



**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. : 01158734

अभ्यर्थी का नाम/Name of Student : Simrandeep Kaur

माध्यम: हिंदी/अंग्रेजी  
Medium: Hindi/English

English

तारीख  
Date

08/08/2025

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

केंद्र  
Centre

Chandigarh

निरीक्षक के हस्ताक्षर  
Invigilator's Signature

Shaija Mishra

	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>महत्वपूर्ण अनुदेश</b></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;"><b>Important Instructions</b></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
<p>परीक्षक के हस्ताक्षर Signature of Examiner(s)</p>	

**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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<b>सकल योग (A+B) / GRAND TOTAL</b>							



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**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 हार्जिए में  
नहीं लिखना  
चाहिए  
Candidates  
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Karl Marx in his early works of 'Economic and Philosophical Manuscript' provided the concept of 'Alienation' as a critical lens on dehumanising capitalist society.

As per Marx theory of Alienation, the capitalist-industrialization detaches man from his true essence. As per Marx, the basic value of cooperation and production in humanity is replaced by mechanization - metabolic rift in the industrialization.

The man is separated from his work and his produce as he is reduced to mere cog in the wheel of machine. For ex., in assembly chain

of contemporary MNCs like Apple, the workers are merely producing small part without real ownership of their work. Also, the gig workforce is exploited without real production.

Moreover, the human is alienated from his society due to aggressive competition in advanced industrialization. The mass layoffs in contemporary global MNCs demonstrate this reality.

Further, he is separated from his true essence. Karl Marx in his later works proposed (Das Kapital, Communist Manifesto) to prevent violent overthrow of capitalism to prevent alienation of man. But emancipatory school (~~the~~ Frankfurt) proposed inner revolution; resonating with Radical Humanism Roy.

Despite economic determinist, Marx theory of Alienation underscored the exploitation of humanity in Capitalism irresponsible

1. (b)

विचारधारा का अंत  
End of ideology

10

उम्मीदवारों को  
इस सत्रिए में  
नहीं लिखना  
चाहिए  
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End of Ideology thesis was proposed by Daniel Bell in 1950s to underscore the irrelevance of ideological contestation in post second world war era.

In this, the ideology as set of ideas for way of life was termed redundant due to rise of techno-bureaucratic states. W.W. Rostow argued in five stages of growth that irrespective of ideology, all states go through same stages of economic development.

Further, empirical-behaviouralist studies such as Elite theory of Robert Michels argued that there is Iron law of Oligarchy. In both liberal and Communist governance, there is circulation of elite (Vilfredo Pareto).

In addition, resonating with End of History thesis of Francis Fukuyama, the liberal democracy was declared champion in all ideological contestation. S.M. Lipset in Political Man termed liberal democracy as the best form of life.

Nevertheless, End of Ideology thesis was described as 'itself an ideology' by Alasdair MacIntyre as it was a hegemonic discourse west liberalism. GB. Macpherson posited that there is need of ideology because western democracy also has inequalities and skewed development.

Further, Geertz argued that Ideology is necessary to comprehend bottomless and borderless sea of political science and reality.

1. (c)

वितरणात्मक न्याय  
Distributive Justice

10

उम्मीदवारों को  
इस हार्मिंग में  
नहीं लिखना  
चाहिए  
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Aristotle in his seminal work 'The Politics' described that the goodness in the sphere of politics is Justice. Rawls also called Justice as the first virtue of society.

Distributive Justice is the normative query of how to distribute burdens and privileges in just manner. As Platonic Justice focus on functional specialization whereas Aristotelian limits at formal distribution.

In addition, Distributive Justice is debated on what to distribute. The liberals such as Dworkin (Sovereign Virtue) argues for fair distribution of resources based on ambition sensitive and endowment insensitive auctions.

On the other hand, Rawlsian justice focus on distribution with equal liberties, equality of opportunity. His difference principle underscores the need of redistribution of surplus value for the least advantaged.

