



VISIONIAS
INSPIRING INNOVATION
ABHYAAS MAINS

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

निर्धारित समय: तीन घंटे

Time Allowed: **Three Hours**

(Test Code : 4518)

अधिकतम अंक: 250

Maximum Marks: 250

सामान्य अनुदेश

इस प्रश्न-सह-उत्तर (क्यू.सी.ए.) पुस्तिका में 88+8 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

03.08.25

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

केंद्र
Centre

DELHI -
KAROL BAGH

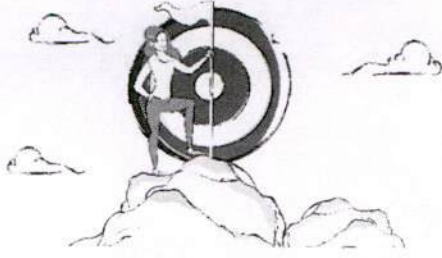
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Invigilator's Signature

	<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
<p>परीक्षक के हस्ताक्षर Signature of Examiner(s)</p>	

प्रासांक 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							
3							
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6							
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8							
सकल योग (A+B) / GRAND TOTAL							



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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 बनना 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 प्रश्नों के उत्तर लगभग 150 शब्दों में दीजिए:

Answer the following questions in about 150 words each:

10 x 5 = 50

(a)

अंतर्राष्ट्रीय संबंधों में पीस बाई पीसेस (टुकड़ों में शांति) के दृष्टिकोण पर चर्चा कीजिए।

Discuss the 'Peace by Pieces' Approach to International Relations.

10

Peace by Pieces approach
forms the crux of DAVID MITRANY
AND ERNT HAAS'S functionalism
approach.

It says, peace can be
achieved by keeping the politicians
out (Richard Cobden) and engaging
on non-political issues first. Once
that is achieved, it becomes easy
to delve on political issues as
it creates a ripple effect, creating
interdependence.

The approach is similar
to Michael Doyle approach of
'communicative theory' - establishing
communication between cultural
groups and people to ties will
help in larger integration.

(Eg): Indian diaspora pressure in ending the nuclear apartheid with the 123 Agreement of 2005 is a fine example

Similarly, the formation of European Union is a excellent example of peace by pieces as Germany and France, once at the opposite sides, are now leading the EU cooperation.

The democratic peace theory and trading states by Doyle and Friedman reiterate the same.

The South Asian region, needs this approach, to emulate the success of ASEAN Miracle (Kishore Mahbubani) or EU's success.

Thus, peace by pieces is a innovative approach, going bottom up - echoing the Andrew Linklater's Emancipatory approach, of creating greater cooperation.

1. (b)

तुलनात्मक राजनीति के अध्ययन के ऐतिहासिक उपागम का विश्लेषण कीजिए।
Analyse the historical approach to studying comparative politics.

10

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नहीं लिखना
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Apter defines comparative politics as the science of finding pattern in different political systems.

Historical approach, along with legal-constitutional has been the dominant approaches to comparative politics pre-world war era.

The approach draws from comparing the history of countries, constitutions, legal systems, rules and values.

This helped in creating the first model framework for comparative politics. However, this approach is not without faults.

Roy Macridis calls it as narrow
parochial, non-comparative and
limited. Because, in effect it was
comparing the histories of western
world countries and ended up
having same or similar results.

Moreover, it is eurocentric
and ethnocentric as it doesn't
apply to third countries where
there is a mismatch between text
and constitution / context as highlighted
by FW KIGGS, since they are traditional
societies.

This, historical approach
is insufficient and later approaches
like systems, modernisation,
political sociology approach needs
to be used in tandem to better
appreciate the third worlds and
others in general.

1. (c)

साइबर युद्ध में एआई (AI) का शस्त्रीकरण मौजूदा अंतर्राष्ट्रीय मानदंडों और विधिक ढांचे को किस प्रकार चुनौती देता है?

How does the weaponization of AI in cyber warfare challenge existing international norms and legal frameworks?

10

उम्मीदवारों को इस हिसाब में नहीं लिखना चाहिए
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Chris Miller in his book Chip Wars highlights the new age warfare as asymmetric, hybrid and subtle. The weaponisation of AI will change the warfare paradigm of the future.

The weaponisation of AI can be possible with weaponisation of supply chain i.e. weaponisation of interdependence as highlighted by Newman & Farrell

It will challenge the securitisation norms. Security is a speech act (Barry Buzan) and cyber security needs to be securitised.
(eg) Data Localisation rules

Similarly, there is a shift from hard power to soft power (Joseph Nye) to sharp power (Christopher Walkman). It says, use of covert techniques like cyber-attack and artificial intelligence based deep fakes and misdisinformation warfare as the new normal.

It affects the digital divide that exists and enhances the faultline further - creating a world of digital haves and have-nots.

The rise of technonationalism along with JAKE SULLIVAN'S security-development hyperation, makes the new age warfare more subtle and overturns the existing international norms and frameworks.

1. (d)

'शक्ति संतुलन' की अवधारणा की व्याख्या कीजिए तथा समकालीन अंतर्राष्ट्रीय संबंधों में इसकी प्रासंगिकता पर चर्चा कीजिए।

Explain the concept of 'Balance of Power' and discuss its relevance in contemporary international relations.

10

Balance of Power is a realist IR concept, that says superpowers in a world order marked by anarchy balance each other by way of alliances, bandwagoning, bait & bleed and buck passing.

For instance, the era of cold war was bloc power politics.

Relevance of Balance of Power in contemporary times can be seen in the world dividing into polyamorous alliances as Robert Froman puts it. These are overlapping alliance devoid of principles and prioritising pragmatism.

