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Political Science & International Relations

PSIR Crash Course- 2025

Test 2

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name	Apurva Verma.
Test Submission Date	30 th June / 2025
Email Address	
Test Start Time	
Test End Time	
UPSC Roll Number	
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



12

Student

Student's Queries: -

Evaluator's Feedback: -



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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.

The Basic Structure Doctrine is an Indian innovation. It was conceptualised by the Supreme Court and refers to the uncompromising principles which cannot be taken away by the Parliament.

The innovation of Basic Structure Doctrine in Keshavnand Bharati Case (1973) stems from a tussle between Parliament and judiciary over the amending powers exercised by legislature. It also exposed the contradictions between the justiciable part of Part-III (Fundamental Rights) and non justiciable part-IV of Directive Principles of State Policy.

Starting with the 1st amendment, in



the Champakam Doraijiam Case (1951) and 1st Constitutional Amendment Act, Parliament emasculated its constituent assembly nature and supreme control over amending the constitution.

It was in this backdrop, to save the basic essence of the constitution, SC in its 1973 judgement brought the Basic Structure Doctrine. Apart from being a judicial innovation, by acting as a safety valve to deteriorating democratic conditions, it catered as a political intervention saving India from the dangerous decades, as per Zoya Hassan.

The doctrine helped in establishing moral bedrock for Parliament and harmonious between Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles

Que.1 (b)

भारत में लोकतांत्रिक शासन के लिए महत्वपूर्ण 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.

The office of CAG is envisioned under A-143 of the Constitution. It is expected to be a watchdog and keep vigil over the public purse managed by government.

CAG has been made a powerful constitutional agency with powers to regulate its own functioning. The expenses of CAG being charged on the Consolidated Fund of India helps it in maintaining freedom from executive or legislative pressure.

The role of CAG is to check the propriety of government expenditure. As

India being a democratic nation with representative democracy, it becomes important to check the decisions and management of funds by legislators.

On behalf of people of India, CAG does this task. It gets the support of Public Account Committee in this role acting as a friend, philosopher and guide.

The reports of CAG have been instrumental in exposing multi-billion scams like 2-G spectrum which further increased trust of people on office of CAG and functioning of democracy.

The office of CAG needs to be further strengthened to increase public oversight over use of public funds.

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.

The two significant amendment are 42nd Amendment Act and 101st Amendment Act. If 42nd AA altered the powers of government, 101st AA strengthened the fiscal federalism.

The 42nd AA was brought in the backdrop of imposition of emergency provisions. Owing to the large number of changes made, it is also referred to as the mini-Magna Carta. It strengthened the power of central government by giving unquestionable control over amendment (struck down by SC). It liberalised the conditions and procedures for imposition of emergency.



The federal axis was weakened by transferring of 5 subjects eg: Education, Forests, etc from state to central list.

It also added A-51A (Fundamental duties) and the words Socialist, secular, etc and Int to the constitution's Preamble.

Sly, 101st Amendment Act brought a unified tax-regime in the form of Goods and Services Act Article 269-A establishes GST council which is the deliberative chamber for all decisions and states enjoy weighted voting with provision of $\frac{3}{4}$ in majority for a decision.

The two amendments were revolutionary with a mixed bag of results for Indian democracy which is still in the process of evolution. 8

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 has been encompassed in the Indian Constitution as a tool of affirmative justice to uphold the concept of justice - social, economical and political:

It has provisions of reserving seats in jobs, legislatures, educational institutions. These are important considering the subjugation of historically marginalised communities. Article 15, Article - 16, Article - 46 are enabling provisions for reservation.

The impact can be seen in form of

improving literacy rates, participation in government, public sector, etc. But the most prominent outcome has been in the field of politics. It can be explained from [Rajendra Yadav's] concept of "democratic upsurges" and [M. Srinivasan's] "dominant communities".

Altho the 1st and 2nd wave of democratic upsurges, we see the rise of OBCs and SC's/ST's. In times of globalisation when electoral politics have become more competitive, the identity markers and policy of reservation has become centre of debate.

New demands by communities like Patidars, Marathas, Jats highlight the increasing competitive bargain for reservation.

Que.1 (e)

संविधानिक पाठ में लिंग की अवधारणा तथा विधायी डिजाइन 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 can be compared to the social construct. According to Simone Beauvoir, "One is not born female, one becomes female."

The Indian Constitution has been envisaged as a revolutionary document. Post the biggest civil rights movement in the form of Indian national movement, where women were at the forefront, constitution conceptualised the welfare and affirmative policies for females. This included focus on political and economic empowerment. However, the social aspect was not up to the mark.