Marxian on the other hand believes in radical distributive justice with equality of outcome for all. However, libertarians like Robert Nozick (Entitlement theory of justice) argues for market fundamentalism, for procedural distributive justice.

But on Niti v/s Naya → Amartya Sen chose substantive justice through distribution of capabilities - removing internal impediments to development such as Microfinance - SHGs, Drone Didi etc

1. (d)

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

"Power and violence are opposites" (Hannah Arendt)

10

उम्मीदवारों को  
इस हफ़्ति में  
नहीं लिखना  
चाहिए  
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Hannah Arendt is American German thinker who presented unconventional perspective on power in her works - On Violence and The Origins of Totalitarianism.

Arendt argues that power is the possession of group and it is constructive in Vita Activa mode. This resonates with diffused theory of power of Foucault and democracy of Habermas.

She compares this constructive power of people in group with hierarchical violence in the realm of state. She posits state with violence can erode power such as Nazism of Hitler but cannot create power.

power as per Arendt is the  
creative freedom of masses ~~for~~ in  
realm of public life. Violence, on the  
other hand is destructive force - concentrated  
-ed in the hands of the totalitarian.

Though unconventional but her  
idea on power in concert is inspired  
by empirical mob violences (e.g. Pehlu  
Khan) and ~~is~~ exemplary ~~and~~ morality  
of single leaders like Gandhi, Mother Teresa.

Nevertheless, Hannah Arendt's  
concept of constructive power v/s  
destructive violence empowers the  
discourses against consumerism, erosion of  
public realm and rise of populist  
leaders worldwide

1. (e)

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

10

उम्मीदवारों को  
इस हार्डिप में  
नहीं लिखना  
चाहिए  
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Michael Foucault is the post-modernist thinker who presented the concept of Governmentality as the subtle and all-encompassing state-surveillance and disciplinary force.

Foucault observed power not from concentrated angle but from sociological diffusion. He observed flow of power in body politic similar to flow of blood in human body.

Governmentality is the evolution of state's power from brutal force earlier to disciplinary and biomentality in contemporary era.

He analogised Panopticon prison to demonstrate how state surveillance is

less violent and more pervasive. The institutions of school, church, family, hospitals all promote subtle disciplinary forces. There is knowledge-power discourse on National popular culture.

He further observes the process of harmonization by state such as third-gender as abnormal for easy governmentality. It leads to assimilation and erosion of diversity.

The embedded militarism where state's role is legitimized even if there is some crisis & further promotes cultural hegemony (Antonio Gramsci).

In this way, Foucault's governmentality highlights harmonizing and disciplinary discourses.

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 हिसाब में नहीं लिखना चाहिए  
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Behavioural and Post-Behavioural approaches are contemporary evolutions in Political Science post Second World War. These both prevented decline of political science from time to time.

Behavioural approach emerged in 1950s with David Easton's APSA and 'System analysis of political science'. This ~~reborn~~ revived political theory from static, monographic, speculative and eurocentric traditional approaches.

This added pluralism in Political theories with study of dynamics —  
System theory David Easton; Structural-functional — Almond & Powell and  
Political Culture — Almond & Verba

In addition, the interdisciplinary approaches aided study contextual-textual variations in ~~the~~ post-colonial states. To study the unique behaviour of such societies - emerged - political modernization of S. P. Huntington and Rismanic societies of FW. Riggs.

Further in 1960s, due to Ivory tower syndrome in Behaviouralism, Post-Behaviouralism emerged with credo of relevance and action. Now Post-Behaviouralism started macro-analysis of Values behind empirical behaviours.

Together, both approaches enriched Comprehensive analysis of political issues such as Rawlsian Contractual and distributive justice; Libertarianism of Robert Nozick and Communitarianism of Michael Sandel.

Using this approach, the post-colonial analysis deepened with Namza Alwi's Overdeveloped state and Benedict Anderson's Imagined Societies.

Not only empirical observation but interested search for values shaped post-behavioural comparative studies. for example, Arendt Lijphart presented how consociational democracy is well-suited for plural democracies.

