



VISIONIAS
INSPIRING INNOVATION
ABHYAAS MAINS

राजनीति विज्ञान तथा अंतर्राष्ट्रीय सम्बन्ध (प्रश्न-पत्र I)
Political Science and International Relations (Paper-I)

निर्धारित समय: तीन घंटे

Time Allowed: **Three Hours**

(Test Code : 4517)

अधिकतम अंक: 250

Maximum Marks: 250

सामान्य अनुदेश

इस प्रश्न-सह-उत्तर (क्यू.सी.ए.) पुस्तिका में 88+4 पृष्ठ हैं। प्रश्न-पत्र, क्यू.सी.ए. पुस्तिका के अंत में संलग्न है, जो अलग (वियोज्य) किया जा सकता है और उम्मीदवार परीक्षा के उपरांत अपने साथ ले जा सकते हैं।

रफ कार्य के लिए, इस पुस्तिका के अंत में खाली पृष्ठ दिया गया है।

पुस्तिका प्राप्त होने पर, कृपया यह जांच कर लें कि इस क्यू.सी.ए. पुस्तिका में कोई कमी न हो, फटा हुआ पृष्ठ न हो अथवा कोई पृष्ठ गायब न हो इत्यादि। यदि ऐसा हो, तो इसके बदले नई क्यू.सी.ए. पुस्तिका प्राप्त कर लें।

General Instructions

This Question-Cum-Answer (QCA) Booklet contains 88+4 pages. Question Paper in detachable form is available at the end of the QCA Booklet which can be taken away by the candidate after examination.

For rough work, blank page has been provided at the end of this Booklet.

On receipt of the Booklet, please check that this QCA Booklet does not have any shortcomings, torn or missing pages etc. If, so, get it replaced with a fresh QCA Booklet.

(उम्मीदवार द्वारा भरा जाएगा/To be filled by the Candidate)

पंजीकरण सं./Registration No. : 01012764

अभ्यर्थी का नाम/Name of Student : KIRAN. KAMATE

माध्यम: हिंदी/अंग्रेजी
Medium: Hindi/English

ENGLISH

तारीख
Date

03.08.2025

राजनीति विज्ञान तथा अंतर्राष्ट्रीय सम्बन्ध (प्रश्न-पत्र I)
Political Science and International Relations (Paper-I)

केंद्र

Centre

DELHI -
KAROL BAGH

Amar
निरीक्षक के हस्ताक्षर
Invigilator's Signature

	<p style="text-align: center;">महत्वपूर्ण अनुदेश</p> <p>उम्मीदवारों को नीचे उल्लिखित निर्देश सावधानी से पढ़ लेने चाहिए। किसी भी निर्देश का उल्लंघन करने पर उम्मीदवारों को मिलने वाले अंकों में कटौती, उम्मीदवारी रद्द या आयोग के परवर्ती परीक्षाओं के लिए वर्जित करने इत्यादि के रूप में दण्डित किया जा सकता है।</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Important Instructions</p> <p>Candidates should read the undermentioned instructions carefully. Violation of any of the following instructions may entail penalty in the form of deduction of marks, cancellation of candidature, debarment from further Examination of the Commission etc.</p>
1	<p>(क) अपना पंजीकरण सं. एवं अन्य विवरण केवल प्रश्न-सह-उत्तर पुस्तिका (क्यू.सी.ए.) में उम्मीदवार के लिए निर्धारित स्थान पर ही लिखें।</p> <p>(ख) इस पुस्तिका में अन्यत्र कहीं भी अपना नाम, पंजीकरण सं., मोबाइल नं., पता अथवा प्रश्न-सह-उत्तर पुस्तिका (क्यू.सी.ए.) संख्या न लिखें जिससे आपकी पहचान का खुलासा हो।</p>	<p>(a) Write your Registration Number and other details only in the space provided in the Question-Cum-Answer (QCA) Booklet for candidates.</p> <p>(b) Do not disclose your identity in any manner such as, by writing your Name, Registration number, Mobile number, Address, Question-Cum-Answer (QCA) Booklet No. etc. elsewhere in the Booklet</p>
2	<p>अपनी प्रश्न-सह-उत्तर पुस्तिका में कहीं भी प्रश्नों के वास्तविक उत्तर के अतिरिक्त कुछ न लिखें जैसे कि कोई कविता/दोहा, अभद्र या अपमानजनक अभिव्यक्ति इत्यादि और न ही कोई ऐसा चिन्ह/निशान बनाएं जिसका उत्तर से सम्बन्ध न हो।</p>	<p>Do not write in the QCA Booklet anything other than the actual answer such as couplet, obscene, abusive expression etc., nor put any sign/mark having no relevance to the answer.</p>
3	<p>परीक्षक को प्रत्यक्ष/अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से कोई भी प्रार्थना/धमकी भरी बातें न लिखें।</p>	<p>Do not make any direct/indirect appeal/threat to the examiner.</p>
4	<p>उत्तर अस्पष्ट अथवा गंदी लिखावट में न लिखें। इस प्रकार के उत्तर का मूल्यांकन नहीं भी किया जा सकता है।</p>	<p>Do not write answers in bad/illegible handwriting. Such answers may not be evaluated.</p>
5	<p>उत्तर स्याही में ही लिखें। उत्तर लिखने के लिए पेंसिल का उपयोग न करें, हालांकि आरेख, चित्र इत्यादि बनाने के लिए पेंसिल का उपयोग किया जा सकता है।</p>	<p>Write answers in ink only. Do not use pencil for writing the answers. However, pencil may be used for drawing diagrams, sketches, etc.</p>
6	<p>प्रवेश पत्र में उल्लेख किए गए माध्यम के अलावा अन्य किसी माध्यम में उत्तर न लिखें। अधिकृत और अनधिकृत की मिली जुली भाषा का भी उपयोग न करें।</p>	<p>Do not write answers in medium other than the authorized medium in the Admission Certificate. Do not use mixed language either i.e. authorize and unauthorized media together for writing answers.</p>
7	<p>प्रश्नों के उत्तर ठीक उसके नीचे दिए गए निर्धारित स्थान पर ही लिखें। निर्धारित स्थान के अलावा किसी अन्य स्थान पर लिखे गए उत्तर का मूल्यांकन नहीं किया जाएगा।</p>	<p>Write answer at the specific space (right below the question) only. Answers written elsewhere at unspecified places in the booklet shall not be evaluated.</p>
8	<p>यदि आप अपने किसी उत्तर को रद्द करना चाहते हैं तो उसे पेन से काट दें तथा उस पर "रद्द" लिख दें, अन्यथा उसका मूल्यांकन किया जा सकता है।</p>	<p>If you wish to cancel any work, draw your pen through it and write "Cancelled" across it, otherwise it may be valued.</p>

