations. This was visible after independence when violent insurrection broke out in form of Naxalism seeking radical change of agrarian relations through violence. Indian state responded with accomodation through land reforms and rehabilitation policies for ex-militants. It also tried to fabricate consensus against Naxalism as 'anti-national' rather than 'pro-poor' movement. It used its ideological state apparatus like Media, education etc to ideologically defeat Naxalism

Similarly, the demand of Dalits and OBCs for greater representation against Brahmin hegemony was sought to be delimited. state used accomodative policies of Mandal Report and extending 27% reservation to OBCs. It also tried to fabricate consensus for '50% reservation ceiling'. This consensus held till 2024. However, again demands for socio-economic justice made Indian state to agree for caste census (accomo-dative policy).

Thus, it looks it state acted to delimit aspirations and energy for change. However, this perspective assume state is an agency of dominant class /

Caste trying to slow down the march of change. However, this isn't true. Representative democracy has ensured that state represent and give voice to different aspirations. Thus as different groups gained their share in state's power, they ensured realisation of their aspirations through state apparatus.

Thus, this consociational model (Arendt Lijphart) of Indian democracy has ensured realisation of different aspirations and helped ensure social justice and good governance

Que.5 (a) 1928 की मोतीलाल नेहरू समिति की रिपोर्ट को भारत के संविधान के निर्माण में एक महत्त्वपूर्ण योगदान के रूप में आँकते हुए उसके महत्व का मूल्यांकन कीजिए। (10 अंक)

Assess the importance of the 1928 Motilal Nehru Committee Report as a significant input for the Constitution of India.

Nehru Report was brought in 1928 in response to a challenge thrown by ~~Read~~ Viceroy to bring a consensus document on future Indian constitutional scheme.

Nehru report became a key framework to evolve Constitution of India in 1940s. It recognised civil liberties like freedom of speech, association, movement etc which got reflected in Art 19 of Part III.

It provided protection to religious minorities to safeguard their culture and language. This multicultural perspective reflects in Art 25 - freedom of religion and Art 29, 30 - minority rights to safeguard their language, educational institutions

Nehru report also encouraged social justice by standing for reservation of seats in legislature for religious and caste based minorities. Art 330 reflects this provision of social justice.

The report also recognised equal gender right by standing for universal adult franchise. Constitution makers recognised this in Art 14 and Art 326 of the Constitution.

Despite this, the constitution was also borrowed heavily from GoI Act, 1935 leading to its severe criticisms like - 'we wanted music of sitar but got music of English band' (K Hanumanthiya).

Que.5 (b) राज्य के नीति निदेशक तत्वों (DPSP) के पुनराविष्कार में सर्वोच्च न्यायालय द्वारा निभाई गई भूमिका। (10 अंक)
Role played by the Supreme Court in reinventing the Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP).

DPSP and Fundamental Rights have been called 'Conscience of the constitution' (Granville Austin). S.C has played a key role in balancing DPSP with F.R.

~~In Chamkam Dorairajan case~~ ~~Shankari Prasad case~~ 1951, ~~S.C held that DPSP can be implemented~~

In shankari prasad case, S.C upheld primacy of Fundamental rights over DPSP but also held that amendments can be done in constitution to implement DPSP.

However in Golaknath case (1967) supreme court ruled that fundamental rights are inalienable. Thus can't be violated for implementing DPSP. The 24th & ~~25th~~ 25th amendment act

tried to extend this to DPSP like Art 39(b) & (c). In Keshavanda Bharti, S-C said Fundamental rights can be amended to implemented DPSP without violating the basic structure.

In Minerva Mills, S-C held that constitution is based on balance between Fundamental rights and DPSP. Thus with time, S-C has taken a flexible approach to realise DPSP without violating rights.

It is also to be noted that S C comes under definition of state in Art 37 and thus can take measures for DPSP implementation. For eg. its Vishakha judgement can be seen as realising Art 39, its Unnikrishnan judgement on right to education can be seen in light of Art 46;

Que.5 (c) संवैधानिक लोकतंत्र एक वैचारिक संरचना भी है और सुशासन का एक उपकरण भी। (10 अंक)

Constitutional democracy is both an ideological design and an instrument for good governance.

Constitutional democracy is based on the idea of Constitutionalism i.e government is limited by the constitution. This 'limited government' is based on ideology of Classical liberalism (John Locke) which saw state as necessary evil and envisaged a minimalist role for it.

secondly, constitutional democracy is based on ideology of popular sovereignty given by Rosseau. Government draws its legitimacy by implementing the general will. In modern times, this general will is recognised by participatory & deliberatory democracy.