Further, there is deepening of Political-Economy, Political-Sociology interdisciplinary studies for analyzing interaction in plural circumstances.  
For ex:- Christopher Jaffard studied

the relevance of caste in Indian political system.

There is emergence of Neo-Institutionalism (March & Olsen) that focus on logic of appropriateness in behaviours of political actors in the context of institutions.

Thus, both Behaviouralism and Post-Behaviouralism promotes normative inquiries with empirical methods.

Andrew Hacker rightly argued that the ~~too~~ political theorist is half scientist and half philosopher.

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 ह्रासिए में  
नहीं लिखना  
चाहिए  
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Max Weber explained the concept of authority who has legitimacy to use power/violence for the common good.

Weber studied three forms of Authority - Traditional, Charismatic and Rational.  
before 1950s usually had traditional leaders with hereditary authority such as Monarchs.

Machiavelli in his 'The Prince' argued the authority of a Monarch based on his art of management of power for National Interest. Similarly, Kautilyan Arthashastra described traditional

authorities in Indian context based on Kshatriya hereditary, Rajdharma obligations and Yogeshwara (welfarism) objective.

~~Secondly~~, Charismatic leaders gain ~~But~~ ~~in~~ ~~post~~ ~~mode~~ But in post-monarchical societies, the penetration of democracy transformed the concept of authority.

In enlightenment era of Europe, John Locke & Rousseau proposed for consent of the governed as the basis of authority. It leads to democratic authority with electoral mandates, good governance and accountability to public welfare.

Weberian Rational Authorities (third type) are more suited in modern concept of authority where

bureaucratic - technocratic elite  
centrism is there. For example,  
there is techno-military nexus in USA  
(C. Wright Mills) and Overdeveloped  
State in post-colonial societies (Hama Alwi)

But, In post-modern societies where  
globalization is making state boundaries  
porous; new social movements are expanding  
& deepening the human rights discourses (LGBTQ+),  
there is rise of populism as well as  
legitimacy crisis (Habermas).

The concept of authority is  
embedded with legitimacy - right to  
govern and duty of obedience -  
both these values are transforming  
in post-modern, post-material & post-sovereign  
political landscapes.

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

उम्मीदवारों को इस हाशिए में नहीं लिखना चाहिए।  
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Catherine McKinnon observed that 'When I look at state, it appears male to me'. The feminist critique of the state reflects on gender-grievances from state which negates & promotes gender injustices.

The state in the feminist perspective is masculine concentration of power. There are only 13.6% women MPs in Indian parliament and 25% in World legislatures (IPU).

There is radical feminist cry that 'Personal is Political and Political is Personal' (Carole Hanisch) where in domestic spheres women suffer from marital rapes, domestic violence and power-

asymmetry. To resolve these crisis,  
Madhu Kishwar concerns that state  
has only brought up Bizarre pieces  
of legislation..

Further, state recognises the  
violent & forced marriages as per  
Sexual Contact by Carole Poteman.

The state act as neutral but this  
neutrality & promotes crisis such as  
Marital Rapes.

Feminists argue that state should  
not promote unreasonable uniform rights,  
rather Iris Marion Young argues for  
differentiated citizenship rights for women  
for historical gender injustices.

~~For~~ for example; protection of  
women's physical bodily rights (Anti-Rape)

and decisional privacy (reproductive autonomy and career aspirations).

In advanced capitalism too females need redressal for equal pay for equal work, period poverty and women-centric policies on menstruation and maternal leaves.

Having discussed the criticism by feminist of state, it is critical to underscore the guilty gender-centrism in this discourse. This limits the scope of gender-consensus between male, female & LGBTQ+ on participative democracy.

Despite some lacunae, the gender lens on state transformed the discourses such as humanizing of security and diversification of public institutions.

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  
इस हार्जिए में  
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John Rawls in his work

'Justice as Fairness' described

Justice as the first virtue of human society as truth is the first virtue of any school of thought.

