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Political Science & International Relations

PSIR Crash Course– 2025

Test 2

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Copy Submitted On
2025
IAS STUDY PVT. LTD.

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

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Test Submission Date	07.07.25
Email Address	
Test Start Time	12:30 PM
Test End Time	3:45 PM.
UPSC Roll Number	0309541
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						

For any issue related to PSIR Test Series, write only at psirtestseries@shubhraranjan.com

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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.

On April 24, 1973, the supreme court chose an uncertain democracy over a certain authoritarianism (- Zia Mody) in the Kesavanda Bharati case with the propounding of Basic structure doctrine.

The judiciary innovation established the constitutional supremacy over the parliamentary supremacy. The parliament is free to amend any part of the constitution without alterating the BASIC STRUCTURE

Its a judicial innovation in the sense, it went beyond the text of constitution and mandated that the amending powers of parliament are limited and it is a creature of the very constitution.

However, it is a political intervention in the way the judiciary left it open-ended and not limiting it to specific features. The fact that it is left open makes judiciary have an upper hand over the interpretation of amendments by the Parliament.

The parliamentary power to amend thus was given in one hand by the judiciary — after reversing the I.C. GOLAKNATH, while took it from the another hand by leaving the doctrine unlisted.

Time and Again, the judiciary on a case-by-case basis has expanded the doctrine to include separation of power, federalism, secularism, free & fair elections, parliamentary democracy, FR/DPSPs. Thus, the doctrine is a political innovation beyond just judicial innovation.

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.

Article 148 of the constitution provide for Comptroller and Auditor General of India (CAG).

Vinod Rai in his book "Not just an Accountant" calls CAG as the watchdog of financial prudence, propriety and expenses.

He acts as the friend, philosopher and guide to the Public accounts committe (PAC), who carry out the audit of the consolidated and contingency account of India and the states (Article 292) and Public account of India (Article 293).

Similarly, the CAG carries out regular audit;

propriety audit, check any fanciful expenditure on the part of the centre.

This audits have been crucial in unearthing misappropriation like the Commonwealth Games, 2G spectrum scam.

The CAG report also highlighted for (eg) in the BBBP (Beti-Bachao-Beti Padhao) scheme, he flagged the misutilitisation of fund i.e 70% for advertisment over actual projects. similarly, the District Mineral Fund's underutilisation..

Thus, his role is critical for democratic governance and that is why Dr. Ambedkar rightly called the CAG as the Bulwark of Indian constitution.

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.

Article 368 of Part XX, provides for amendment to the constitution and it has been excersised for 106 times in the last 75 years.

However, the 1st and 42nd constitutional amended significantly altered the texture and nature of constitution.

For example, in "16 Stormy Days" – Tripurdaman Singh writes how it took just 16 days for the first amendment to take since its inception. The changes included to expand the reasonable restrictions to Article 19 under clause (2) – thereby reducing the scope of liberty to a shadow of what it was.

Similarly, the 42nd C.A.A, 1976 was a 'mini constitution' (Subhash Kashyap) - altering the soul of the constitution.

It brought changes to the seventh schedule, extended the tenure of the Rajya sabha, added Fundamental duties to the Part IV A, made changes in the preamble - added socialist and secularism and added DPSPs like 39A, 48A, 43A etc. It also added the quasi-judicial institution of TRIBUNALS.

The two thus, altered the text and texture for good and bad.

Nani Palkivala thus rightly calls the amendment procedure as the 'constitutional surgery' to address the needs and aspirations of the changing times.

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 (or) affirmative action are actions taken to undo the historical injustice and realise the constitution promise of social justice"
— CJI BR GAVAI

However, it is dialectically linked with social justice and electoral politics. This is highlighted by MARC GALANTER in his book 'competing equalities' where he says "the absence of definition of what is backward classes by the constitution makers has led to politicisation of the term for 'electoral mobilisation'"

For example, the Mandal Reservation commission for OBCs, led to what is now called Mandal-Kamandal politics, with empowerment of

OBCs, and increasing their representation in academics, bureaucracy but the calls for subcategorisation (Rohini Commission) lead to politicalization of reservation.

The recent agitations for 'backwardness claims' by the the dominant groups like Marathas in MH, Patidar in MP, Jat in Haryana, Panchamsali lingayat in Karnataka highlight this paradox and dialectics

Thus, as Rajani Kothari says Reservation has been "politicised", which was supposed be an instrument of social justice now has been reduced political tool.