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The QUAD, AUKUS are examples of alliances to counter the China's assertion in the region marked by Salami slicing and low-wolf strategy along with string of pearls.

Similarly, the BRICS is an initiative to counter the West in ~~particular~~ general and USA in particular.

The rising autogonism against BRICS by the TRUMP government is a case in point.

The contemporary times, balance of power is emerging again due to decline of idealism and its failure of liberal institutionalism (Woodrow Wilson) as the multilateral organisations are failing to voice the opinions of Global South.

1. (e)

नई अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय आर्थिक व्यवस्था (NIEO) एक अधूरी क्रांति थी, लेकिन इसके मानकीय दावे फिर से प्रासंगिक हो रहे हैं। महामारी के पश्चात वैश्विक शासन के संदर्भ में इस की चर्चा कीजिए।

The New International Economic Order (NIEO) was an unfinished revolution, but its normative claims are making a comeback. Discuss in the context of post-pandemic global governance. 10

The NIEO or New international economic order was a economic growth paradigm much to the anger against the failure of Bretton wood institutions:

The NIEO was based on the ideas of inclusive growth and sustainable development reversing the neo-colonialism (Kwame Nkrumah) and imperial Rent (dependency school). The NAM was the ideological fountain of NIEO.

However, the increasing penetration of World Bank and IMF's Structural Adjustment Plan (SAPs) along with lack of cooperation among third world led to its decline.

However, the post-pandemic era is showing signs of revival of NIEO, especially in the context of weaponisation of interdependence and the failure of IMF/WB to provide meaningful direction to post-pandemic recovery.

The dedollarisation is the starting point. BRICS currency is also in talks. The China's anti-west alternatives like NDB, ADB, AIIB are acting as new alternatives to the Bretton Woods system.

The NIEO, thus is banking on the collective voice of Global South.

However, NIEO is not without challenges. Trump's 100% tariff penalty warning against BRICS is creating new hurdles. Thus, it needs to be carried forward with caution.

2. (a)

बढते वैश्विक विभाजन और बहुपक्षवाद के पतन के संदर्भ में, संयुक्त राष्ट्र को वैश्विक शासन में अपनी नेतृत्वकारी भूमिका पुनः प्राप्त करने में चुनौतियों का सामना करना पड रहा है। समकालीन उदाहरणों का उपयोग करके विश्लेषण कीजिए।

In the context of rising global divisions and the decline of multilateralism, the United Nations faces challenges to reclaim its leadership role in global governance. Analyse by using contemporary examples.

20

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2. (b)

बिग टेक (विशाल प्रौद्योगिकी कंपनियां) राष्ट्रविहीन हो सकती हैं, लेकिन वे शक्तिहीन नहीं हैं। इस संदर्भ को ध्यान में रखते हुए, उत्तर-औपनिवेशिक राष्ट्रों की स्वायत्तता पर अंतरराष्ट्रीय डिजिटल निगमों के प्रभाव का मूल्यांकन कीजिए।

Big Tech may be stateless, but it is not powerless. Keeping this in context, evaluate the impact of transnational digital corporations on the autonomy of post-colonial states.

15

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2. (c)

आतंकवाद और मानवाधिकारों के बीच के जटिल संबंधों पर चर्चा कीजिए। आतंकवाद से निपटने के उद्देश्य से किए गए उग्रवाद-रोधी उपाय अक्सर मानवाधिकार उल्लंघनों को कैसे बढ़ावा देते हैं?

Discuss the complex relationship between terrorism and human rights. How do counter-insurgency measures, while aiming to combat terrorism, often exacerbate human rights violations?

15

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3. (a)

जहाँ यथार्थवाद राज्य के व्यवहार की क्रियाविधि पर केंद्रित है, वहीं मार्क्सवाद अंतर्निहित आर्थिक और सामाजिक शक्तियों पर केंद्रित है। उदाहरणों द्वारा इस कथन का मूल्यांकन कीजिए।

While realism focuses on the mechanisms of state behaviour, Marxism focuses on the underlying economic and social forces. Evaluate the statement using examples.

20

Realism is the hegemonic approach in studying the international politics. Hans Morgenthau is the intellectual founding father of realism. On the other hand, Marxism as philosophical approach too provides a different worldview to politics.

The foundations of realism is based on the anarchical world that exists and how states are bound to act in a specific way. Scholars like Kenneth Waltz and John Meierhaimer look it as the actor less analysis - with states are the primary actors.

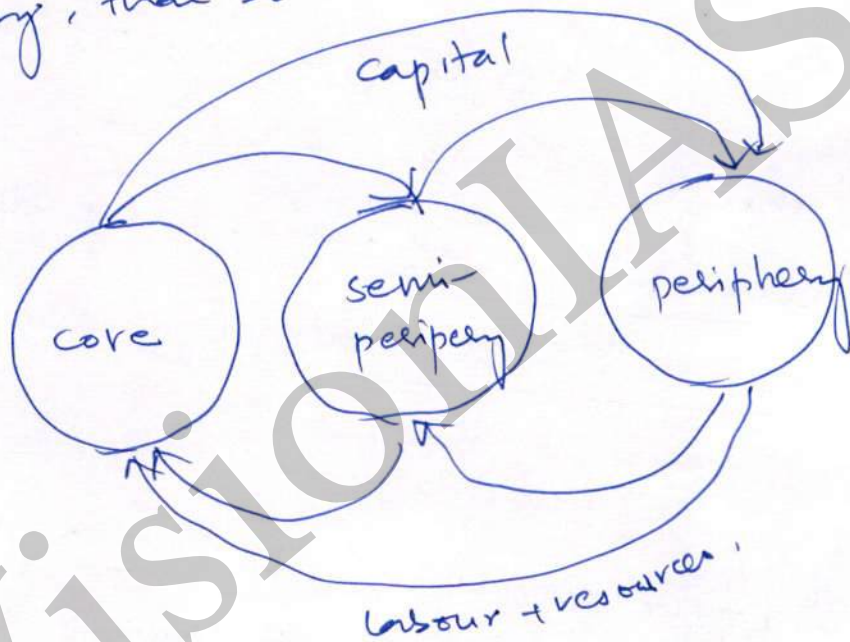
According to them, since there is no world government, the states are bound to fend for themselves and because states are 'animus domihandi' every state will go for power struggle. Self help is the way out and power is the means to it.