Plato in his 'The Republic' work promoted a grand theory on Justice for promoting common good, social cohesion and functional state.

Platonic Justice was based on duties or functional specializations for efficiency. It ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> was quite similar to

Varna conscious justice of Indian Dharmashastra.

It emphasized more on whole than individualism.

Along with evolution of society from feudal to industrial, the concept of justice kept on evolving.

The classical liberals like Locke, Adam Smith started focusing on individualistic justice.

The minimal state of classical liberals posited true justice as absence of restrictions to the liberal endeavours of individual. It transformed Acknowledged rights (D. Hume) based on hereditary to Justice based on meritocracy.

However this Meritocratic Justice ~~led~~ based on Darwinism of Herbert Spencer (Survival of the fittest) failed at recognizing the social-economic barriers to equality of opportunity.

In Industrialized societies,  
there emerged massive economic  
inequality, erosion of social goods  
and ~~poor~~ egoistic individualism (Tyranny  
of Meritocracy - M. sandel).

In this background, ~~Marxian~~ <sup>Marxism</sup>  
discourses emerged for Equality of  
Outcome and justice in Communism.  
However, Robert Hayek analyzed how  
equality of outcome leads to equality  
of poverty.

Further in Indian context, Dr. B.R.  
Ambedkar proposed substantive socio-  
economic justice based on Affirmative  
Action for historically underprivileged sections.  
His goal was to promote legal justice  
for social endosmosis.

Then in 1971 John Rawls presented his post-behavioural grand theory of Justice — based on veil of ignorance. He presented three principles — ① equal liberties, ②(a) Equality of opportunity and ②(b) Difference principle.

Rawlsian justice was based on social contract so that ~~add~~ these is universal acceptance to this fair principles. Through Difference principle, he focuses on social good and Chain link theory.

From Plato's duty-bound to Rawlsian right-based principles, the normative debate on Justice is the ever-continuing in Political Science.

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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उम्मीदवारों को इस हाशिए में नहीं लिखना चाहिए  
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On 10 December, 1948, Universal Declaration of Human rights at UN posited inalienable and irrevocable ~~the~~ universal human rights. However, cultural relativism advocates ~~for~~ against Human rights as hegemonic implementations.

The advocates of universal Human rights argue that there is moral unity in inherent dignity of all humans as in Kantian Categorical Imperative.

Further, the Bhakti and Sufi thinkers of India also established moral equality in all humans in ideas such as Ek Noor te Sab Jag Ujjaya and Wahadul - Ul - Wajud.

Cultural Relativist (Frantz Fanon)  
on the other hand fears the  
Western hegemonic implementation of  
Human rights in non-individualistic  
and communitarian Asian-African societies.

As per Asian Relativism of Mhd. Muttir and Lee Kuan Yew there is the  
hidden geopolitical & exploitative intentions  
in Human rights discourses. (For instance,  
regime changes in Middle East - gun point  
Human Right & democracy by US & NATO).

However, feminists like Susan  
Moller Okin fear that in the garb  
of Culturalism, there is legitimization of  
inhumane female genital mutilations,  
cultural policy, child marriages in  
Asian-African societies.

Barry Buzan, Amartya Sen and  
further, lamented that  
Cultural Relativism sometimes leads to  
ghettosization and act as impediment  
to the human-development.

Sen analyzed in Argumentative India  
how democracy & human dignity are  
not alien to India.

There is need of Overlapping  
Consensus proposed by John Rawls  
or Multiculturalism with Harm principle  
of Shikha Parekh to have meaningful  
dialogues on Human Rights & Cultural  
Rights.

Those human rights to be promoted  
that do not harm social good and  
those cultural rights to be tolerated  
that do not harm individual dignity.

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?

15

उम्मीदवारों को इस क्राशिए में नहीं लिखना चाहिए  
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Ronald Dworkin famously quoted Equality as Sovereign virtue because when humans are treated equally; it unlocks the potential of creative freedom and social cohesion.