Constitutional democracy is also based on ideology of individual rights ('natural rights'). It safeguards people against state's excesses by providing them rights to protest, resist etc.

It is an instrument of good governance as through regular elections it ensures accountability of representatives. Through checks & balance, independent institutions etc. it ensures transparency in functioning of state thereby tackling corruption.

Also through popular pressure, it ensures state serves all section of society thereby ensuring equity and social justice. It provides for safeguard for minorities and checks tyranny of the Majority.

Que.5 (d) भारतीय संविधान बहुसंख्यक जनता की राजनीतिक-वैचारिक आकांक्षाओं का प्रतिनिधित्व करता है। स्पष्ट कीजिए। (10 अंक)

The Indian Constitution represents the politico-ideological aspirations of the multitude. Explain.

Indian constitution is first and foremost a social document (Granville Austin). It is a reflection of 'General will' of the people. It draws its legitimacy from the people themselves ('We, the people' in preamble) and tries to work for them.

By recognising democratic form of government is realise the vision of freedom struggle which envisaged govt. as servent of people and not its Master.

By providing for secularism, it helps in realising enjoyment of religious rights by vast sections of groups and thus does not subsumes their identities in name of political homogenisation.

This is also based on long tradition of 'sarva dharma sambhava' where all religions are respected.

Constitution also recognises the inequalities based on caste and gender and tries to correct it through affirmative policies (Art 15(4), 16(4)), it thus realises aspirations of tribals and Dalits.

Constitution is also a developmental document. It wants to realise aspirations of removing poverty, illiteracy, ill health etc. provisions like Art 21A (Right to education), Art 47 (health & nutrition) sought to achieve this.

Thus, Indian Constitution is a unique experiment of 'social revolution' through constitutionalism by realising aspiration of vast sections of people

(Pratap Bhanu Mehta)

Que.5 (e) भारतीय संदर्भ में "संवैधानिक नैतिकता" के संदर्भ में राजनीति और नैतिकता के बीच संबंध को स्पष्ट कीजिए। (10 अंक)

Explicate the relation between politics and ethics with reference to "constitutional morality" in the Indian context.

"politics without ethics is like a death trap". Gandhiji.

In India, politics and ethics are inter-linked since times of Buddha and Kautilya to as per them, politics has be based on Dharma/Dharma which translates to ethics.

In this context, constitutional morality assumes significance. It means adhering to the essence of constitutional ideals and not just its text. Constitutional morality is based on ethical ideals like equality, justice, fraternity, dignity of individual etc.

Constitutional morality helps in keeping politics ethical and committed to sarvodaya. It helps in ensuring rights of people are safeguarded. For example, Bulldozer justice can be justified on ground of illegal structures, but goes against constitutional morality for violating dignity and rights.

Similarly, actions like hate speech shows crisis of constitutional morality and decline of public ethics (S.C in Abhiram Singh v/s C.D Commachen).

Corruption in public life, use of religion/caste to divide people, crony capitalism etc are also reflection of fall of constitutional morality.

It needs to be revived by understanding Buddha's and Gandhian ideals.

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Que.6 (a) "विकसित भारत 2047" लक्ष्य सरकार की एक व्यापक दृष्टि योजना है जिसमें विभिन्न क्षेत्र शामिल हैं। इस दृष्टि को साकार करने में आने वाली चुनौतियों पर चर्चा कीजिए और उनके समाधान हेतु रणनीतियाँ सुझाइए। (20 अंक)

The 'Viksit Bharat 2047' objective is a comprehensive vision plan by the Government of India encompassing various domains". Discuss the possible challenges and suggest strategies to realise this vision.

Viksit Bharat 2047 is India's grand strategy to realise its comprehensive national power by 100th year of independence.

The vision plan encompasses various domains :-

1) Agriculture - aims at boosting productivity ensuring sustainability, adapting to climate change. All these are aimed to ensuring food security & boosting farmers income.

2) Manufacturing - aims at increasing its share in GDP thereby providing large scale jobs, boosting exports and making India self-reliant in critical sectors

Focus is also on green manufacturing and new age manufacturing tech

3) Human Resource - skill the youths, provide them good education and healthcare to realise demographic dividend. Focus on increasing women labor force participation.

4) Defense → achieve self-reliance by boost indigenous manufacturing (Tejas) - go for defense deal and tech transfer to boost defense-industrial base. envisages India to become net exporter in defense tech.