The 1974 "Towards Equality Report" was an eye opener. Post this, judiciary played a more engaging role in women empowerment. The acts like Proxy Prohibition Act; Equal Remuneration Act; Hindu Succession Act; POSH Act are testaments to changing scenarios.

Even judicial interventions like striking down of [A-377] gave voice to gender minorities access to Article-21. Further, Subramanya judgment acted as guiding tool towards removing social discrimination.

There is a need for constant monitoring and reinterpretations empowering all the genders and approaching towards a equal society.



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.

India has a long history of environmental movements. Starting from the war waged by tribal revolts against colonial British government. Post-independence, Chipko movement was the tipping point.

The constitution of India mentions about environment and its conservation both in the fundamental rights under Article-21 and DPSP. Even Fundamental duty mentions it as a priority.

Supreme court has been at the



forerunner of promoting environmentalism
Considering the shallow ecology, term
used by Sumita Narain to distinguish
environmentalism for consumption in
India; SC followed a community-
empowerment approach.

Post the Bhopal Gas tragedy, in 1984,
SC in MC Mehta vs UOI gave the
"right to safe environment" as a
fundamental right. In 1991, even changes
were made in the civil liability
laws due to the strict approach of
SC. In this instance, we can see
the failure on part of bureaucracy
and corporation who played the
role of safeguarding their own interests

reinforcing the concept of "ever developed state" given by Hamza Alvi.

With the turn of century, Indian government brought a number of laws safeguarding the environment.

- ▷ Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Areas, 1993
- ▷ Biodiversity Act, 2002
- ▷ Forest Rights Act, 2006
- ▷ Right to Information Act
- ▷ Environment Impact Assessment.

SC has given a humane interpretation to these laws empowering people.

The establishment of NAT has been an addition to increasing role of SC and judiciary.

However, sometimes the role of SC has been detrimental for nationals

Interest. Eg: Stopping of functioning of coal mines post Coal scam resulting in heavy pressure on public purse.

Further, instruments like Corporate Social Responsibility, Environmental Social Governance and overhaul of bureaucracy with schemes like Mission - Karmayogi has resulted in positive impacts. The mindset of bureaucracy and corporates has changed towards contribution in national development.

The role of all the players including SC, bureaucracy and corporates is essential for true environmentalism. We can take cue from Rousseau who has reminded " Even the strongest man is not strong enough."

Que.4 (b)

स्वतंत्रता के बाद भी, भारत में पूँजीवाद 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.

As a post colonial society, suffering from poverty and underdevelopment, one of the worst legacies has been deprivation of agrarian sector and resulting movements.

Agrarian movement in India have a long history. The poor conditions during colonial rule transformed India from a food sufficient country to 31 famines during colonial tenure.

Agrarian economy in India has direct impact on poverty as 40% of people are still engaged in it.

Starting from 2nd FYP where Mahalanobis model gave primacy to industry over agriculture, the condition further deteriorated. Green Revolution led to heavy input based agriculture which resulted in regional disparity and strengthening of global MNC's controlling HIV seeds, implements

Further, after neo-colonialism in form of neo-liberalism, capitalism has manifested in form of WTO policies biased towards 3rd world resulting in agricultural shocks, poor

growth, rising inequalities, growing agrarian movements. For ex - India's decision to remain out of RTFP was influenced by taxing farmers



State has responded with support in form of subsidies like HIV seeds, fertilisers, implements. However, due to lack of land records, the benefits has not reached the disembodied sections. The unfulfilled promise of land reforms has instead resulted in rise of dominant communities.

Further influence of globalisation has resulted in market-model of land acquiring further depriving people. The Land Acquisition Act of 2013 and its subsequent amendment have loopholes which add to the disadvantage of common people.

With coming of digitalisation, there is a need to revisit the unfulfilled promises of land reforms and follow a welfare approach.



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.

Indian political and social landscape has been marked by a number of mass movements. The recent farmer's protest against Farm Bills highlight how "states function on the basis of "consent"

According to Marxist scholars, state is a Bonapart. i.e. it rules by manufacturing consent and bargaining between different sections. The role of bureaucrats become important in this regard.

India continues to carry the legacy

of post-colonialism and suffers from a number of challenges like lack of substantive democracy, criminalisation of politics, curbs on freedoms of speech and expression, jobless growth.