The different spheres of Equality are - political, social and economic. Political Equality refers to equal citizenship; one vote, one man, one value and equal access to political offices and resources. Though Aristotle promoted political inequality amongst greek; non-greek and male - female; but classical liberals promoted political equality such as in Two Treatises of Representative Government by Locke.

Socially, Equality refers to equal dignity of all and it requires affirmative action from the state to ~~erase~~ rectify historical social injustices. It is promoted by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Indian Constitution (Article 15, 16).

Economic equality refers to equal distribution of basic needs. Socialists and Marxists argue for radical equality of outcome for common ownership of economic resources.

To realize these forms of Inequality, various models have developed. The minimal state of Advanced States such as US, Canada UK focus more on political equality and believe in market

fundamentalism for socio-economic  
meritocracy (from identity to development).

On the other hand, Scandinavian  
countries promote Welfarism as right  
(E-Andersson) for collective realization  
of social, economic and political equality.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar held that  
without base of socio-economic democracy,  
political democracy as top-soil will ~~not~~ be  
eroded eventually. So, all three should  
be realized simultaneously.

However, libertarians (Hayek, Friedman)  
argues that promotion of economic equality  
leads to inefficiency. But it also depends  
on the capacity & will of the state (e.g.  
DPSAs in India).

~~Both~~ Normatively all three should  
be realized for substantive democracy!

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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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.

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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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5.

निम्नलिखित पर लगभग 150 शब्दों में टिप्पणी कीजिए:

Comment on the following in about 150 words each:

10 x 5 = 50

(a) भारतीय संविधान सामाजिक क्रांति का एक साधन है।

The Indian Constitution as an instrument of social revolution.

10

Marc Galanter observed that Indian Constitution radically abolished old feudal rights by establishing new rights.

As a ~~an~~ ~~is~~ post-colonial state, India was standing at crossroads in 1947 with position blues, secessionist trends, illiteracy, poverty, ~~no~~ diversity and social inequality.

Indian Constitution demonstrated its trinity of values — liberty, equality and fraternity in Preamble to initiate a social revolution. Through single citizenship, it promoted the idea of individual dignity and inclusive nationalism.

The right to equality in Part III - (Fundamental Rights - Article 14-18) posited

उम्मीदवारों को इस ह्राशिए में नहीं लिखना चाहिए  
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positive individualism (15, 16), Rule of Law (A14) and Communitarian justice through affirmative action and abolition of untouchability (Article 17).

To fulfill the social contract of Preamble Article 32, Judicial Independence (A. 368) and a rigorous amendment were added. It prevented political arbitrariness and social tyranny.

Further, there ~~was~~ is promotion of community rights (A. 29 & 30); Assymetrical federalism and accomodated segmented autonomy to tribals (5th & 6th schedule) to ensure social cohesion and social endosmosis.

It is rightly said In other countries, Constitution is followed by social revolution but in India social revolution succeeded Constitution.

5. (b)

अंतर-दलीय लोकतंत्र का मुद्दा  
Issue of Intra-party democracy

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Intra-Party democracy refers to transparent, inclusive and responsive political parties. H. Laski termed Political Parties as life and blood of democracy whose inner functioning is significant.

Intra-Party democracy is crucial to prevent elite capture, dynastic overhaul and criminalization of politics (Milan Vaishnava). Further, due to lack of inner democracy in parties, there comes issue of low representation of diverse section of society.

Political party performs the role of interest aggregation (Almond & Powell). Thus, they must be democratic inside for

substantive democracy outside.

Intra-Party democracy involves regular elections within the party; principle of subsidiary to promote local democracy and diverse membership such as opportunities to women in party.

However, empirical studies such as Elite theory of power (Pareto, Verba) argues that all Political Parties are undemocratic and captured by elites.

Due to this undemocracy inside, there is casualty to procedural democracy. There is need of empowering of Election Commission of India (ECI) under Article 324 to promote Intra-Party democracy.