कार्यालय के प्रयोग हेतु For Official Use	कार्यालय के प्रयोग हेतु For Official Use
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प्राप्तांक के विवरण (परीक्षक द्वारा भरा जाए)/ Marks Details (To be filled by the Examiner(s))

प्रश्न सं. Q. No.	a	b	c	d	e	अंक Marks	
1							
2							
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6							
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सकल योग (A+B) / GRAND TOTAL							



राजनीति विज्ञान तथा अंतर्राष्ट्रीय सम्बन्ध (प्रश्न-पत्र I)
Political Science and International Relations (Paper I)

निर्धारित समय: तीन घंटे
Time Allowed: **Three Hours**

(Test Code : 4517)

अधिकतम अंक: 250
Maximum Marks: 250

प्रश्न-पत्र संबंधी विशेष अनुदेश

कृपया प्रश्नों के उत्तर देने से पूर्व निम्नलिखित प्रत्येक अनुदेश को ध्यानपूर्वक पढ़ें:

इसमें आठ प्रश्न हैं तथा हिंदी और अंग्रेज़ी में छपे हुए हैं।

प्रश्न संख्या 1 और 5 अनिवार्य हैं तथा बाकी में से प्रत्येक खण्ड से कम-से-कम एक प्रश्न चुनकर किन्हीं तीन प्रश्नों के उत्तर दीजिए।

प्रत्येक प्रश्न/भाग के लिए नियत अंक उसके सामने सूचित हैं।

प्रश्नों के उत्तर उसी प्राधिकृत माध्यम में लिखे जाने चाहिए, जिसका उल्लेख आपके प्रवेश-पत्र में किया गया है, और इस माध्यम का स्पष्ट उल्लेख प्रश्न-सह-उत्तर (क्यू.सी.ए.) पुस्तिका के मुखपृष्ठ पर निर्दिष्ट स्थान पर किया जाना चाहिए। प्राधिकृत माध्यम के अतिरिक्त अन्य किसी माध्यम में लिखे गए उत्तर पर कोई अंक नहीं मिलेंगे।

प्रश्नों में शब्द-सीमा, जहाँ विनिर्दिष्ट है, का अनुसरण किया जाना चाहिए।

जहाँ आवश्यक हो, अपने उत्तरों को उपयुक्त चित्रों/मानचित्रों तथा आरेखों द्वारा दर्शाइए। इन्हें प्रश्न का उत्तर देने के लिए दिए गए स्थान में ही बनाना है।

प्रश्नों के उत्तरों की गणना क्रमानुसार की जाएगी। आंशिक रूप से दिए गए प्रश्नों के उत्तर को भी मान्यता दी जाएगी यदि उसे काटा न गया हो। प्रश्न-सह-उत्तर पुस्तिका में खाली छोड़े गए कोई पृष्ठ अथवा पृष्ठ के भाग को पूर्णतः काट दीजिए।

QUESTION PAPER SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS

Please read each of the following instructions carefully before attempting questions.

There are **EIGHT** questions and printed in **HINDI & ENGLISH**.

Question Nos. **1** and **5** are compulsory and out of the remaining, **THREE** are to be attempted choosing at least **ONE** question from each Section.

The number of marks carried by a question/part is indicated against it.

Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the Admission Certificate which must be stated clearly on the cover of this Question-cum-Answer (QCA) Booklet in the space provided. No marks will be given for answers written in a medium other than the authorized one.

Word limit in questions, wherever specified, should be adhered to.

Illustrate your answers with suitable sketches/maps and diagrams, wherever considered necessary. These shall be drawn in the space provided for answering the question itself.

Attempts of questions shall be counted in sequential order. Unless struck off, attempt of a question shall be counted even if attempted partly. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the Question-cum-Answer Booklet must be clearly struck off.

EVALUATION INDICATORS

1. Contextual Competence
2. Content Competence
3. Language Competence
4. Introduction Competence
5. Structure - Presentation Competence
6. Conclusion Competence

Overall Macro Comments / feedback / suggestions on Answer Booklet:

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

All the Best

1.

निम्नलिखित पर लगभग 150 शब्दों में टिप्पणी कीजिए:

Comment on the following in about 150 words each:

10 x 5 = 50

(a)

मार्क्स का अलगाव का सिद्धांत

Marx's theory of alienation

10

उम्मीदवारों को इस दृष्टि में नहीं लिखना चाहिए
Candidates must not write on this margin

Karl Marx in his book Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts highlight the idea of "alienation"

According to him, the capitalism as an ideology is dehumanising and it leads to alienation.

Alienation in 4 forms.

→ Alienation from the process of production
→ becomes mechanical

→ alienation from the product

→ alienation from the other "species-being"
→ sees them as competitors

→ alienation from 'oneself'
→ as a result of first three

This theory is supported by George Lukacs concept of 'reification' - where workers are disconnected with the dignity of labors.