At this point, the school of thought diverges into two: offensive Realism of Meisshheimer and defensive realism by Waltz.

According to Waltz, states are power maximisers for security, while Meisshheimer disagrees. He says states acquire power for hegemony.

(e) China's rise as a second pole is not just for security, but counter-hegemony to the USA. → examples like ADB, BR1, CPEC etc.

Marxism on the other hand, draws inspiration from Karl Marx ideas and applies these at IR. The dependency school led by Immanuel Wallerstein is a dominant school. He gave the world systems theory, that divides the world into,



core, periphery and semi-periphery. With states in periphery acting as instruments of states in core leading to Neo-imperialism (KWAME NINSIN)

Similarly, AG FRANK

and SAMIR AMIN have given the implication of such system leading development of underdevelopment with imperialist extraction.

However, the two schools coincide on the aspect of ideology. For Marxism, ideology are false consciousness, whereas for realist ideologies are "masks to hide real intentions".

Thus, both provide different insights to international politics. However, realism remains the dominant one and it is said other approaches remain footnote to it.

3. (b)

समकालीन अंतर्राष्ट्रीय संबंधों के संदर्भ में तकनीकी उन्नति ने 'अवरोध' और 'राष्ट्रीय हित' की पारंपरिक अवधारणाओं को किस प्रकार नया रूप दिया है?

How has the advancement of technology reshaped the traditional concepts of 'deterrence' and 'national interest' in the context of contemporary international relations? 15

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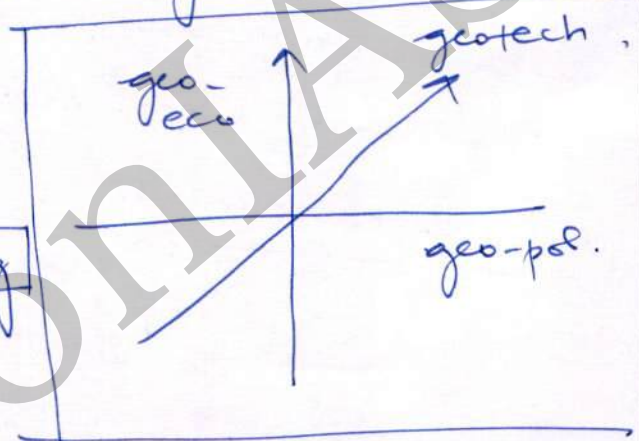
HV Shringla, former foreign secretary, said technology is adding new dimension/axis of geo-technology to the already existing areas, viz geoeconomics and geo-politics.

Deterrence is defined by Thomas Schelling

as the utilising the idea of causing harm as an ideology to weaken the adversary

National interest on the other hand, Kautsky says, any thing that deters the development/growth of a nation

The weaponisation of supply chain as highlighted by Parag Khanna in his book Connectography



show how supply chain involving important ingredients for technology development has led to new form of deterrence.

Similarly, the weaponisation of REE/Rare earth elements by China which captures 70% of world's resources is a way of deterring adversaries like INDIA and USA and threatening their National security.

Similarly, the development of nuclear facilities by IRAN shows that 400 MW of nuclear stock of UK doesn't deter USA, but enrichment of nuclear energy by IRAN does!

In his book, Techno-Geo-geography, Samir Saran highlights the use of geography and technology as a deterrent by creating asymmetric & hybrid warfare.

② Space technology in Op-sindoor along LOC.

Christopher Walker's sharp power

highlights the rise of covert operations
in the form of cyber-attack on
critical infrastructures (e.g. A11ms
cyber attack) as the new deterrent.

~~Thomas~~ Klaus Schwab,

showing that this is an era of
not large eating the small, but
a fast eating the slow. The examples
of Deepseek vs. OpenAI can be
a case in point.

Thus, the new age wars
will be more sharper, smarter and
subtler and we are going to
see a world that is meaner,
smaller and weaker.

The next world war will be
fought not with trenches
but touchscreens!

3. (c)

चर्चा कीजिए कि क्या सक्रिय गूटनिरपेक्षता महाशक्तियों की प्रतिद्वंद्विता के बीच मध्यम शक्तियों के लिए विदेश नीति संबंधी एक व्यवहार्य विकल्प प्रदान करती है।

Discuss whether an active non-alignment provides a viable foreign policy option for middle powers amid great power rivalries.

15

The NAM was created in an era of cold war and postcolonial independence of the third world.

The relevance back then remained about not wanting to be stuck in the power bloc politics. The relevance now, still remains the same with the rise of new cold war (David Sanger).