With The caste census and the subcategorisation of SC in Davinder singh been approved, the dialectics will further get complicated.

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.

"one is not born a woman, but one becomes a woman"
— Simone de Beauvoir

The calls for personal is political was addressed by the constitution makers by providing provision for women. (eg) Article 15(3), 16(2) provide for special provision for women. Similarly, article 42 – maternity benefit; article 51A(e) – dignity of woman.

However, this conceptualisation is further re-articulated by legislative design and judicial interventions.

The 73rd/74th const. amendment for example, provided for reservation (1/3rd) to the various position for women

Judicial interventions, like Sabrimala case (2018), Joseph Shine (2018) — decriminalised adultry, Sunita Tiwary (female genital mutilation) — Vishaka (1997) — work place harassement, Shafi Jahan (Right to Marriage - Article 21) Suchita Srivatsava — (Right to bodily autonomy) and in Uma Devi (Right to maternity benefits) — has reconceptualised the gender.

In Naz Foundation, SC said "history owes an apology to LGBTQ" highlighting the broader view of gender

SC in Sabrimala case (2018) said to treat women as the secondary citizens of india is to "blink at the constitution". Thus, the text, legislations and supreme court all have come together to empower women.

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.

Quc.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.

Article 48A of the directive principles of state policy (DPSP) and Article 51A(g) of the fundamental Duties in Indian constitution provide for protection and development of environment and wildlife.

However, the fact that they fall under the non-justiable part of the constitution makes them senders to nullity and stop short of their intended purpose/objectives.

This has resulted in the corporations and bureaucracy alike to trample over the environment through "reckless and mindless development" [Madhav Gadgil]

However, the supreme court of India has rose to the occasion as the 'sentinel qui vive' and stood between this reckless development and environment protection. The second phase of Public Interest litigation (PIL) has ushered in environment jurisprudence.

The most significant contribution came with the MC Mehta vs UoI, 1986/ the court established precautionary principles and polluter pays principle (P2P2) - while adjugating on the Ganga Pollution case.

Similarly, in Subhash Kumar case of 1991, it said "right to clean air, water and environment is a fundamental right under Article 21: 'right to life and personal dignity'

Similarly, in the Union carbide case of (1985), it brought in the doctrine of absolute liability and went beyond the minimum liability on the supplier and operator. This doctrine played a crucial role in the 2021 — Vizag oleum case, where it put the onus on the corporate.

Similarly, in Samatha judgement (1997) — it empowered the Gram sabhas with the veto power to cancel development projects against their interests.

Further, the public trust doctrine in Vellore citizen welfare forum case, where it said the changes in land usage needs the participation and approval of public, thereby putting 'citizen' at the centre of development.

The recent reversal of post ex facto clearance to corporates

given via the amended ~~Forest~~ Conservation Rules, 2022 ~~are~~ is also a case in point.

Further, the Ranjitsinh VS Union of India, court said ~~a~~ right against climate change as part of Right to clean environment under Article 21 - expanding the avenues of fundamental rights in widest sense. This is what Gautam Bhatia calls as the 'transformative constitutionalism'

However, critics are of the opinion that the court doesn't happen to have the necessary technical expertise and also the economic costs of such expansive judgements undermine the efforts of executive for national progress.

It can be therefore, said when all the doors were closed for the tribals, citizens and victims of blatant development, the supreme court has emerged as the crusader of justice.

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.

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.

Ashutosh Varshney in democracy and discontent (1996) writes that the indian state has dealt with the ethnic movements for socio-economic changes with a iron fist.

Socio-economic aspiration of the frontier states like North-East states and eastern state are all result of the political mismanagement and historical neglect. Atul Kohli, shows how political mobilisation of such causes have only reduced to electoral agencies than substantive changes

Even Yogendra Yadav, says in e making sense of indian democracy, that the mere fabricated consensus and accomodative politics has to

dicontent among the identity groups. The first and second democratic upsurges were the result of politics of coption.

People want more. And identity politics has changed to identity plus politics which promises actual changes/benefits beyond accomodative politics.

However, this is not necessarily entirely true. The constitutional provision of Article 371 and 244 (fifth and sixth schedule) — provide for regional autonomy within the broader goals of national unity.