5) Infrastructure - helps to reduce logistics cost through multi-modal infra and provide quality of life - Through NIP, NMP, etc aim at development of roads, rail, inland waterway, airports etc.

possible challenges in realising this vision can be :-

1) Poor implementation capacity of state - India is often dubbed soft state (Gunnar Myrdal). Poor implementation due to corruption, poor teeth to tail ratio and lack of coordination among departments.

2) Fiscal challenges due to rising debt levels and slowing GDP - constraint state's capacity to spend on infrastructure and human resource development. Competative populism (Devesh Kapoor) also a hurdle in carrying out reforms

3) Caste and gender based inequities - wealth is concentrated in hands of dominant castes. Women labor force participation

is abysmal at 39%. Both these factors can constrain tapping of India's demographic dividend.

The strategies to realise this can be:

1) Administrative reforms to boost implementation capacity of state - focus on capacity building of civil servants (Mission Karmayogi) and greater synergy among different departments.

2) Political will to carry out factor market reforms (land, labour, capital) thereby boosting the 'animal spirits' of private sector in growth realisation.

3) Inclusive growth through social reforms like removing gender based discrimination, caste based inclusionary policies through Cast census.

These steps can help realise the goal of Viksit Bharat

Que.6 (b) भारत का सर्वोच्च न्यायालय, जो 75 वर्ष पूर्व संविधानिक परियोजना का एक केंद्रीय भाग बना, क्या वह संविधान निर्माताओं की न्याय संबंधी अपेक्षाओं पर खरा उतर सका है? अपने तर्क प्रस्तुत कीजिए तथा तथ्यों से पुष्ट कीजिए। (15 अंक)

The Supreme Court of India was established more than 75 years ago as a core part of India's constitutional project. Do you think the court has been able to live up to the ideals of justice imagined by the framers of the Constitution? Give arguments in favour of your points, and substantiate them with empirical facts.

Constitution established S.C under Art 124 as a institution of ensuring checks and balance and ensure justice for the people. The record of S.C in realising this has been a mixed one.

S.C has helped realise ideals of justice as evident in :-

1) Expanding the scope of Art 21 through successive judgements like Olga Tellis (Right to livelihood), K.S Puttaswamy (Right to privacy). This has helped transform 'right to life' to 'right to dignified life'.

2) Protecting fundamental rights against executive excesses + S.C safeguarded individual liberty as evident in Maneka Gandhi case where it upheld 'due process of law' in Art 21. similarly in Anuradha Bhasin case, it read right to access to internet in Art 21 & 19 thereby restraining executive.

3) Providing justice to vulnerable sections - In NALSA and Navtej singh Johar, S.C recognised LGBTQ rights. In Sabarimala case and Shayara Bano case, it striked down discriminatory religious practices like temple entry ban & triple talaq respectively.

4) V.R krishna Iyer came up with PIL & epistolary jurisprudence making justice accessible to people

However, in many cases, S.C has been found wanting also in realising justice :-

1) Failure during Emergency - S.C crawled when asked to bend. It upheld suspension of Fundamental rights.

2) High pendency of cases - leads to denial of justice. It's taking role of PILs has further stretched it from its core areas.

3) Allegations of corruption and bench fixing as evident in four judges press conference. It shook faith on impartial nature of judiciary.

Despite above challenges, it can be denied that India might have been a failed state without judiciary's active interventions (Zia Modi).

Que.6 (c)

भारत में लोकतंत्र के लिए CEC की महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका के बावजूद, सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने अनूप बरणवाल बनाम भारत संघ (2023) के निर्णय में यह स्पष्ट किया कि सरकारें पारदर्शी नियुक्ति प्रक्रिया को संस्थागत नहीं कर पाई। इस संदर्भ में CEC और अन्य ECs की नियुक्ति, सेवा शर्तें एवं कार्यकाल संबंधी 2023 अधिनियम में किए गए परिवर्तनों का आलोचनात्मक मूल्यांकन कीजिए। (15 अंक)

Despite the CEC's vital role in Indian democracy, the Supreme Court in Anoop Baranwal vs UOI (2023) highlighted that successive governments haven't institutionalised a transparent appointment process. Critically evaluate the changes made by the CEC & ECs (Appointment, Conditions of Service & Term of Office) Act 2023 towards realising S.C. guidelines.

S.C has held that free and fair election are part of Basic structure (Indira Gandhi vs Raj Narain). An independent E.C is sine qua non for free and fair elections.

As per constitution (Art 324-329), Elections Commissioner are appointed by President on advice of Cabinet. This gives sole power of appointment in hand of Centre & raising possibility of biased appointments.

To correct this, S.C in Anoop Baranwal case ruled 3 member selection

committee comprising CJI, LoP and PM to choose Election Commissioners.