The NAM can help emerge as fountain of hope to the middle powers. India had led the NAM 1.0 amidst the crisis of cold war and successfully averted the Korean crisis, Congo crisis, Suez crisis - as highlighted by SWADNA NAYUDU his her new book "THE NAM YEARS"

उम्मीदवारों को इस हार्निफ में नहीं लिखना चाहिए
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Since NAM is based on the principle of strategic autonomy and issue-based alliance, it gives the third world countries the ~~re~~ merchance to take decision based on their national interests and securing their sovereignty.

The calls of NAM as suffering from agenda crisis (C. Rajamohan) can be addressed, if NAM is utilised and harnessed well.

India, as the voice of the Global South needs to take the lead a world that is degenerating once again into bloc rivalries.

However, challenges remain. NAM today is also posed by the challenge of alternatives like BRICS and G20.

NAM also faces the issues of being stuck in the past - a prisoner of past (Happymon Jucas). A renewed NAM led by India is the need of the hour.

It can emerge as the single most advanced organisation/forum for the third world and go beyond the immediate needs to address large concerns like terrorism, climate justice, and panemics.
(Problems without passport - Shashi Tharoor)

4. (a)

अमेरिका ने वैश्विक राजनीति में अपनी प्राधान्य की भूमिका को बरकरार रखा है, जैसा कि ईरान-इज़राइल संघर्ष और भारत-पाकिस्तान तनाव में उसके प्रभाव से स्पष्ट होता है। 21वीं सदी में अमेरिकी प्रभुत्व में गिरावट के दावों के बीच समालोचनात्मक विवेचना कीजिए।

The U.S. has maintained its hegemonic role in global politics, as demonstrated by its influence in the Iran-Israel conflict and India-Pakistan tensions. Discuss critically amid the claims of declining U.S. hegemony in the 21st century.

20

उम्मीदवारों को इस हाशिए में नहीं लिखना चाहिए
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The first half of 2025 saw two extraordinary events in international politics.

- ① The bombing of IRAN'S nuclear facilities at NATANZ, ISFAHAN and FORDOW by B2-bombers of USA.
- ② The op. sindoor post Bahalgam attack, which sustained for 72 hrs and was finally ended with a ceasefire allegedly with USA's intervention.

However, the hegemonic role of USA in global politics has recently seemed to be declined by experts. This is analysed by the

recent article by Prof. Michael Jenkins, who says, traditionally USA was seen as either an isolationist or as a global superpower acting as a hegemon. However, there's a third route coming up with TRUMP's transactional politics. This route is "rogue superpowers", that discredits its allies and has no respect for international law or conventions.

For instance, USA's withdrawal from the WTO recently and Paris deal is seen as abdication of duties of a superpower or hegemony.

There is a Kindleberger trap that is getting created where global distribution of public goods is not happening, similar to what happened during 1929-30s - as highlighted by Henry Kissinger - leading to collapse of USA's hegemony.

This is further exacerbated by the rise of Chinese dragon and its ability to fulfill the Kindleberger Trap. This has complicated the issue with calls of new cold war and what Graham Allison calls as "Thucydides Trap", similar to Kenneth Organski's POWER TRANSITION THEORY.

This along with USA's inward looking strategies of NAGA, (or) abdicating the security alliance in NATO has reduced the respect among the allies and adversaries alike.

However, it would be too early and naive to claim the end of USA hegemony.

one instance would be the rapid reliance on dollars across the globe and with the TRUMPIAN Tariffs set the hegemony could be further enforced.

Also, the soft power of Washington is way popular and attractive than Beijing to have any mark as an hegemony - writes KANTI BAJPAI.

Thus, USA's hegemony is in transition and it would be too naive and immature to look at it from that lens. While challenges remain, USA still hangs around as the hegemon.

4. (b)

निम्न और मध्यम आय वाले देशों की ऋण सुभेद्यताओं को दूर करने में आईएमएफ और विश्व बैंक की प्रभावशीलता का मूल्यांकन कीजिए।

Evaluate the effectiveness of the IMF and World Bank in addressing the debt vulnerabilities of low- and middle-income countries.

15

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The IMF and World Bank were the early beginners of the BRETTON WOODS institutions.

Together, they were called as the ^{Int. Bank} ~~Institution~~ for reconstruction and development (IRBD). As the name goes the primary focus was on post world war reconstruction and development.

However, the agenda went beyond Europe amidst the cold war propagation of hegemony into the third world of Asia Africa and America.

For (eg) :- the 1991 balance of payment (BOP) crisis of India is one example. Where IMF provided

the structural Adjustment Program (SAPs) for economic integration and recovery.

Similarly, the World Bank funds numerous development projects like reservoirs, education, health and digital skilling.

For (eg): Going online as Leaders (GOALS) with Meta (or) the STAR programme for education at school level is another example.

However, critics like Jeffrey Sachs says World Bank and IMF are extension of USA's federal reserve... meaning establishing the hegemony of dollar.

Similarly, Marxist critics highlight the development of underdevelopment facilitated by Robertson Woods (Samir Amin / AG Frank)

Thomas Piketty highlights that conditionalities have led to third world countries being subjected to dollar-colonialism and dollar-imperialism.

The IMF/WB also are prisoners of past. Scholars like Raghuram Rajan have called for reformed WB/IMF. They are promoting status of a bygone era and Dagfinn Haugmoen says they represent "abstract Picasso Painting".

There is a urgent need for reforms in IMF/World Bank.

4. (c)

नारीवादी विद्वानों ने अंतर्राष्ट्रीय संबंधों में पारंपरिक सुरक्षा प्रतिमानों की किस प्रकार आलोचना की है तथा उनके द्वारा सुरक्षा के संबंध में कौन-से वैकल्पिक दृष्टिकोण प्रस्तावित किए गए हैं?