This is a violation of the summum kanti's "inviolability of dignity"

To this end, he advocates communism to be attained by the revolution by proletariat against the bourgeoisie class.

“Workers of the world, unite!
You have nothing to lose except
your chains”

Karl Marx alienation is seen in today's age of 'corporate slavery' and the rise of GIG ECONOMY - leading to algorithmic control and Robo-termination

1. (b)

विचारधारा का अंत

End of ideology

10

उम्मीदवारों को
इस हिसाब में
नहीं लिखना
चाहिए
Candidates
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Ideology is the science of ideas
— defines de Tracy.

The end of ideology thesis
finds roots in the times of cold war
during the ideological battle between
capitalism and socialism/communism.

Seymour Lipset and David
Bell in their book a political man,
bring the concept of end of ideology
They say the concept of ideology
has become redundant and development
has taken the central view.

This was echoed by
Alexander Kojève — who said
ideological battle will end with
the establishment of homogeneous
state.

Similarly, NW Rowston in his book Stages of Economic Growth says no matter what the ideology is, all states will undergo similar stages of growth because of use of technocratic societies.

This reached pinnacle with Francis Fukuyama claiming end of man's ideological evolution with the establishment of liberalism as the hegemony.

However, Titmus criticises it as ignoring the socio-cultural context. Similarly, MacIntyre says, end of ideology is itself an ideology to establish the liberalism as hegemonic rule.

Robert Kagar book 'Return of history' and End of Dreams is a counter to the thesis that ideology is making a mark again.

1. (c)

वितरणात्मक न्याय
Distributive Justice

10

Justice forms the core part of normative political theory and is a contested and contextual concept.

The times of Plato and Aristotle have dealt with it, with both of them accepting the natural inequality of men. At the same time, they advocated proportionate equality as a way to bring justice. The basis of such equality is distributing the rewards based on the proportional contribution.

This changed with the rise of social egalitarianism, especially John Rawls Theory of justice who advocated justice via veil of ignorance with original position. He gave the idea of

difference principle to help distribute the resources to the least advantaged

Similarly, Dworkin advocates equality of resources via just initial distribution and holding people accountable to their choices and not circumstances.

However, neoliberals critic it, for example, ROBERT NOZICK, says patterened distribution of justice is against the principle of non-interference and it is forced labour.

Similarly, Amartya Sen calls for capabilities approach without capability, mere distribution is just procedural and not substantive justice.

उम्मीदवारों को इस हिसाब में नहीं लिखना चाहिए
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1. (d)

"शक्ति और हिंसा परस्पर विरोधी हैं" (हन्ना आरेंट)

"Power and violence are opposites" (Hannah Arendt)

10

उम्मीदवारों को
इस हाशिये में
नहीं लिखना
चाहिए
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Hannah Arendt in her work
'on human condition' bring about
differences between power, and violence

She juxtaposes them as
opposites, "where violence exists
there power doesn't"

Power according to Arendt
is the coming together of people —
acting in concert. It appears when
people come together and disappears
when they relegate themselves to
the private life.

She says the subordination
of political life to the economic
spheres due to advent of Modernity
as the crisis of mankind. This has
led to disappearance of power of
the public sphere.

This, was taken as a opportunity for the rise of demagogues. In her book "on totalitarianism" she says 'terror and violence are the tools of totalitarianism'.

while power is constructive - violence is destructive. It is a negative force violating the dignity of human.

She calls for 'reclaiming the public sphere' as way to give fillip to power over violence.

Her assertions can be seen with the rise of authoritarian governments rising around the world
(eg) victor orban in Hungary; Turkey under Erdogan etc.

People need to reclaim, revitalise the public sphere to make power triumph over violence.

1. (e)

मिशेल फूको के अनुसार शासन-व्यवस्था
'Governmentality' according to Michel Foucault

10

उम्मीदवारों को
इस हिसाब में
नहीं लिखना
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Michael Foucault is a post-modernist scholar, who inspired by Nietzsche's knowledge-power connection gave the concept of governmentability.

This concept is given in his book Discipline and Punish, where he gives the concept of panopticon society in the medieval ages and how government control the citizen even without actively surveilling (or) controlling via law.

This is due to 'biopower' where people are themselves surrender to the authority as they know that they are being watched.

This is similar to the George Orwellian book - 1984 - where

he says "Big Brother is watching you"

The governmentability has adapted to the digital age with rise of digital surveillance and surveillance authoritarianism along with surveillance capitalism. This has led to people being monitored and let them discipline themselves.

Therefore, Foucault takes a microview of disciplinary action by the society and state. According to him, power is everywhere and governmentality is a manifestation of it.

The DPDP act and EU's GDPR are ways of reducing the increasing governmentality, giving primacy to privacy over state's surveillance via informed consent.

2. (a)

व्यवहारवादी और उत्तर-व्यवहारवादी उपागमों ने मिलकर राजनीति विज्ञान में पद्धतिगत बहुलवाद में किस प्रकार योगदान दिया?

How did the behavioural and post-behavioural approaches together contribute to methodological pluralism in political science?

20

उम्मीदवारों को इस हार्शिए में नहीं लिखना चाहिए
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इस ह्राशिए में
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2. (b)

पारंपरिक से लेकर उत्तर-आधुनिक समाजों तक प्राधिकार की अवधारणा के परिवर्तन का परीक्षण कीजिए। *

Examine the transformation of the concept of authority from traditional to postmodern societies.

15

उम्मीदवारों को
इस ह्राशिए में
नहीं लिखना
चाहिए
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2. (c) नारीवादी विचारकों का तर्क है कि राज्य लैंगिक रूप से तटस्थ नहीं है; यह वास्तव में एक पितृसत्तात्मक संस्था के रूप में कार्य करता है। इस संदर्भ में, नारीवादी विचारकों द्वारा की गई राज्य की आलोचना पर चर्चा कीजिए।
Feminists argue that the State is not gender-neutral; it actually functions as a patriarchal institution. In this context, discuss the feminist critique of the State.