5. (c)

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

10

Panchayats Extension to Scheduled Areas Act (PESA) Act, 1996 was introduced for promotion of transformative democracy without jeopardizing cultural autonomy of scheduled areas.

PESA Act, 1996 implements local governance model with modifications to accommodate tribal autonomy and empowerment of gram sabha on local economy, customs and governance.

It is relevant to prevent ethnic assertions due to fear of cultural mapping (Charles Taylor) and to promote segmented autonomy as recommended by Arendt Lijphart in plural societies.

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However, there are challenges to the PESA Act 1996 where certain cultural rights jeopardize human dignity such as non-recognition of women reservation. It also become a barrier for human development programmes of states & National governments.

Nevertheless, PESA Act 1996 is crucial to balance culturalism with good governance. Pursuing the Nehruvian Panchsheel legacy, it promotes the idea of Tribal-led and Tribal-owned empowerment.

5. (d)

1857 के विद्रोह पर विभिन्न दृष्टिकोण

Different perspectives on the Revolt of 1857

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Revolt of 1857 was the major revolt involving diverse grievances of Indians from the alien rule of mercantilist turned into colonial rule of East India Company.

Colonialists such as Seeley and Stodrey narrowed the descriptions as mere Sepoy mutiny to delegitimize the cries of dismantling the colonial rule.

Eric Stokes presented the revolt as Barbaric killing the White man's burden hegemony.

Further, Ostrom termed it as Mohammaden conspiracy which ~~led to~~ seeded the policy of divide & rule of colonials.

But V.D. Savarkar analysed the  
Revolt as first war of Independence

It was more than a sepoy mutiny  
because every sepoy was peasant in  
uniform. The involvement of kings, queens,  
zamindars (eg Rani Laxmibai, Tanha Tope)  
demonstrated the wide movement.

In 'Asbab-e-Bhagwat-e-Hind'

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan countered the  
Mohammaden Conspiracy theory on  
analysing the fallacies of British rule  
which fuelled discontent (e.g. exorbitant rate of  
revenue).

further, R.C. Majumdar held that  
it was neither a sepoy mutiny nor  
first war of independence due to limited  
reach and lack of participation of major  
Sections (eg. Sikh, Marathas).

But 1857 Revolt became an  
inspiration for National consciousness  
against British Rule.

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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GST Council is a constitutional architecture under Article 279A to promote fiscal cooperative federalism. It was established via 101<sup>st</sup> Constitutional Amendment.

It enables the platform for deliberative and participative federalism where states have more weightage of vote ( $2/3rd$ ) than centre. It promotes Public Choice model of James Buchanan for ~~state~~ ~~not~~ state flexible autonomy.

Further, GST Council enables dispute resolution on issues such as tax rates, cesses and surcharges. This model has empowered fiscal health of states with above 1 crore tax revenue

becoming new normal.

However, there are limitations in GST council on resolving issues such as Compensation cess dispute or diversifying GST to Petroleum, crude oil products.

Due to rigid structure, GST has failed to promote fiscal consensus on various issues. Pratab Bhanu Mehta

argues role of power, party and economic inequality amongst states as hindering holding-together spirit.

There is need of ~~more~~ more institutionalisation of fiscal federalism under GST for fiscal collaborative and centrifugal federalism model.

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, जिससे 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.

15

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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

उम्मीदवारों को  
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Fundamental Rights under Part-III of Indian Constitution have been guarded by Supreme Court via Article 32 and its original jurisdiction.

Before emergency of 1975, fundamental Rights jurisprudence was mostly textual. Being justiciable rights, SC promoted fundamental Rights above DPSPs becoming barrier in land reforms; socio-economic justice (Rancie Kentel).

For instance, in Champakaran Dorairajan case, SC held that FRs ~~are~~ cannot be violated for DPSP implementation. ~~It~~ It leads to Amendment zeal of Parliament that

transformed key FRs through amendments like 1st Amendment. The introduction of Ninth Schedule reduced the scope of judicial review.

The textual approach was reactive and non-visionary as Golaknath judgement termed FRs as sacrosanct that shifted the possibility of implementation of public-spirited DPSPs.