The progressive interpretation of the judiciary like K. Puttaswamy, Faheem Shirin, Hadiya, Samatha judgement, Sabrimala, Navtej singh Johar (2018) & NALSA are all testimony of aspirations turned to reality.

The rise of coalition-politics with regional parties punching much above their weight (Paul Brass) is also a change in the avenue provided by the Indian state.

The recent debates on caste census and uniform civil code and three-language policy are also seen background entry of accomodative politics based on fabricated consensus.

Difference always doesn't necessarily mean discrimination and a unified nation doesn't necessarily need uniformity. In this regard, any attempts to assimilate in the name of accomadation and coerce in the name of consensus will not help the cause of national integration.

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.

The Motilal Nehru Report of 1928, was against the background of BIRKENHEAD CHALLENGE OF 1927. It was the first serious Indian attempt to provide for a set of fundamental rights and a constitution making.

Madhav Khosla says the Indian constitution is a fine distillation of various sources and Motilal Nehru Report inspired the Fundamental Rights list.

It involved right to basic education for everyone provided freely by the state. This was taken into DPSP's article 45.

Similarly, it disguished between legislative items between centre and state and gave the residuary powers to the states. This inspired the 7th schedule (Article 246) and article 248 — (to the centre!)

It also provided for significant provincial autonomy to the sub-federal units. This inspired the cooperative federalism framework.

Similarly, it gave right to practice religion, without the restriction of the state. This inspired the article 25-28 of fundamental right (Part III)

Thus, Nehru Report was a precursor to the constitutional making and an evidence that it is a just a 'bag of borrowings'

Quc.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).

Part IV provides for DPSPs, which though non-enforceable in the courts of law, Justice Krishna Iyer said they are important for judicial interpretation.

The re-invention of DPSP started with Champakam Dorairajan (1951) to the Minerva Mills (1980) - where it was harmonised with Fundamental rights with judicial doctrine of harmonious construction.

In Uma Devi it upheld the right to Maternity benefit (Article 42). similarly, in Rajive Raturi, Leesamma Joseph, Vikas Kumar (2014) - rights of disabled upheld and provided accomodation to article 41 - "state to provide for benefits to the disabled"

Similarly, in Subramaniam Balaji judiciary upheld "FREEBIES" as securing directive principles.

The cases of Shah Bano / Shayara Bano and Sarala Mudgal (1994) (2017) it reiterated the commitment to secure a Uniform Civil code (UCC) under Article 44.

The fourth judges case (2015) - where court stuck down NJAC Act, 2015 as violative of separation of judiciary & executive (Article 50) and judicial independence

In K.C. Rajeevan and Minerva Mills, SC said "DPSPs (along with FRs) form the core conscience of constitution. They are the two wheels of chariot, and DPSPs has to be on the same pedestal as FR"

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.

Lord John Lenoy said "constitutional democracy is not just mode of govt ; but a way of life.

Its an ideological design in the sense it ingrains the ideals of Western liberal ideals of Renaissance like John Locke's liberalism and J.S. Mills freedom of speech and right to liberty — which are basis of ideology of the west.

Similarly, Granville Austin in book Constitution of India : Cornerstone of a nation, calls Indian constitution as a "social document." It imbibes all the aspiration of socialism (SOS) a social revolution.

Thus, constitutional democracy is ideological design

In Krishnamoorty case and Manoj Narula SC said ee constitutional morality backed by constitutional democracy is paves the way for rule of law and good governance

With the provision of right to participate in election (Article 326), the presence of constitutional bodies like SC, EC, CAG, NCST, NCBC enable justice, transparency, consensus-building — which are vital for good governance.

The executive's responsibility to the parliamentary democracy is a manifestation of responsibility ← accountability : essential facets of good governance.

Thus, constitutional democracy instrument of good governance and ideological design.

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 is lightly said as a social contract of diverse cultures, region, caste, religion, gender, language etc by Amartya Sen

The political ideological aspirations of different groups include (eg) Article 29-30, rights of cultural minorities.

Similarly, article 330 and 332 provide for reservations to the SC/STs in Parliament and state legislature for political assertion of their rights.

The aspiration of women leaders like Hansa Mehta, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur for including uniform civil code is also a politico-ideological aspiration.