15

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उम्मीदवारों को
इस हार्शिए में
नहीं लिखना
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नहीं लिखना
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3. (a)

प्लेटो से लेकर रॉल्स तक न्याय के सिद्धांत के विकासक्रम का परीक्षण कीजिए।

Examine the evolution of the idea of justice from Plato to Rawls.

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उम्मीदवारों को
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3. (b)

वैश्विक राजनीति में सांस्कृतिक सापेक्षवाद और सार्वभौमिक मानवाधिकारों के समर्थन के बीच तनाव की व्याख्या कीजिए।

Explain the tensions between cultural relativism and the advocacy of universal human rights in global politics.

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3. (c) सामाजिक समानता, राजनीतिक समानता और आर्थिक समानता में अंतर बताइए। इन्हें किस सीमा तक स्वतंत्र रूप से प्राप्त किया जा सकता है?

Distinguish between social equality, political equality, and economic equality. To what extent can they be realised independently?

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4. (a)

क्या सहभागी और विमर्शी लोकतंत्र उदार संवैधानिक लोकतंत्र के लिए व्यवहार्य विकल्प अथवा आवश्यक अनुपालन प्रस्तुत करते हैं? टिप्पणी कीजिए।

Do participatory and deliberative democracies offer viable alternatives or necessary complements to liberal constitutional democracy? Comment.

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Winston Churchill defines democracy as the worst form of government, except other forms of government! However, the journey of democracy has not been a one-way street. From Plato to Churchill, political philosophers have tried to defend & define different variants of democracy.

For instance, Pericles says discussion and debate is necessary for good policy making. It is in this context deliberative democracy finds its origin.

Similarly, participatory democracy formed with need to bring democracy closer to the people and make them active participants in the process.

J. J. Rousseau was a critic of the representative govt, he said "England is free only once in five years". He said the real democracy is deliberative democracy where the general will is expressed freely.

This was carried forward in the recent ages by Jürgen Habermas, a radical democrat, who says that communicative action via free speech situation leads to aversion of legitimisation crisis. and people are more involved in the legislative process.

Similarly, Joshua Cohen says there is only one force, the force of deliberation and revives the John Rawls tradition of veil of ignorance in the deliberative democracy aspect. He gives 5 conditions for

deliberation to make it legitimate ..

Echoing the same note is Nancy Fraser, who talks of "counter spaces" - as a way to deliberate and put the voice of the voiceless in the front.

On the other hand, participative democracy brings an additional dimension to the mix. The Kudavai of Cholas to Panchayat Raj of India to the direct democracy of Switzerland, it finds mention and support across space and time.

The proponents of participative democracy and deliberative democracy vouch that they form viable alternatives to the liberal constitutional democracy dominated by Representative democracy.

However, critics like J.S. Mills to Plato and Alex de Tocqueville are concerned about direct democracy turning to mobocracy.

Without democratic culture, such democracies are prone to capture of elite and lead to overdeveloped state as Hanzy Alavi calls them.

Thus, in an era where debates are rare and informed debates are rarer, deliberative democracy and participatory democracy form a viable complementarity if not as alternatives.

As Justice DY Chandrachud said 'dissent, debate and discussion' are essential ingredients for a vibrant speech in a robust democracy. In an era where democracies are becoming illiberal (Fareed Zakaria) - deliberative and participative democracies are vanguard of democracy.

4. (b)

गांधीवाद और मार्क्सवाद अपने पद्धतिगत मतभेदों के बावजूद औद्योगिक पूंजीवाद की नैतिक आलोचना पर एकमत हैं। परीक्षण कीजिए।

Gandhism and Marxism converge on a moral critique of industrial capitalism despite their methodological differences. Examine.

15

Marx said the capitalism carries the seeds of its own decay while Gandhi critiqued capitalism as satanic, bringing about the destruction of man and nature.

Gandhiji, focused on production of masses rather than mass production — writes Jairam Raa in his book 'The Economist Gandhi' Gandhi advocated decentralised production aided by cottages and small industries.

He said industrial capitalism isolated the workers and led to surplus creation at the expense of resources of earth.

"The earth has enough for man's needs but not his greed"

This highlighted his stark critique of capitalism as the satan destructing the ecology while violating the dignity of labour.

Karl Marx too was the foremost critic of industrial capitalism. He writes in his economic & philosophical manuscripts that capitalism leads to alienation, and subjugation of the working class under the bourgeoisie!

"Capitalism will die under the weight of its own contradiction" - writes Marx. The contradiction he pointed was the mismatch in surplus and distribution of benefits.

However, while Marx advocated dictatorship of proletariat Gandhi advocated trusteeship.

While Marx advocated control of the means of production by the working class only, Gandhiji advocated for coexistence of industries and cottages. Gandhiji was not against industrialisation per se. He was only against unwanted industrialisation.

On the other hand, Marx saw capitalism as bad and instrument of the bourgeoisie and wanted to capture it by the working class revolution.

Thus, while both advocated against capitalism at some points, they diverge in the latter stages with respect control and distribution of surplus.

4. (c)

मैकियावेली के लिए, धर्म राजनीतिक स्थिरता का एक साधन है। धर्म के इस उपयोगितावादी दृष्टिकोण और धर्मनिरपेक्ष शासन पर इसके प्रभावों पर चर्चा कीजिए।

For Machiavelli, religion is a tool for political stability. Discuss this utilitarian view of religion and its implications for secular governance.

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उम्मीदवारों को इस हिसाब में नहीं लिखना चाहिए
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Niccollo Machiavelli in his book THE PRINCE writes that prince should follow dual morality. He should not be binded by the ethics of religion and only focus on national interests.