How have feminist scholars critiqued traditional security paradigms in International Relations and what alternative perspectives on security have they proposed?

15

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The Realist Haws

Morgenthau provided the theory of international politics in his book Politics among nations. He takes the view point of a man who according to him is "Animus Domini".

The feminist scholars of IR like Ann J. Tickner and Cynthia Enloe says the IR theories are masculine in nature and do not feature care. As the women, is whom faces the largest and disproportionate bount of wars, terrorism etc.

They calls for "care to be secularised" and nationalistic interest to be based on interests of the women.

Since, security is a speech act (BARRY BUZAN) - feminists want women security to be securitised

Similarly, social constructivists like Martha Finnemore and TINA Tannenwald, says that Anarchy need not necessarily mean war. Peace can be an option, if it is constructed like that.

Tina Tannenwald goes a step further, in says that the weapons of mass destruction (WMD) like nuclear weapons must be tabooed, to make a world peaceful to name & shame countries that proliferate.

Feminist foreign policy has been codified with Nordic states like NORWAY

• being the first to be producing one such policy.

However, critics point out the dangers of giving up on weapons as deterrents. Henry Kissinger says, Feminist policy assumes that the states will always act rationally.

Thus, feminist foreign scholars perspectives give a new dimension with 3Cs: care, cooperation and collaboration as the foundation

5.

निम्नलिखित प्रश्नों के उत्तर लगभग 150 शब्दों में दीजिए:

Answer the following questions in about 150 words each:

10 x 5 = 50

(a)

'अमृत काल' की अवधारणा और 2047 के लिए भारत की विदेश नीति के दृष्टिकोण एवं रणनीति पर इसके प्रभावों की विवेचना कीजिए।

Discuss the concept of 'Amrit Kaal' and its implications for India's foreign policy vision and strategy towards 2047.

10

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नहीं लिखना
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Amrit Kaal is the next (25)
years ~~decade~~ of India's vision for
growth paradigm. It is based on
India as a Vishwabandhu and
the world as Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam

Amrit Kaal is based on
cooperation, development, inclusive
growth, economic growth that
bring peace, prosperity and equity

Implications for India's
Foreign policy vision towards 2047
include:

- ① Roadmap for India's quest
for permanent seat at the
UNSC.

- ② India as the net security provider
- ③ India as the global pacifier
(HARSH V. PANT)
- ④ India as the system shaper and system maker, not just system taker [Ashely Tellis]
- ⑤ India as the top three economy heading geoeconomics, politics and development powerhouse

challenges

- Chinese assertion in the region
- increasing inward looking policies across the world
- resistance to reform - UNSC / WB / IMF / WTO.
- arc of instability & uncertainty in the region (Rajeev Sikri)

5. (b)

सहकारी संघवाद के अंतर्गत राज्य सरकारें विदेश नीति को किस प्रकार प्रभावित करती हैं? उदाहरणों सहित चर्चा कीजिए।

How do state governments influence foreign policy under cooperative federalism? Discuss with examples.

10

'Paradiplomacy' is a concept in IR where the subnational units like state govts too participate in the foreign policy issues and influence them.

History of Indian foreign policy is replete with examples. The Tamil Nadu gov't's request to actively engage the LTTE in Sri Lanka in lieu of their Tamil Brethren led to IPKF by Rajiv Gandhi government in the 1980's.

Similarly, the water sharing agreements of Teesta has been a long bone of contention between Gujarat and Jharkhand because of the intervention of West Bengal gov't.

Similarly, the close of FMR (60) Free movement Regime across Myanmar was met with resistance by the states of Mizoram, Manipur and Nagaland because of the ethnic ties across borders.

While state governments can aid it giving inputs to the policy decisions, it often leads to dilution of notion of continuity & change of Foreign policy making.