These problems have resulted in coming of masses together as "Anomic groups". One example in social domain is the Machhaya gangrape outrage. However, state which had been reluctant to bring stricter laws was reflexive enough to constitute Judge Verma Committee and police on down of state was able to take quick action.

Other social upsurging includes democratic



upsurges of sc's. State went for co-optation. If we go by Graunsci, state not only rules by use of coercive power but relies on hegemony by sometimes giving wings to the demand of people.

The 2013 India Against Corruption social upheaval was tackled with enactment of Lokpal and Lokayukta Act. However, post the coming of law, its implementation has been in jeopardy after many posts being vacant.

Quoting Marxist scholars, there is a need for continuous revolution which is however tackled by state's flexibility and hegemony.



Que.5 (a)

1928 की मोतीलाल नेहरू समिति की रिपोर्ट को भारत के संविधान के निर्माण में एक महत्वपूर्ण योगदान के रूप में आंकते 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.

The constitution making process in India was a long-drawn one. It can be traced back to the Mohlal Nehru Committee Report (1928).

The Report of 1928 was an all-party effort to arrive at a consensus-document. The backdrop for this was unsatisfactory effort from British and the exclusion principle followed in Simon Commission which acted as a source of inspiration for all parties to give an all-encompassing document.

The Report had inputs from all major

stakeholders of the time including Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha, Sikhs, Anglo-Indians, women. At the centre of debate was Muslim representation and separate province for Muslims. This input and disagreement resulted in fracture of India and a strong centre.

It also had provisions for safeguarding minority interests, civil liberties, policies for the support of marginalised, developmental policies. All these inputs in one form or the other got incorporated in Indian constitution.

The Report acted as a glue around which further ideas and policies were developed culminating in the Indian constitution.

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).

The Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP) incorporated in part - IV of the Constitution contains a set of social and economic rights and is not-judicial in nature.

The source for implementation of DPSP arises from the "welfare nature" approach of Indian state. Envisioned as an active player in India's social revolution, the SC has played up to the mark by throwing lights on the effectiveness of DPSP and path towards attaining them.

In 1973 Kesavanand Bharati case, SC

established a balancing principle or bedrock on which DPSP and fundamental rights will be based. Thus removed the antagonism between the two parts and established them in harmony.

As a result, rejuvenation was seen at the dawn of 21st century with policies like Right to Education, National Food Security Act, MNREGA. Further, Right to Information and its inclusion under A-21 "Right to life" has made implementation of DPSP with new vigour.

The role of judiciary in enhancing the welfarist approach of government has been remarkable and needs a continuous upgradation⁴⁶

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.

Democracy is a form of government which includes people's participation. Often the source of it arises from constitution and has been verally been equated with good governance.

Constitutional democracy arises when people show reverence and adherence towards the provisions of constitution. Acc to [Ambedkar], it is the people who make any system good or bad by adhering to it.

As an ideological design, constitutional democracy can be equated with

general will of Rousseau. It gives a chance to common people to contribute in formulation of policies. This leads to "civic action" which according to Hannah Arendt is the only guarantee for freedom.

Since most of the 3rd world countries suffer from problems of poverty and underdevelopment, constitutional democracy acts as an instrument for good governance. It ensures civic oversight by associating people in the model of public service delivery. Eg: Indira Panchayat Raj, Right to Information Act, etc

Constitutional democracy is the key towards increasing deliberation and participation of people leading to substantive democracy⁴⁸



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.

The Indian Constitution came into existence in 1950 and has acted as a living document with the goal of modernisation of society.

The Indian national movement was also one of the largest civil rights movement. Post independence, the effort of different political groups and ideologies found voice in the Indian constitution.

Be it the principles of democracy of advocated during struggle for freedom



or freedom of speech and expressions which was derived under colonial rule found ground in the constitution. The safeguards for minorities and marginalised sections like women, SC's, tribals were also safeguarded.

The Indian constitution was a product of culmination of different ideologies. It has a strong influence of socialist policies, safeguard against fascist voices, scope for capitalist growth, vision of Gandhian democracy and rights emanating from liberal values

The Indian constitution can be compared to a rainbow with different colors of ideologies and political aspirations and the rainbow is still expanding.

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.

The earliest works on politics and ethics emanates from Machiavelli making a separation between the two. However, Constitution. ~~India~~ has followed Gandhian doctrine of politics without ethics as derogatory

Constitutional morality may be compared to [Rawls's] "overlapping consensus". It is the adherence to various provisions in the larger public interest based on the value of toleration. Politics and ethics have not been envisioned as separate in constitution. This can be deemed from provision for disqualification for unethical practices

like Office of Profit; promoting unity
between different sections, etc.