He separated ethics of religion from the realm of politics. He advocated that PRINCE should not appear irreligious and should seem religious in public, even if he is not.

This he calls as utility of religion to meet the ends of national goals. He says religion has an instrumental goal. People can be controlled via religion and disciplined.

The implication of such utilitarian view on secular governance has inspired "SECULARISM" politics.

For example, SKKINHCS says Machiavelli was the first philosopher who separated religion and politics and freed politics from the metaphysics.

The laicite of France (or) the wall of separation of USA both find ~~some~~ roots in Machiavelli's view of religion.

This, in a multiethnic society may help in bringing good governance without inciting / favouring anyone group.

However, critique like Thomas Aquinas & St. Augustine says using religion as an instrument of discipline and control is a narrow view of religion.

Augustine gives the concept of "moral religion" - religion is inherently good and helps in the governance as well as development of individual.

The negatives of such an instrumental use is the appeasement politics as highlighted by LK ADUANI in Indian context.

Similarly, it may lead to ghettoisation of few groups and alienating from the process of governance.

(e) Sachar committee report

Thus, Machiavelli was the founding father of modern secularism in a way.

5. निम्नलिखित पर लगभग 150 शब्दों में टिप्पणी कीजिए:
Comment on the following in about 150 words each:
(a) भारतीय संविधान सामाजिक क्रांति का एक साधन है।
The Indian Constitution as an instrument of social revolution.

10 x 5 = 50

10

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Granville Austin in his book
Constitution of India: Cornerstone of
a nation says "Indian constitution
first and foremost is a social
document"

This can be highlighted
by the fact that the Preamble makes
it clear that it envisages equality
and justice in social sphere.

Similarly, Part IV of it
gives Indian Directive Principles,
which is a symposium of SOCIAL
Rights

The DPSPs vouch for creating
a society has no concentration
of wealth and equitable distribution
of material resources of community
(Article 39(b)/(c))

Similarly, Justice Krishna Iyer said the DPSP may not be justifiable but it is a common manifesto for all the parties to create a social revolution.

The constitution serves as an instrument of social revolution, beyond the letter by creating a framework for legislations like "Maternity Benefits Act, 1960; Equal wages Policy; Minimum wages code; reforms in the personal laws; the advocacy of panchayati Raj and cooperatives and NFSA under article 47.

The recent debate about removing the word SOCIALISM in the preamble was quashed in the Balwan Singh case — highlights the enduring legacy of socialism and social revolution.

5. (b)

अंतर-दलीय लोकतंत्र का मुद्दा

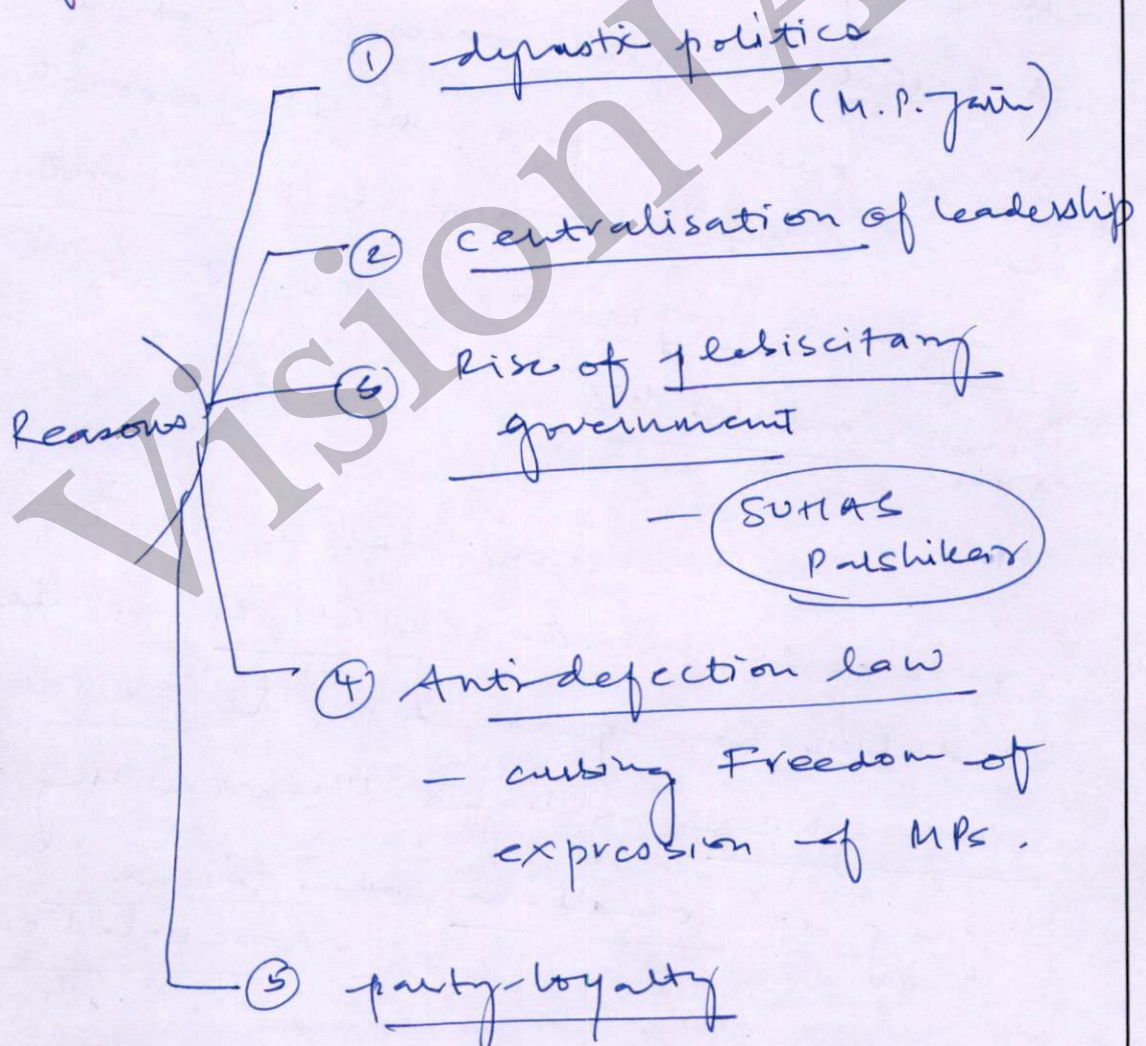
Issue of Intra-party democracy

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There is a rise of illiberal democracies as highlighted by FAREED ZAKARIA.