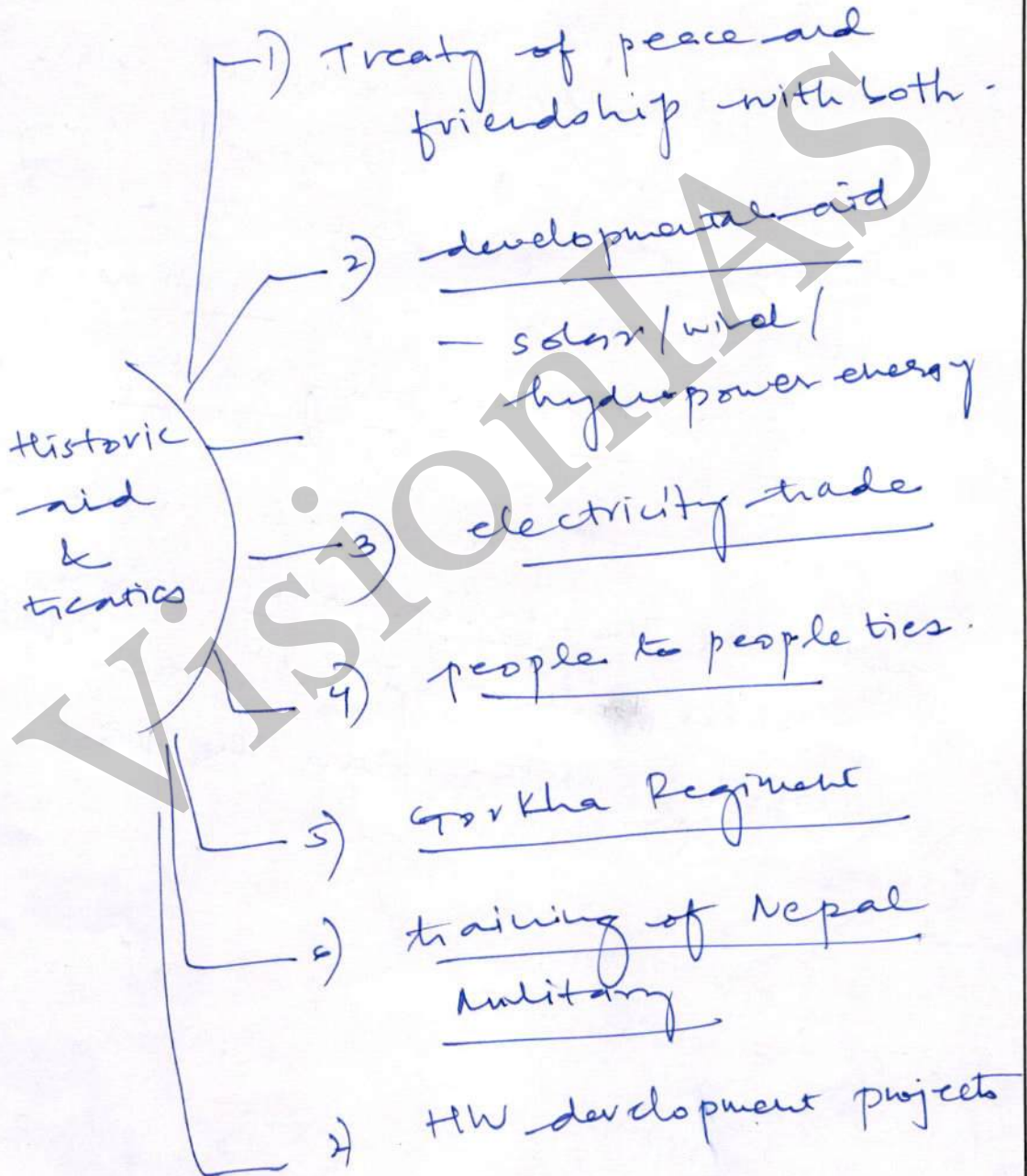
The increase in number of actors in the foreign policy making influences both negatively and positively, more often the prior.

5. (c)

ऐतिहासिक संधियों और सहायता के संदर्भ में नेपाल और भूटान के साथ भारत के संबंधों का परीक्षण कीजिए।
Examine India's relations with Nepal and Bhutan in the context of historical treaties and aid. 10

उम्मीदवारों को इस हिसाब में नहीं लिखना चाहिए
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The Neighbourhood first policy has the policy of non-reciprocity to states like Nepal and Bhutan.



Issues

1. Kalapani issue - border
— map case.
 2. Internal constitutional protests
 3. BBIN halted
— Bhutan's concerns.
 4. China's increasing footprint
 5. Big Brother attitude perception
among.
 6. lack of integration among
south Asia.
- [5-] according to Subhash Ranjan

There is a need to address
and accommodate the needs &
concerns of Nepal and Bhutan

5. (d)

एक्ट ईस्ट नीति के तहत आसियान और पूर्वी एशियाई अर्थव्यवस्थाओं के साथ भारत के जुड़ाव पर चर्चा कीजिए।

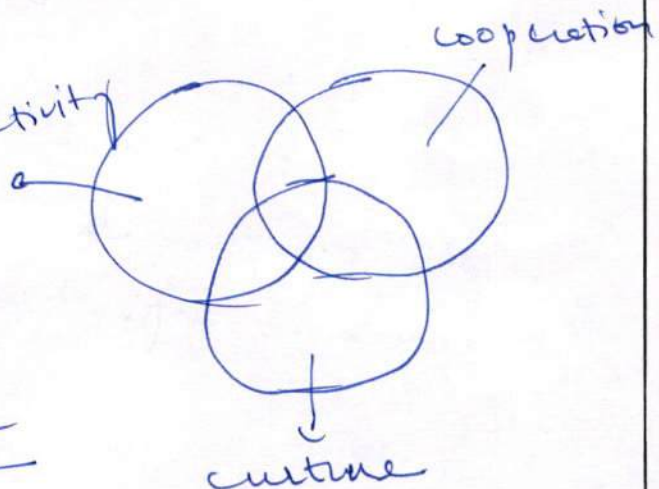
Discuss India's integration with ASEAN and East Asian economies under the Act East Policy. 10

उम्मीदवारों को इस हाशिए में नहीं लिखना चाहिए
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The year was 1992. India had just liberated its economy a year ago and wanted to collaborate with Asian Tigers of S.E. Asian. PV Narasimha Rao govt. thus created the look east policy, which the Modi government in 2014 - reenergised as ACT EAST.

The integration under Act east policy has been based on 3Cs:

- as highlighted by Kishore Mahbubani in ASEAN Miracle



The IMT i.e. India-Myanmar Thailand tri-lateral highway along with Kaladan multi-modal project are two highlights.

Similarly, India's integration into the ASEAN as a member state is also a zenith work, allowing India to pursue its own policies like Neighbourhood First and Act East Policy at the intersection of ASEAN & East Asia.

The India Japan investment in India's infrastructure projects along with Colombo transhipment corridor facility development is another highlight.

ASEAN and East Asia along with INDIA can truly bring about the ASIAN CENTURY with ICs as the stepping stone.

5. (e)

विकास कूटनीति में भारत की भूमिका की प्रगति का परीक्षण कीजिए।

Examine the evolution of India's role in development diplomacy.