The aspiration of socialists and working class were included in the form of socio-economic rights in the part IV of constitution.

Through the judiciary's progressive interpretation, now the rights of LGBTQ / transgenders also also included in Right to life and equality (Art. 14) – through Navtej singh Johar, NALSA etc.

The fundamental rights which are what Lockean tradition are part of constitution (Part III) are manifestation of liberal tradition (Right to life, liberty and Property)
↓
Article 300A

Thus, the multitude of aspirations are imbibed into the letter and spirit of Indian constitution.

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.

"Constitutional morality is a deep reverence to the provisions of the constitution" — [illegible] who coined the term. It is the interpretation of constitution not just in letter but its spirit.

The relation is better highlighted in MANOJ NARULA judgement, where SC linked ethics and politics and asked the 'political entities to go beyond their self interests and work for the public welfare' — part of Const Morality.

The Lily Thomas case where SC scrapped (Section 8(4) of RoPA, 1951) of the MPs protection accussed of crimes — is an exposition of politics and ethics → Rule of law → which is part of const. morality.

Article 50, 121, 122, 211, 212 which call for separation of powers between the judiciary, legislature, executive are all manifestation of this morality.

The recent TN Governor vs State of TN is an example of politics and ethics taking a divergent stands, where constitutional morality was exploited by misusing the Article 200, and 201 for political misadventure..

As Ambedkar said, constitutional morality is not a natural sentiment and needs to be cultivated.

Constitutional Morality is what Gautam Bhatia says "even the constitutional silences have to be interpreted ethically and not for political interests"

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.

Ajanabharvarsh. Hindustan. Bharat. India. The names may have changed but the spirit of this great civilisation is very alive. And the continuity of such a legacy is what the grand vision of Viksit Bharat 2047 holds on to.

The domains can be summed as Demography, Demography / Demand, Defence; encompassing the young population whose median age is 29 years in a world that is aging fast. The population of 146 cr (1.46 billion) makes every 1 in 7 in the world an Indian. Therefore, what is in India's interest, is in world's interest

This also makes India the largest democracy. The economic demand can be established by India's rise as fourth largest economy in the world with a 4 trillion dollar economy (IMF).

Similarly, operation sindoor highlighted the credibility of India's defence prowess and its indigenisation.

However, challenges remain. The rise in GDP is not without a rising per-capita GDP. which is struggling at under 3000 dollars/per person.

Similarly, rising unemployment and structural changes due to the rise of AI is a threat that is looming large. The demographic dividend will become a disaster, in the absence of multifaceted approach to address jobs creation and skilling.

Other challenges include the agrarian distress and the irrigation crisis — leading to rising suicides and risk of food and nutritional security.

Operation Sindoor also brought in to focus the one front hybrid challenge of China-Pakistan nexus and a growing divergences in the region and the world. Without a security-development hyphenation, the dream of Viksit Bharat will only be a distant dream.

Thus, India needs a pro-active, multistaker, multi faceted strategies to realise this great national vision.

Starting with as Shamika Ravi and Kartik Muralidharan (Accelerating India's Development) has pointed out is to increase the 'state capacity' to deliver services efficiently.

This can be through coherent, and carefully crafted "collaborations" between the state, private entities and civil societies.

Investment in health to the tune of 2.5% of GDP, education 6% of GDP and defence 3% of the GDP is a rational ~~corollary~~ corollary.

Inclusive growth with investment in farmers, women, youth and aged alike is needed to empower the primary entity of this dream.

Enabling environment for investment and building institutional integrity are also part of this.

Viksit Bharat 2047, is possible through Indic growth model, that is based on the mantra of "Saska Sath, Saska Vikas, Saska Vishwas and saska prayaas"

Que.6 (b) भारत का सर्वोच्च न्यायालय, जो 75 वर्ष पूर्व संवैधानिक 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.

Article 124 and 214 of the Indian constitution provide for an integrated judiciary in the form of supreme court and high court resp.

The constitutional project endeavoured to create a Supreme court as the federal court, a court of final appeal, a guarantor of the fundamental right and protector of the constitution.

It has over the years, through judgements, inventions and innovation has lived upto this expectation. For example, the creation of BASIC STRUCTURE doctrine in the Kesavananda Bharati case (& 1973) — as Zia Mody say the judiciary

choose an uncertain democracy over a certain authoritarianism.