The issue of intra-party democracy is the result of lack of institutionalisation of democracy.



There is need for intraparty democracy:

- ① create inclusivity
— women representation.
- ② amending to make the mandatory ticket to women candidates
— min. of 33%.
- ③ Amending anti-defection to exclude bonafide expression of MPs.
- ④ mandatory elections.

5. (c)

पंचायत उपबंध (अनुसूचित क्षेत्रों तक विस्तार) अधिनियम, 1996 की प्रासंगिकता।
Relevance of Panchayats Extension to Scheduled Areas (PESA) Act 1996.

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PESA Act was brought
as an exception to the 73rd / 74th
Act to the sixth schedule states.
to protect the customs of these states

Relevance:

1. helps in addressing the marginalisation
2. in line with NEHRU TRIBAL PANCHSHEEL
3. protect the community forest rights
4. in line with XAXA committee report and PUTGs committee
5. inclusive development - by respecting each way of life
6. integration without assimilation

ISSUES

① misuse of PESA
- to divert the status of PRA to ULBs

eg Chattisgarh case.

② governor report
- not submitted regularly

③ bureaucratic apathy

eg FRA, 2006 - forced eviction.

④ Gram Sabha rights violated

eg Recent protests in Niyangari hills.

5. (d)

1857 के विद्रोह पर विभिन्न दृष्टिकोण

Different perspectives on the Revolt of 1857

10

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The 1857 Revolt is seen
as the first war of independence, while
some call it as mere sepoy mutiny.

For instance, VD. Savarkar
calls it as the first war of independence
that was mark of revolt against
British Raj.

John Seeley - says it was
nothing but a mere sepoy mutiny.
Bayly, the revisionist historian,
says, though it was territorially
limited, it was none-theless an
important milestone in the gradual
history of struggle for independence.

R.C. Majumdar says it is neither first, nor national, nor struggle for independence. As it was fragmented and limited.

Karl Marx says it was just a feudal war against the bourgeoisie to retain their privileges.

Thus, 1857 was the remarkable part of Indian history, that inspired INU in future.

5. (e)

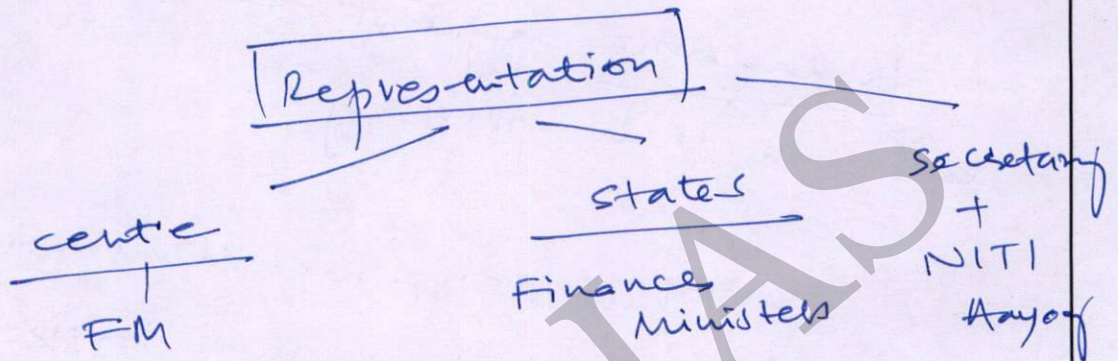
राजकोषीय संघवाद में वस्तु एवं सेवा कर परिषद की भूमिका।

Role of the GST council in Fiscal Federalism.

10

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The 101ST CAA brought the GST Act. Article 279 A provides for GST council.



The role of GST council is to give recommendations regarding the changes to the tax slabs, cess, surcharge etc.

The states have $2/3$ voting weightage and centre has $1/3$ rd. The need for clearing a policy is $4/5$ th. This makes centre having a VIRTUAL VETO.

However, in MOHIT MINERALS
Case, SC said the recommendations
of EST Council are not mandatory

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6. (a)

राष्ट्रवादी आंदोलन ने भारतीय समाज में साम्राज्यवाद के विरोध और सामाजिक पदानुक्रम के स्थायित्व के बीच के विरोधाभास को किस प्रकार संतुलित किया?

How did the nationalist movement reconcile the contradiction between anti-imperialism and the perpetuation of social hierarchies in Indian society?

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6. (b)

भारतीय संविधान के अनुच्छेद 2 और 3 संघ को राज्य की सीमाओं पर महत्वपूर्ण शक्तियाँ प्रदान करते हैं, जिसे संघीय भावना पर प्रश्नचिह्न लगते हैं। इस कथन का आलोचनात्मक परीक्षण कीजिए।

Articles 2 and 3 of the Indian Constitution grant the Union significant powers over state boundaries, raising questions about the federal spirit. Critically examine this assertion. 15

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6. (c) न्यायपालिका एवं कार्यपालिका के मध्य संघर्ष से मूल संरचना के सिद्धांत की उत्पत्ति हुई। टिप्पणी कीजिए।
"Out of the tussle between the judiciary and executive emerged the basic structure doctrine."
Comment.