This arrangement was to test pending a law by parliament.

Parliament came with CEC & EC Act, 2023 to realised S.C guidelines.

Its provisions include?

1) 3 Member selection Committee comprising PM, LoP, Cabinet Minister appointed by PM.

2) A search Committee headed by Law minister to recommend 5 names to selection committee to choose from.

3) selection criteria for EC - person of integrity, experience in conduct of elections.

4) Bars reappointment / further appointment in G.I.

This mechanism has been criticised by Faizan Mustafa for compromising independence of selection committee since now executive has 2-1 majority and can appoint partisan E.C.

However, this mechanism is sound as per ex-CEC SY Quraishi. He argues that S.C judges don't have expertise to assess suitability of an IAS officer for CEC post. Also in no major country judiciary plays a role in E.C appointments.

To make the process more robust SY Quraishi recommends transparent process through laying down credentials of candidates in public domain. This will go a long way in boosting people's faith on the electoral process.

Que.7 (a) स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन के दौरान 1935 का भारत शासन अधिनियम 'गुलामी का चार्टर' कहा गया था, लेकिन आज भारतीय संविधान का एक-तिहाई हिस्सा उसी से लिया गया है। इस विरोधाभास के संभावित कारणों को स्पष्ट कीजिए। (20 अंक)

While during the freedom movement, the Government of India Act 1935 had been reviled as a 'charter of slavery', now more than a third of the Constitution is borrowed from that hated law. What could have been the probable determining factors behind this paradox? Explain.

GoI Act 1935 was rolled out at a time when Indian freedom movement was entering its decisive phase. It was primarily aimed at curtailing civil liberties and increase executive's power to check repeat of civil disobedience like movement.

It was criticised by Pt Nehru as a 'charter of slavery' because :-

1) It increased the power of Viceroy - act without Council of Ministers advice, issue ordinances etc

2) Gave emergency powers to executive to check within unrest by curtailing civil liberties.

3) More powers to union vis a vis provinces like - taxation, irrigation, local government, etc

Despite this, more than third of constitution was borrowed from it.

This was criticised by K Hanumantiya in constituent assembly as:-

'we wanted music of sitar but got music of english band'

Despite these criticisms, we borrowed 1/3rd constitution from 1935 Act because:

1) We borrowed only the administrative structure because of familiarity as Congress ministries had worked under

GoI Act 1935 from 1935-37. provisions like bicameralism, dyarchy etc were akin to administrative frame only

2) preference for a strong state to deal with fissiparous tendencies post independence. Thus, provisions like emergency, ordinance making powers, Presidents rule etc were retained

3) Dominance of lawyers in constituent assembly - they were heavily influenced by British state structure and retained its elements. anglicised

India's constitution needs to be seen in continuum from Regulating Act 1773. It gradually evolved to reflect people's aspirations. However it could

It is wrong to call Constitution as 'Carbon copy of 1935' Act.

Marked differences with GoI Act 1935 ~~Act~~ were:

1) Made India a democratic republic from a colonised state.

2) Recognised Indians as citizens with rights rather than subjects.

3) Ensured checks and balances through empowered parliament and judiciary

4) Based on equality where every person was given equal rights (Art 326) whereas in GoI Act 1935 franchise was limited.

Thus Indian constitution marks ~~both~~ Continuity in form but break in essence from GoI Act 1935.

Que.7 (b) तमिलनाडु राज्य बनाम तमिलनाडु के राज्यपाल में आए ऐतिहासिक निर्णय ने एक बार फिर भारत की संघीय संरचना, राज्यपाल की विवेकाधीन शक्तियों की सीमाएँ और संविधान के तहत न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन की सीमा जैसे मूल प्रश्नों को उजागर किया। टिप्पणी कीजिए। (15 अंक)

The landmark verdict in State of Tamil Nadu vs Governor of Tamil Nadu (2025 once again laid bare the fundamental questions about India's federal structures, the limits of gubernatorial discretion, and the scope of the power of judicial review under the Constitution. Comment.

SC in state of T.N v/s Governor of T.N put up a timeline for both Governor and President to approve state's laws. It thus laid bare a lot of debates on India's constitutional scheme.