10

उम्मीदवारों को इस हाशिये में नहीं लिखना चाहिए
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Sashi Tharoor in his book New World Disorder calls India as the Development Superpower

The evolution of development diplomacy can be traced back to the Korean crisis of 1950-1953 where India gave peacekeeping forces.

Similarly, India's role in the region during the 1971 Bangladesh liberation - made significant development aid to the newly independent state, from dams to electricity to food grains.

Moving ahead, India during the 2004 earthquake induced Tsunami made enormous contribution to the island of Sri Lanka,

while tending its own wounds.

The Vaccine Maitri in the recent past during COVID-19 is the high point in this evolution. Establishing the credentials as Net Security provider and First Responder.

Operation Neele to Maldives to the very latest 48500 contribution in JULY 2025 is also case in point.

Similarly, Operation Sost during TURKEY earthquake last year to Myanmar's Earthquake this year - India led the HADR (humanitarian aid and disaster relief).

Thus, India's credentials as the first responder and net security provider has raised its multilateral personality (Teresita Schaffer)

6. (a)

गुटनिरपेक्ष आंदोलन ने भारत को टकराव बढ़ाए बिना अपनी स्वायत्तता को अधिकतम करने का अवसर दिया है। इसके आलोक में, समकालीन विश्व व्यवस्था में भारत के संतुलनकारी व्यवहार का आकलन कीजिए।

NAM allowed India to maximise its autonomy without maximising confrontation. In light of this, assess India's balancing behaviour in the contemporary world order.

20

The NAM or Non-aligned Movement - was India's RSVP to the Cold war invite. As a newly independent nation, it asserted strategic autonomy even before it was a norm.

The NAM was based on the idea of not getting entangled into the power bloc politics between the USA and USSR and thereby losing on the hard gained sovereignty.

While critics called it as fence-sitting and isolationist, India asserted that NAM is not passivity, but active engagement without endorsement or entanglement.

उम्मीदवारों को इस हाशिए में नहीं लिखना चाहिए
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It helped in balancing the two sides and getting the national interests secured from both the sides. For instance, Swapna Kona Nayudu in her book THE NAM YEARS, writes India was able to assert autonomy in four important events of the times.

- ① Congo crisis -
- ② Korean crisis -
- ③ Suez crisis -
- ④ Hungary Revolution -

It also helped getting aid from USA in the form of PL-480 during the decade of 1955-65 while also getting to sign the Indo-USSR treaty of Friendship and cooperation in the 1971.

This balancing act, via NAM helped balance the world order of the day.

In the contemporary world order, the balancing (or) geostrategic tightrope is appreciated by SUHASINI HAIDER, who says "India is country of considerable consequence as it balances North and South, East and West and only member of QUAD and BRICS."

Telesita Schaffer calls India as a rising multilateral personality, ~~for~~ personality for its ability to manoeuvre complexities of emerging world order.

However, in the changing new world order, tightrope walking has its limitations and the world is getting dividing into two blocs once again — NAM becomes all the more relevant.

NAM's relevance lies in balancing the new power struggle which DANIEL SANKER calls as New Cold War.

However, critics like Katap Bhanu Mehta says a non-aligned India is friendless in the world.

Thus, India to emerge as the rising leader beyond aspirational power, what Ashely Tellis calls to become "power shaper" and "power taker". India needs to play the long game here, one that is based on diplomacy, dialogue and deterrence.

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6. (b)

अक्सर यह तर्क दिया जाता है कि तीव्र संघर्ष के बावजूद, परमाणु समता ने भारत और पाकिस्तान के बीच पूर्ण युद्ध को रोका है। इस दावे का आलोचनात्मक मूल्यांकन कीजिए।

It is often argued that despite intense conflicts, nuclear parity has prevented full-scale war between India and Pakistan. Critically assess this claim.

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The year 1998 saw Pokhran II of India testing nuclear weapons. In less than three months, Islamabad too tested its own weapons thereby establishing NUCLEAR PARITY.

The recent Operation Sindoor post April 22, Bahawalpur attack that India has changed its paradigm of defence against Pakistan by establishing below-threshold, non-nuclear, conventional attacks that are precise, accurate and non-escalatory.

in spite of all the crises of nuclear war and nuclear-brinkmanship, both have been averted an active use of nuclear

weapons. India's NFU i.e. Non-first use doctrine has been a deterrent, with its focus on credible minimum deterrence, and extraordinary irrecoverable damage response have kept the fingers in Islamabad away from trigger.

This however has led to new-age warfare of hybrid warfare, unsymmetric with use of drones and non-state actors, creating proxy warfare at LOC. This is popularly known as the Zia doctrine, bleeding India through 1000 cuts.

While nuclear war has been deterred, it has irked New Delhi to constant small scale, non-escalatory damage.

(c) Balakot, Pulwama etc.
Baramulla

India's response in the op.
sindoor and the New normal post
sindoor:

- ① Will not budge to Nuclear
black.
- ② Deterrence by denial to
deterrence by punishment
- ③ Terror and talks cannot
flow together.
- ④ No discrimination between
Non-state actor or state led
terrorism.

This new normal, thus is the
way forward to address small to
large conflict

6. (c)

दक्षिण एशियाई देशों के साथ चीन के बढ़ते संबंध, विशेष रूप से सार्क और अन्य उप-क्षेत्रीय समूहों के संदर्भ में, क्षेत्रवाद को किस प्रकार प्रभावित करते हैं?