Similarly, the dilution of locus standi to create a Public interest litigation (PIL) by Justice PN Bhagwati and Justice Krishna Iyer to realize the constitutional ideal of justice in truest sense. That is why Advocate Dushyant Dave says "the supreme court of India was converted to supreme court for Indians through the PIL.

This led to expansive interpretation of Article 21 and fundamental rights with cases like Hussainara Khatoon, Sunil Batra (Prisoners), Olga Tellis (Right to shelter), MC Mehta / Ranjit Sinh (2024), Subash Kumar (environment protection) and ADR/PUCL/ PIF case - SC upheld the right of the citizen to information (Article 19)

Similarly, Saurabh Kirpal writes that, the SC's progressive interpretation of personal rights in the K. Puttaswamy, Navtej Singh Johar, NALSA, Sabrimala, Hadiya case (2017) — Right to privacy, bodily autonomy etc has upheld justice.

However, critics like Reeta Bhanu Mehta calls SC a self perpetuating institution — for selective dissemination of case. similarly, the issue of 'uncle judge syndrome' in light of Collegium system and the issue of lack of judicial accountability (Justice Varma case, 2025) — all lead to what CJI Gavai has said leading to "BLACKCOAT Syndrome"

Thus, the supreme court, as instilled justice where it due as emerged as the 'sentinel qui vive' that it was envisaged.

Que.6 (c) भारत में लोकतंत्र के लिए CEC की महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका के बावजूद, सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने अनूप बरणवाल बनाम भारत सघ (2023) के निर्णय में यह स्पष्ट किया कि सरकारें पारदर्शी नियुक्ति प्रक्रिया को संस्थागत नहीं कर पाईं। 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.

In Indira Gandhi vs Raj Narain case (1975), SC said "free and fair elections are part of the basic structure of constitution". And this can be realised by a transparent election commission of India. (Article 324)

For long, the appointment process of EC members was carried out by the executive unilaterally against the constitutional mandate in article 324(2) of a institutional process. The failure of which led to the ANOOP BARANWAL case (2023)

The court ruled that the CEC would be selected based on the decision of selection-committee with PM, leader of opposition and SC judge (CJI) as its members; till a legitimate law is made by the legislature.

Thus, the CEC & EC Act, 2023 was in this light. However, the act made changes to the selection committee by omitting CJI and placing a "minister" nominated by the PM as the third member. critics point to this as against the spirit of Anoop Baranwal and also creating executive primacy.

Further, the salary and conditions of tenure of the CEC are now changed and made similar to that of cabinet secretary.

The removal process is also similar to that of SC judge under Article 124(2)

However, the protection given to CEC is not extended to the other election commissioners, rendering them to the political exigencies of the executive. The ECs can be removed by the CEC.

Thus, free and fair elections are bloodlife of democracy (TN Seshan) and the executive exclusivity changed to executive primacy does little change to the process of appointment. The supreme court is currently listed to hear this in the Dr. Jaya Thakur (2025) case.

A renewed institutional process of appointment, either in the spirit of Anoop Baranwal (or) a extended judicial presence and other multimember selection process is the need of the hour.

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.

Paul Brass, says Indian constitution was created in an environment of fear and trepedation. — because of the violent partition, communal riots and an air of distrust.

The structural part of our constitution was brought in from the much hated Govt. of India Act, 1935 during the latter half of the freedom struggle.

The act was reviled as charter of slavery because of the endeavring efforts of the British to separate the princely states from the federation of India, by giving them the choice to move away from the federal union.

Also, the governor-general continued to possess large number of substantive power including defence, communication and foriegn policy. It is these provisions, that failed it to be enacted duely.

However, the constituent assembly borrowed from this act, substantive aspects like the federation, of states and centre, the position of governor, the distribution of legislative function under the seventh schedule (Article 246), the autonomy of the states, the Public service commission (Article 315 to 323).

This is the reason, critique call it a "bag of borrowings" whereas as ARTHIYA SENGUPTA goes to the extent of calling our constitution a 'colonial constitution'

But the fact remains that while 1935 Act was chastised for being a charter of slavery / as seen above we did not adopt it as it is. The constitution-makers were well aware of the antagonising / centralising aspects of such a alien act, and carefully 'pick and chose' what was in the interests of India.

It is also pertinent to understand the reasons for accepting those provision to fully understand the paradox it presented.