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7. (a)

भारत में मूल अधिकारों के न्यायशास्त्र का विकास शाब्दिक व्याख्या से उद्देश्यपूर्ण व्याख्या की ओर बदलाव को दर्शाता है। उच्चतम न्यायालय के ऐतिहासिक निर्णयों के संदर्भ में इस बदलाव की विवेचना कीजिए।

The evolution of Fundamental Rights jurisprudence in India reflects a shift from a textual to a purposive interpretation. Discuss this transformation with reference to landmark Supreme Court judgements.

20

Part III of the Indian Constitution provides for Fundamental Rights. It is rightly called as the Magna Carta of Indian constitution, providing an exhaustive list of civil and political rights.

The supreme court was envisaged as a 'sentinel qui vive' i.e. the guardian of these fundamental rights and Article 32 forms the link between citizens and the judiciary - which Ambekar calls as 'heart & soul of the constitution'.

However, this responsibility endowed on the supreme court has seen different interpretations. As the

legend says 'constitution is what the judges eat for breakfast'; highlighting varying approach to interpreting the fundamental rights.

Beginning with a textual approach, the SC read fundamental rights only via its text and underlining the spirit. For example, the A.K Gopalan case (1951) - where it relied only on the wording of 'procedure established by law', thereby taking a narrow view of FRs.

Similarly, the case of Shivkant Shukla vs. ADM Jabalpur (1976) - is a case of judicial regret, as it took the most narrowest view of Article 21 and thereby reducing the scope of civil liberties. The textual reading undermined the scope and spirit of the FRs that were envisaged to liberate the citizens, made so them 'subjects, instead of citizens'.

However, things changed with the Maneka Gandhi case (1978), where SC shifting the stance to due process of law laid the ground for purposive interpretation.

The purpose of upholding constitutional morality, due process - rule of law were ingrained in the SC's reading in cases like NALSA, Navtej Singh Johar where it said constitutional morality should triumph over public morality.

Similarly, the Puttaswamy case of 2017, where it widened Article 21 to include privacy and brought the test of "proportionality - arbitrariness - and necessity" into its jurisprudence. This made way for protecting women's rights like bodily autonomy in Suchita Shivatsava, Sunita Tiwari case etc

The purposive interpretation is the hallmark of "transformative Constitution that Indian Constitution is as said by Gautam Bhatia.

However, critics point out at the scope of judicial overreach and judicial populism (Fali S. Nariman) - in exercising their power in the name of judicial activism.

Thus, the SC has went from textual to interpretative approach, emerging as the protector and guarantor of Fundamental Rights.

7. (b)

भारतीय विधायकों की बदलती शिक्षा और सामाजिक-आर्थिक पृष्ठभूमि ने भारत में लोकतंत्र और राजनीतिक सहभागिता को किस प्रकार प्रभावित किया है?

How have the changing education and socio-economic background of Indian legislators affected democracy and political participation in India?

15

उम्मीदवारों को इस हिसाब में नहीं लिखना चाहिए
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Shankar and Rodrigues in their work highlight the role of education and socio-economic background of legislators on the democracy.

During the first Lok Sabha, most of the legislators were part of the preceding constituent assembly. They were western educated and there was broad mix of every socio-economic background. Farmer and lawyers, women and Dalit all formed part of it. Interesting point they make is the profession of politics was not seen as a separate one.

This led to detached politics, and gave way to laws that

were secular, practical and far fetched.

However, with the first democratic surge ended, the second upsurge (Jogendra Yadav) gave way to marginalised groups like OBC.

This phenomena is captured by RUDOLPH & RUDOLPH as Bullock capitalists - as they were landed class yet political emerging only one.

Similarly, the rise of Dalit politics as a result of democratic upsurge around 1980-90s via the Mandal & Kamandal politics, led to assertion of dalit sections. It gave way to more inclusive governance with focus on inclusive development and poverty alleviation.

According to latest PRS Data, only 74% of MPs are educated and 46% of them have minimal cases pending.

This has led to criminalisation of politics as highlighted by Milan Vaishnav in his work When Crime Pays. This has eventually led to parliament being a talking shop and as Hamid Ansari remarked "debates are becoming rare, and informal debates even rarer".

However, the representation of women at just 14% is concerning, and the state like Rwanda has 60% representation.

The recent Nari Shakti Ashrayan is a promise of 33% representation, making parliament more inclusive.

7. (c)

समालोचनात्मक मूल्यांकन कीजिए कि क्या भारत में पंचायती राज का वर्तमान मॉडल सहभागी लोकतंत्र के सिद्धांत के अनुकूल है या यह केवल औपचारिक विकेन्द्रीकरण की व्यवस्था में परिवर्तित हो गया है?

Critically assess whether the current model of Panchayati Raj in India is compatible with the principle of participatory democracy or has it devolved into a mechanism of mere formal decentralisation?

15

The 73rd constitutional amendment of 1992 brought in the Panchayat Raj institutions (PRIs) as the institutions of self governance, realising the principle of subsidiarity.

The works of Esther Duflo and Jean Drèze highlight that PRI have brought governance closer to people. Along with it transparency, accountability and decentralisation of democracy have been some features.

In the states like TN, Chhattisgarh, the representation of women has come close to 50% beyond the mandate of 33%.

This has led to better approach to allocation of public goods to the women and marginalised.

However, the Mamchankar Aiyar committee highlights that 7^{3rd} CAA has led to decentralisation of corruption.

Similarly, the RBI Report on decentralisation highlights the lack of (FFs) - Funds, functions, functionaries and eventual functionality. There has been uneven delegation of functions and the delegation of responsibility has not been met with commensurate finances - hindering the progress.

Another, ailing feature has been the existence of prastal bodies that overlap with the PRIs functions - making them mere implementers of social welfare mechanism rather than

Institutes of self-governance.