Moreover, during emergency (1975), In ADM Jabalpur case, Supreme Court narrowed the scope of Habeas corpus. It shattered the vision of Indian Constitution that J.L. Nehru observed — does not anticipate passive judiciary.

There emerged shift in  
jurisprudence post-emergency era  
where Supreme Court started  
metaphysical & innovative interpretations  
of the Constitution.

In 1976 of Keshavananda Bharati  
Case, SC introduced Basic Structure  
Doctrine to ensure preservation of  
Constitutional Supremacy over Parliamentary  
Sovereignty.

In Maneka Gandhi Case (1987);  
the scope of Article 21 was expanded  
for Due Process of law over  
narrow procedure established by law.

The PIL movement in 1980s  
by Justice Iyer promoted relaxation  
of locus-standi to promote justice  
at the door-steps of disadvantaged.  
In Bandhu Mukhi Morcha - Article 21  
was expanded as dignity sans  
exploitation.

It also unlocked social order  
in Sabrimala judgement and  
Triple Talcaq case by equality rights  
(Article 14, 21).

Further Puttaswamy judgement  
(Right to Privacy) and Naveg Singh  
Johar case (deminializing homosexuality)  
expanded the scope of Article 21  
for post-material human dignity.

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

Indian legislators' demography is rapidly changing with deepening of political culture and electronic surveillance.

There are about 80% MPs who are graduates in 15th Lok Sabha. This promotes educated & enlightened representative model of JS-M:11.

Moreover, there is rising representation of diverse sections.

Post Green Revolution, Ruralisation of Parliament happened (Rudolf &

Rudolf). Post Mandalisation,  
Backward Classes got democratic  
upsurges (Yogender Yadav) - Rise of  
parties such as BSP demonstrates  
this.

Further, the voter turnout gap  
b/w male - female reduce from  
10% (2014) to 0.1% (2024). These  
promotes gender-centric representation.  
Promoting female centric policies  
eg Ug Palak and Laxmi Bahini

However, there is under-  
representation of females (13.6% in  
18<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha). Also, despite

14% of population, Muslims  
are under represented (4%) -  
Saachar Committee report.

There is rising criminalisation  
with 43% of MPs with criminal  
records, as a result of rule of  
law (Milan Vaishnav).

There is need of more  
inclusive & diverse representation  
through electoral reforms (ECR)  
and Inner Party democracy.

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

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As per Ashok Mehta Committee,  
Panchayati Raj sowed the seeds of  
democracy in rural soils that  
cultivated development psyche in India.

Through 73rd & 74th Amendment,  
decentralized democracy in rural  
India promoted the principle of  
Subsidiarity (2nd ARC).

As per polycentric model of  
Governance by Elinor Ostrom, Communities  
are better manager of assets. For  
ex. Ibrahimpur village Panchayat  
achieved 0% mortality and 100% Sanitation  
(SDG - ~~to~~ with local governance).

further, the reservation of marginalized empowered the lower sections. As per Esther Duflo Report, Women Sarpanches promoted socio-economic development more than their male counterparts.

for instance, Sushma Badu, Sarpanch of Hasayana fought against female infanticide. Fahima Bi of Andhra got UNDP award for poverty eradication.

Nevertheless, these are issues in 3B-funds, functions & functionaries. As per MoPR, only 10% funds are from own-budget

of panchayats. Also, there are  
quotas without capacity development  
and cultural shifts that promotes  
Sarpanch Pati Syndrome.

Mam Shankar Aiyar Committee  
held that it promoted decentralisation  
of corruption.

2<sup>nd</sup> ARC suggested Activity  
Mapping and Specialised Panchayat  
Cells for tax buoyancy, Odantapuri  
model (Wind Power Independence) can  
be promoted. PM Mahila Shakti Kisan  
Yojana along with public oath hearing  
of women Sarpanch is needed.

It will promote Gram Uday

Se Bharat Uday

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

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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.

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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

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