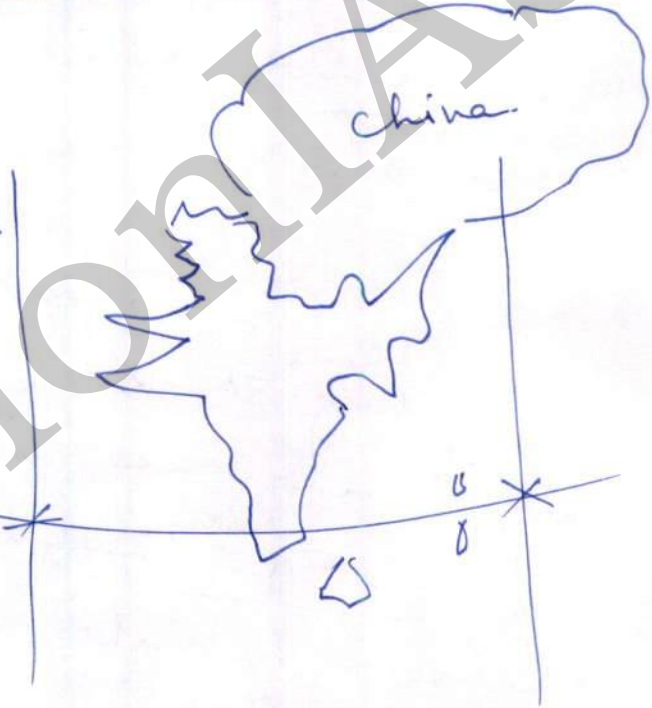
How do China's increasing ties with South Asian countries affect regionalism, particularly in terms of SAARC and other sub-regional groupings?

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China's increasing footprint in the South Asia is creating new problems to INDIA's developmental aspirations in the region as "net security provider and first responder"

C. Raja Mohan calls the intersection of India's project expansion in the region with China's



string of pearls encircling as creating "SAMUNDRAMANTHAN" - with new choke points and conflict points emerging in the region.

(eg) Hambouratota port, Goa port, Seychelles islands, Mauritius etc

China's increasing engagement with Maldives, aided the anti-India movement of INDIA-OUT campaign and increasing aid to Male Development project is a case in point

Similarly, the increasing Pakistan-China-Bangladesh axis with Md. Yunus calling NE states as "landlocked" - drew ire of New Delhi

This hinders the already struggling SAARC, which is under the shadow of Indo-Pakistan tension as SD Mahi highlights. The addition China axis, makes it a deadlog.

Similarly, the initiatives like BIMSTEC are also a non-starter, with increasing disturbances in Myanmar aided by Chinese arms, summitious creating what

Rajeev Sikeri calls as axis of instability
and axis of uncertainty against
the idea of INDIA wanting to
create axis of communication and
prosperity.

India is thus "boxed up in
South Asia" as (Happymon Jacob highlight)
and problem of dual policies in
South Asia i.e. India viewing its
neighbourhood with Chinese lens
additionally.

Pintay Bhanu Mehta advise
that India needs to deliver faster
and not just promise to create an
alternative hegemony in a tumultuous
South Asia

"The elephant must prevail
over the Dragon"

7. (a)

यद्यपि भारत-अमेरिका संबंधों का व्यापक विस्तार हुआ है, फिर भी उनमें रणनीतिक गहराई का अभाव बना हुआ है। हालिया घटनाक्रमों के संदर्भ में इस कथन का समालोचनात्मक मूल्यांकन कीजिए।

While Indo-US ties have expanded in breadth, they continue to suffer from a lack of strategic depth. Critically evaluate this statement with reference to recent developments.

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7. (b)

साझा लोकतांत्रिक मूल्यों और आर्थिक पूरकताओं के बावजूद, भारत-यूरोपीय संघ साझेदारी को रणनीतिक सुदृढ़ता प्राप्त करने में संघर्ष करना पड़ा है। बाधाओं और पुनर्संतुलन के हालिया प्रयासों का परीक्षण कीजिए।

Despite shared democratic values and economic complementarities, the India–EU partnership has struggled to acquire strategic traction. Examine the impediments and the recent efforts to recalibrate.

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7. (c)

प्रतीकात्मक शिखर सम्मेलनों और उच्च-स्तरीय यात्राओं के बावजूद, अफ्रीका के देशों के साथ भारत के जुड़ाव में रणनीतिक गहराई का अभाव है। समालोचनात्मक विश्लेषण कीजिए।

Despite symbolic summits and high-level visits, India's Africa engagement lacks strategic depth. Critically analyse.

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8. (a)

भारत ने 2020 के बाद से इज़राइल-फिलिस्तीन संघर्ष पर अपनी कूटनीतिक स्थिति को, विशेष रूप से गाजा में आतंकवाद और मानवीय मुद्दों पर अपने दृष्टिकोण के संबंध में, किस प्रकार आगे बढ़ाया है?

How has India navigated its diplomatic position on the Israel-Palestine conflict since 2020, particularly regarding its stance on terrorism and humanitarian issues in Gaza?

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8. (b) भारत का परमाणु सिद्धांत परिचालन योजना से ज़्यादा राजनीतिक संकेत देने पर आधारित है। इस कथन का समालोचनात्मक परीक्षण कीजिए।

India's nuclear doctrine is more about political signalling than operational planning. Critically examine this assertion.

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8. (c)

परीक्षण कीजिए कि किस प्रकार भारत के संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका के साथ बढ़ते संबंध और व्यापक हिंद-प्रशांत रणनीति के तहत क्वाड में भागीदारी, रूस के साथ उसके पारंपरिक रणनीतिक संबंधों को प्रभावित कर रही है।
Examine how India's growing ties with the United States and involvement in the QUAD under a broader Indo-Pacific strategy are influencing its traditional strategic relationship with Russia. 15

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