Another glaring issue is the tyed funds - this Sujoy Choudhury calls as INVERTED FEDERALISM. Tied funds with conditionalities make them underutilised.

Thus, there is a need for revitalising the third tier with funds. Vijay Kelkar committee recommended that the Finance Commission make one of the criteria of terms of reference as "Decentralised governance" - making direct contributions.

उम्मीदवारों को इस क्वेश्चन में नहीं लिखना चाहिए
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8. (a)

भारतीय राज्यों में राज्यपाल की भूमिका निरंतर एक विवादित मुद्दा बना हुआ है। भारतीय राज्यों में घटित हालिया राजनीतिक घटनाक्रमों के संदर्भ में इस कथन पर चर्चा कीजिए।

The Governor's role in Indian states has often been a contentious issue. Discuss in the context of recent political developments in Indian states.

20

The Governor is envisaged as a link between the states and centre (2nd ARC). He acts as the bridge of communication, facilitating cooperative federalism.

However, as Soli Sorabjee says, the excessive interpretation of discretionary power of Governor under article 163, 200, 213 etc has turned cooperative federalism into bargaining one.

The recent case of Governor of TN vs. State of TN is a case in point. The misuse of article 200 and article 201 for forestalling the legislations of the democratically elected state government aided by

the constitutional silences (Article 201) -
(doesn't provide a fixed timeline) - has
made the role a contentious role.

Similarly, his role as
pardoning power too was misused, and
was highlighted in the AG Paravindan
case (2023) - under the exercise of
article 161.

The role of governor in
recognising the government and its
legitimacy has been another ground
which time and again has widened
the fault line of centre-state relations.

The legislation of Kerala
government to remove the role of
governor as the Chancellor of state
universities as recommended by
NM Panchhi committee (2007) - as been
a bone of contention.

The defamatory remarks made by the governor of West Bengal against the Chief Minister has led to legal tussle between the two.

SC in cases like Shawsher Singh has called out the partisan role of governor. Similarly, in the Satyaharayan Chaudhary case SC said that the governor is not an agent for the appointee of central govt, and he has to show respect to the position.

Recommendation of Sarkaria and Venkata Chelliah committee (2000) — highlight that the person should be chosen with consultation of state govt. and should be such that he/she is able to take a distant view of the center-state politics.

In Nebam Relia case, the SC has rightfully said the discretionary powers of governor are limited under article 163 and his actions cannot be arbitrary, capricious or malafide. It should be dictated by reason, actuated in good faith and tempered by caution.

As 2nd ARC says, governor rules with the iron hand and velvet gloves, his role should be occupied with persons of acute honesty, integrity & non-partisanship.

8. (b)

भारतीय राज्यों में असमान विकास पर आर्थिक उदारीकरण के प्रभाव का समालोचनात्मक परीक्षण कीजिए।
Critically examine the impact of economic liberalisation on uneven development among Indian states.

15

The economic liberalisation of 1991 - was a turnaround moment for Indian economy and its repercussions have been both positive and negative.

For instance, Prof. Balveer Arora says the competitive federalism post economic liberalisation exacerbated the inequalities and led to disparity in development.

For example, the growth story before 1991, was such that there was very little North-South Divide and East-West Divide was non-existent. However, post 1991, it led to a dramatic rise of South Indian States vis-a-vis North and Western States vis-a-vis East.

This according to Economic Survey-2022 has created two INDIA's.

For instance, the IT sector boom post Y2K, was tapped by the Bangalore city - emerging as silicon valley. Similarly, the recent GIFT city of Gujarat has led to stellar foreign investment in the state.

The economic liberalisation has widened the "chasm of poverty and prosperity" given by THOMAS JANNUZZI and MARC JURGENSMEAR.

The effects of such an unequal growth has led to increased migration and rise of son-of-soil phenomena - MYRON WEINER.

It has further exacerbated the inequalities in the country with the North East states contributing only just 1% of GDP of country.

However, steps like Aspirational districts and aspirational blocks programme of NITI Aayog wants to reverse the resource curse of eastern states into a blessing!

Similarly, the BHARATIYA MODEL OF INCLUSIVE GROWTH is the way ahead. with Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas as the prerogative.

8. (c)

स्वातंत्र्योत्तर भारत में, जाति और राजनीति के बीच एक गतिशील संबंध स्थापित हुआ जिसने दोनों को परिवर्तित कर दिया। इस अंतर्संबंध और भारतीय लोकतंत्र पर इसके प्रभावों का परीक्षण कीजिए।

In post-independence India, caste and politics entered into a dynamic relationship that transformed both. Examine this interplay and its implications for Indian democracy. 15

उम्मीदवारों को इस हिसाब में नहीं लिखना चाहिए
Candidates must not write on this margin

"Caste forms the mosaic of Indian democracy"

— Christopher Jafferlot

As Rajani Kothari says, politics has been casteised and caste has been politicised. The dynamic relationship has yielded both positives and negatives.

The proponents like Yogendra Yadav says it has led to institutionalisation of democracy and aided by democratic upsurge via Mandal politics.

According to him, dalits are no longer wanting to be mere passive beneficiaries, but want to be active participants.

It has given a platform for the marginalised to assert their rights and voice to the voiceless.

However, critics like C.P. Bambi says it has had polarised effect on democracy.

in "Battle half won" by ASHUTOSH VARSHNEY has said it has only led empowering the Dalits at the electoral level and beyond it, its results are not encouraging.

Kandau Chandra says political populism has increased due to the intermix of the two. "The patronage of politics is an antithesis to ~~patron~~ politics of empowerment"

The implications have been both .
However, post-Mandir post-Masjid
Post Market era (Yogendra Yadav) is
changing.

As highlighted by Pradeep
Chibber, politics of caste, clientelism
has limitations, people now want
more than mere appeasement and
not surrendering to cooption.

Development and welfarism
is the overturn window shift that
India is witnessing.

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