However, as envisioned by Ambedkar,
any system is not good or bad inherently
but is made so by the people. Political
parties in India which form backbone
of politics (Tasdi) have not adhered
to constitutional morality.

This is evident in the form of horse
trading, criminalisation of politics;
votebank politics, breakdown of coalitions,
policy paralysis, plebiscitisation of Indian
politics.

This separation has resulted in rise
of non-democratic bodies like SC,
EC, CAG, NAB, social movements.



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.

In the year 2047, India will complete a century of being a sovereign nation state. Quoting Kautilya, "In the happiness of the subjects lies the happiness of the king"

It is in this backdrop that a period of "Anusht Kal" co-terminus with India's demographic dividend window makes the next 25-30 years crucial and "Viksit Bharat 2047" as essential to establish India as a civilizational nation state with its citizen harnessing forces of development, inclusivity, sustainability and

Social harmony.

The "Viksit Bharat 2047" concept encompasses holistic development in arenas of economy, political, social, technological, environmental, legal and other aspects.

Policies like Blue Economy, LiFe, PLI for manufacturing, women reservation bill are testimony to India's commitment of "Sabka Sath, Sabka Vikas, Sabka Vishwas, Sabka Prayas."

However, challenges remain which are multi-dimensional and multi-sectored.

Internal security threat like left wing extremism, secessionism hinder economic development in backward and remote areas. March of neo-liberalism



post-1991 LPG reforms has created regional as well as sectoral disparity.

At present, around 11.8% of India's population lives under multi-dimensional poverty. Women representation remains skewed in politics and economy.

According to McKinsey, women participation in labour force can result in addition of \$ 747 bn.

The plebiscitization of Indian politics, unsuccessful implementation of land reforms stem from the "overdeveloped State" imperative. Panchayati Raj continues to be grass without roots.

To fulfil its commitment of 'Utkarsh'



Bharat 2047", India needs to gain the trust and support of its 147 bn population. This can be achieved by creating ambience for good governance, coupled with participatory and deliberative democracies.

Institutions like Inter State Councils, National Development Councils should act in interest of state's role in grassroot governance which further empowers local governments. Feedback mechanisms and corrective measures through RTI, NCW, NCBC, NCST, MCD's Pressure Groups can improve quality of life.

Vision Bharat 2047 is an uphill task which requires intergenerational and multi-sectoral collaboration, cooperation and equity.

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.

The Supreme Court of India established under Part-V of the constitution is the supreme authority regarding constitutional provisions and sentinel quinine regarding fundamental rights.

The SC was not imagined as a passive judiciary. It was created with the intent of being active participant in India's social revolution through the constitution. It is the supreme authority to defend rights of the common citizens against arbitrary legislative and executive functions excesses.

As the Preamble mentions justice - social, economical and political. SC has from time to time tried to uphold value of justice by safeguarding rights of citizens. Post imposition of emergency in 1975, it became more assertive of its role. The Munawar Mills case, 1980 reaffirmed limitations of Basic Structure doctrine limiting the scope of constituent power of Parliament.

In the domain of upholding fundamental rights, SC expanded the scope of Article-21 bringing in the element of due process of law. This has led to better protection of citizen rights. In times of policy paralysis, SC has come to the forefront filling



the vacuum as can be seen in the form of Mishakha Guidelines, upholding rights of Dangria Kondh tribes in Orissa against POCSO, affidavit requirement to counter criminalisation of politics.

However, in terms of human rights SC's record has been average.

Be it the imposition of AFSPA in north east & Jammu & Kashmir or use of parliamentary privileges against journalists, SC needs to play a more assertive role.

Overall SC has been a defender of fundamental rights and has kept the constitution working by its innovative judicial principles.



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.

The Election Commission of India is a constitutional body under Article - 324 and watchdog of India's parliamentary election system. It conducts elections through its composition of CEC and EC's.

Elections form the substantive heart of democracy. CEC's from time to time have performed exceptionally well with the scarce resources to educate and involve Indian population in the democratic process.

of voting. Eg: Sukumar Sen (India's
1st CEC, T M Sheshan)

However despite playing such a vital
role, the office of CEC and EC's
have come under the accusation
of have been made political
appointments. This stems partially
from the constitution which has
not specifically mentioned criteria
and qualifications for CEC's & EC's
This resulted in central government
bringing changes to the office in
the form of CEC & EC Act, 2019.