First and foremost / historical legacy of Nehru Report of 1928 (against the Birkenhead challenge) already had envisaged a federal union with autonomy to provinces. The 1935 Act too was an extension of this.

Secondly, the governor at the head of each state was

as a lynchpin between the centre and states for effective communication.

Similarly, the well-defined distribution of legislative items b/n the centre and state was an enabler for empowering the states in subjects that they are better suited to address.

Overall, it was the familarity with the system that the British had imparted on us for decades, the need of stability over certainty/ responsibility of the parliamentary democracy and the prerogative of enable states as equal units on par with state centre creating a base for co-operative federalism (Granville Austin)

Thus, the 1935 Act and its transfer into the constitution should be seen in the context of times - rather merely peripheral observation.

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.

The Gubernatorial office has been a "constitutional choke point" as Gautam Bhatia with various SC judgements, committees have tried to address over the years. The recent being TN Governor vs. State of TN (2025)

The basic premise of the case is about the constitutional silences (Upendra Baxi) of Article 200 and 201 which provides for assent powers to the governor and reservation of bills for Presidents consent (201) and the silence of 'a time limit' within which it has to be exercised.

The federation structure of India is strong, but its practice is

weak, says SUHAS PALSHIKAR and this true with the way governor of TN didn't act on 13 bills framed by the legislature, thereby undermining the electoral mandate behind the bills.

The SC, thus invoked Article 142 (power to issue order to make complete justice) and set a time limit for the governor to act on the bills. and also gave a caveat over the issue of Article 201. "once the bill is sent back from the legislature to the governor, he cannot invoke article 201 — i.e, it can be invoked only in the first instance)". Thereby, the SC rightly defined the scope of gubernatorial discretion under Article 163.

However, the SC order has drawn flak because of its invocation of writ of Mandamus to the office of Governor and President, in case of failure to act within the prescribed time limit.

This according to "Alok Prasanna Kumar of Vidhi legal centre" is a constitutional transgression in the process of constitutional interpretation The power of judicial review is to review the legislation, interpret it and govern. / amounting to what HM SEERVAI long introduced as judicial overreach.

The second aspect is the bills have been given "deemed assent" by the judiciary — a violation of judicial review and doctrine of separation of powers. (Montesquieu).

The order of the SC to define the scope of governor limit of discretionary power is in line with what is long held as should not be "arbitary, fanciful and capricious" (Nebam Rabia, 2016) The case adjucated by 2-judge bench is also a case in point.

Que.7 (c) जाति जनगणना एक जोखिमपूर्ण प्रयास है जो नए सामाजिक विभाजन ला सकती है, लेकिन यह जाति, लिंग और धर्म के अंतःसंबंधों 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 forms the mosaic of Indian politics" – writes Christophe Jaffrelot and the calls for a caste census after 1931 – first in independent India, has drawn both appreciation and condemnation.

The first census commissioner in 1881, J H Hutton had remarked "one cannot think of removing the institution of caste by avoiding it like the proverbial ostrich". Thus, the caste census is what Satish Deshpande (sociologist) says will give a "selfie of the nation".

However, he says that census of pre-independence led to 'aggregation' – that is collective social

mobility, the present caste census will lead to disaggregation — competitive politics to further divide the electoral groups.

Abhishek Manu Singhvi, echoes the same, which he calls as the 'micro-splintering of the society' by entrenching the caste faultline further.

However, the proponents of caste census are of the opinion that 'ignoring the caste, doesn't erase it'. Thus, caste census must be seen as a tool for social justice and better policymaking, going beyond the 'statistical anonymity', till now - the lack of solid data, had led to what Yogendra Yadav calls as 'guesstimates', like Kaka Kalelkar (or) Mandal commission (1979).

The caste census will present credible data about the distribution of benefits of affirmative actions across caste, gender and religion. ec If the ~~pro~~ opponents say caste census will lead to discrimination, proponents say it will reveal it"

The Rohini Commission and Davinder Singh case (2024) on sub-categorisation of SC/STs/OBCs revealed the unequal intra-group distribution of benefits.

Thus, caste census is what we make of it to draw from Constitutivist school of thought. It is indeed a opportunity to map the intersection of gender, caste, and religion that SC in Nathani Jamal wali (2021) highlighted

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.0 (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

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