India has been described as quasi federal (K.C Wheare). Centre through mechanisms like Governor's office, President's rule (356), laws on state list (Art 249) etc enjoy preponderant power over states. However S.C through repeated pronouncement has strengthened

the federalism. In S.R Bommai, it held federalism as part of Basic structure. In Nabam Rebia, it ruled federal structure can't be violated by executive.

similarly, gubernatorial discretion has been hotly debated. In Constitution, governor has both constitutional discretion (Art 163) and situational discretion. The situational discretion is more problematic. For eg, recommending President's rule, reserving Bill for President's assent etc. S.C in Samsher singh, Hargovind Pant vs. Raghukul Tilak etc has highlighted that Governor has to exercise his discretion based on aid & advice of CoM.

However, grey areas still persist. For example, in Art 200 there is no timeline for Governor to reject or approve bill.

Judicial review is another area of contestation. S.C has ruled that it is part of basic structure in Minerva Mills. However, it has been criticised for compromising parliamentary sovereignty and assuming Judiciary supremacy (@ NJAC case). Whether Judiciary can direct President to adhere to timeline has further ignited the debate.

As Indian constitutionalism continues to evolve, these debates will continue to surface as part of churning process. Creative ideas grounded in constitutional morality are needed to solve these issues.

Que.7 (c) जाति जनगणना एक जोखिमपूर्ण प्रयास है जो नए सामाजिक विभाजन ला सकती है, लेकिन यह जाति, लिंग और धर्म के अंत:संबंधों को समझने का एक दुर्लभ अवसर भी प्रदान करती है। आलोचनात्मक विश्लेषण कीजिए। (15 अंक)

A caste census is a risky venture with the potential to create new fault lines, but also offers a rare chance to map the intersections of caste, gender, and religion. Critically analyse.

Caste Census is the process of enumeration of different caste in India with the objective to found out socio-economic disparities and frame affirmative policies to realise social justice.

It is a risky venture because it can strengthen caste based identities. This goes against the goal of realising a casteless society. Identity politics will triumf developmental politics leading to populist policies and roll back of economic reforms like privatisation.

It can also create new faultlines.

Indian electoral politics is primarily divided along - Dalits, OBCs, Upper Castes, Muslims etc. Caste census will highlight intra-group disparities within these groups. For example, in UP it can highlight difference between Jatavs and Ati-pichda dalits. This can lead to fragmentation of Dalit politics.

Similarly, the 'Hindu vote bank' which was consolidating behind BJP can be fragmented along Upper caste vs. OBCs fault lines. OBC itself will become fragmented. For example, Justice Rohini report showed that 15% OBC groups corner 90% of OBC reservation.

Depite the challenges, caste census will highlight intersectionality of oppression based on caste, gender and religion. For example, it can show position of Dalit women is much worse than upper caste women placed in similar economic circumstances.

Similarly, it can highlight role of caste in 'casteless religions' like Islam and christianity. For example, poor condition of Pasmanda Muslims and Dalit Christians. this can push demands for extending reservation to these groups as well.

Prof Yogendra Yadav compares Caste census with a 'X-ray' that will lay bare the realities of Indian society and lead to corrective actions.

Que.8 (a) कर के वितरण को लेकर दक्षिणी राज्यों की आपत्तियाँ भारत की संघीय संरचना में निहित गहरे संकटों की ओर इशारा करती हैं, जिसे आगामी परिसीमन प्रक्रिया और भी जटिल बना सकती है। आलोचनात्मक परीक्षण कीजिए। (20 अंक)

The objection of Southern states over tax devolution alludes to broader challenges in India's federal structure, exacerbated by the impending delimitation exercise. Critically Examine.

Que.8 (b) पंचायती राज प्रणाली भारत में ग्रामीण शासन व्यवस्था को बदलने की अद्भुत क्षमता रखती है। केंद्र सरकार द्वारा "विकसित भारत" के लक्ष्य को प्राप्त करने हेतु "अमृत काल" में शुरू की गई हालिया पहलों के उदाहरण सहित स्पष्ट कीजिए। (15 अंक)

The Panchayati Raj system holds immense potential to transform rural governance in India. Elucidate with some of the recent initiatives taken by the central government in this Amrit Kaal to make them more governed and self-reliant to achieve the goal of Viksit Bharat.

Que.8 (c)

"लोकतंत्र की जननी" होने के दावों के बावजूद भारत का लोकतंत्र अभी भी "निर्माणाधीन" है। अपने विचार प्रस्तुत कीजिए। वर्तमान समय में लोकतांत्रिक राजनीति के प्रमुख मुद्दों और केंद्रीय विरोधाभासों का आलोचनात्मक विश्लेषण कीजिए। (15 अंक)

Despite assertive claims of being "mother of democracies", India's democracy remains a "work in progress". Give your point of view. Critically analyse the key issues & central paradoxes occupying the terrain of democratic politics at present.

Space for Rough Work