Coming of this act questioned the
intensions and possibility of compromises
of CEC's & EC's. Under tremendous



pressure and SC judgement, govt. brought changes in form of amendment act of 2013.

It established a selection committee under the chairmanship of PM to remove the seniority-based followed conventionally. However, the office and terms of conditions of CEC & EC have been brought under the central government which can result in political influence.

There is a need to establish freedom, transparency and remove any question of ambiguity to establish a democracy without questions.



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.

Federalism is defined as the role differentiation of centre and state guaranteed by the constitution. India is a federal nation and federalism is a part of basic structure doctrine.

The constitution has made states dependent on centre in fiscal matters as more tax yielding subjects are with the centre. Post implementation of GST in 2017, the share of state government have further got reduced and have ~~not~~ been made dependant on centre for devolution.



The successive Finance Commissions have suggested to improve shares of state government but the devolution has not been upto the mark. Further, the criteria considered by FC including income distance goes against southern Indian states who have done well to control their population and improved standard of living.

Untimely devolution is again a matter of concern because in the mechanism of cooperative-federalism, good governance becomes a core objective and states being closer to people have more responsibility to implement measures for universal public goods.

Recent examples includes states like Kerala, Tamilnadu and West Bengal bringing suit against central government under original jurisdiction of SC. This increasing tension further exacerbates the issue of imbalance in fiscal wheel.

Post 2026, the freezing applied to expansion of constituencies through delimitation is again a cause of tussle between centre and state.

If applied proportionally to population, states who have performed better in population control and aligned their policies for public good will be at loss. They will face the



consequences of controlled population in comparison to unsustainable population of BIMARU states. These BIMARU states will further have enhanced representation in legislatures and will result in policies which are more population-driven rather than development-driven agenda of Southern states.

We need to utilise platforms like inter-state council, national development council to iron out the differences regarding fiscal federalism and delimitation for presenting a united front against poverty and underdevelopment.

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.

Panchayati Raj System is India's indigenous experiment of local government guaranteed by the 73rd Amendment Act. It is based on Gandhi's vision of "India lives in the villages" and need for "Ram Rajya".

Panchayati Raj system based on the principles of subsidiarity acts as the transformational tool for the implementation of good governance and sustainable development goals. It opens avenues for participatory and deliberative governance.

through institutions like Gram Sabha.

As India strives to become a developed nation by 2047 (Viksit Bharat 2047), village development becomes undispensable. The best tool to bring this in practice is empowering people in the development journey of "Sabka Sam Sabka Vikas Sabka Vishwas Sabka Prayas". Panchayats become the obvious choice for this.

Recent initiatives of government like Village Development Plan for overall socio-economic development through Gram Panchayat Development Plan under the aegis of Panchayats. Further with digitalisation of land records and



land surveys under "SWAMITVA" scheme, the empowerment of marginalised and landless through Panchayats has been government's top priority.

Devolution of funds to the Panchayats by Finance Commission strengthens their financial independence to implement development goals. Further, incentivising state governments to devolve funds by tying it with leverage for greater borrowings shows government's resolve to provide "roots to the grass movement."

The empowerment of Panchayat is the empowerment of villages and ultimately a forward march towards the goal of Viksit Bharat 2047.

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.

Democracy has been defined as the worst form of government till we find a better form of government (Winston Churchill). In modern times, democracy has been associated with good governance.

According to Amartya Sen in his book "Argumentative Indian", there has always been a culture of deliberations and democracy in India. Be it Buddhist Sanghas or the republican clans of Utkala, Shakyas, etc.

But modern democracy was introduced in India by the colonial government.

It has led to the paradox of "overdeveloped state" where politics is modern but society is traditional.

This gave a lot of leverage to bureaucracy as they became the indispensable agents of development.

Further, with rising competition in politics, democracy has been over-shadowed by identity politics. As per

Christophe Jaffrelot, "Indians do not cast free vote, they vote their caste."

This has led to phenomena like communalisation of politics and rise of fascist ideologies.



Tolerance and multiculturalism form the substantive heart of democracy. But with globalisation, era of coalition politics people have been mobilised through hate speeches, misinformation leading to loss of "public sphere" (Habermas).

As pointed out by Amartya Sen, the ultimate goal of democracy should be to empower its people, enhance their capacity. India is suffering from the paradox of demographic dividend but jobless growth leading to multi-dimensional poverty.

To counter these paradoxes, the doctrine of "overlapping consensus", "constitutional morality" and culture of toleration may be silver lining.