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Paper-I

PSIR Mains Exam 2023

Section A

Political Theory

Q. Comment on "Normative approach in Political Science"

Ans: The normative method in political science focuses on concepts that have inherent values, such as justice, liberty, and equality. The normative method holds great significance as it imparts a philosophical dimension to political science, distinguishing it from other disciplines rooted in pure science and bestowing it with purpose.

- Plato was the first to address a norms-based approach in his work *The Republic*, which is a significant aspect of western political heritage. He endeavors to establish healthy standards in government by presenting his notion of Justice. According to Plato, a just soul is characterized by the dominance of reason over courage and the dominance of courage over appetite. Additionally, Plato attempts to construct a standard of a just philosopher ruler who is guided by reason through his idea of the state.
- Subsequently, during the modern era, John Stuart Mill endeavored to demonstrate the significance of liberty in relation to utilitarian ideals. According to Mill, Liberty granted individuals the opportunity to cultivate and enhance their abilities.
- Following World War II, there was a decrease in the use of the normative method, while the scientific system-based approach became more prominent.
- John Rawls played a significant role in the revival of the normative approach during the modern era. Rawls' theory of Justice is founded on the principle of fairness, a notion of justice that ensures fairness for both the affluent and the impoverished. Rawls advocated for both maximum equal liberty and the principles of equality of opportunity and the difference principle, which prioritizes the needs of the least advantaged.

- Behavioralists opposed the normative approach in an effort to establish political science as a "Pure Science". Lord Bryce held that, "We need facts, facts and facts".
- However, it is important to grasp that the field of political science is extensive and intricate. The selection of approach is contingent upon the study purpose.

Q. Comment on "Decline of political theory"

Ans: Traditionally, political science was based on a philosophical, historical, and empirical approach. While the philosophical approach espoused idealism, the historical approach connected historical trends with politics, whereas the empirical approach was based on studying facts through observation.

- However, political theory based on these approaches saw a decline after World War II, and scholars from the political science discipline were not invited to conferences focusing on reconstruction and development post-World War II.
- Political science was called a dead discipline because it did not deal with contemporary issues, and historicists like Sabine and Dunning were busy writing histories of western political philosophy.
- Further, unlike sociologists, political scientists did not adopt a scientific approach, which led to the decline of political theory. Political theories were called 'armchair theories' because they had little practical relevance. Hence, scholars like Charles Merriam from Chicago were advocating behavioral, systematic, and value-free analysis to regain the credibility of the discipline. In this context, David Easton came up with a behavioral approach to political theory that featured regularity, systemization, technique, quantification, verification, integration, value neutrality, etc.

Paper-II

PSIR Mains Exam 2023

Section A

Comparative Politics

Q. What are the crucial functions of empirical political theory in Comparative Politics?

Ans: Empirical political theory in Comparative Politics is value free, scientific, positivist approach to understanding political theory that emerged in post-IIInd World War period.

- Empirical political theory is a methodological approach that focuses on the systematic and objective observation of political phenomena. The main function of empirical political theory was to make political science a scientific discipline.
- As per empirical political theory, a political scientist should not engage in value laden judgment. Hence, one of the first crucial functions of empirical theory was to make the discipline value free. It tried to make political theory scientific and objective by including quantitative technique to the study of political theory.
- Another crucial function of empirical political theory is to focus on micro study that consist of a specific geographical area, topic etc. For instance, the study of communal riots at a particular location like Wazirabad in Delhi, taking into consideration all the mathematical modelling, and sampling, will generate quantitative data.
- The empirical study of political processes, structures, and functions forms the core of comparative politics studies. It aims to build a scientific theory of politics capable of explaining all phenomena of politics.
- Another function of Empirical political theory is data-driven nature. It relies on the collection and analysis of data to test hypotheses and theories.
- Empirical political theory strives for objectivity. It uses systematic methods to observe, describe, quantify, and analyze observable political phenomena.

- In sum, empirical political theory in Comparative Politics strives for value-free objectivity through scientific methods, micro-level analyses, data-driven inquiry, and systematic observation. It serves to construct a comprehensive understanding of political phenomena, crucial for advancing the discipline.

State in Comparative Perspective

Q. What are the difficulties faced by a political theorist in comparing the States?

Ans: Comparing different types of states, such as capitalist, socialist, advanced industrial, and developing, poses intricate challenges for political theorists. The foremost challenge lies in defining and classifying states, where conceptual ambiguity and oversimplification hinder consensus.

- Precise definitions vary based on theoretical frameworks that lead to confusion in compartmentalizing different types of states. For instance, the mixed economy model by Nehru-Mahalanobis was classified as socialist by one group of thinkers and capitalist by another.
- Additionally, measuring and comparing outcomes becomes complex due to incommensurability of diverse goals and data limitations on key indicators like poverty and human rights.
- Isolating the impact of state type adds another layer of difficulty, with endogeneity and external factors complicating causal relationships. For instance, discerning - whether economic development leads to democratization or vice versa remains challenging.
- Scholarly arguments, exemplified by Amartya Sen and Theda Skocpol, emphasize the need to consider multifaceted aspects beyond economic growth and caution against teleological narratives.

1 CHAPTER

PAPER-I

POLITICAL THEORY

Q. Write on the Systems Approach. (CSE 2022)

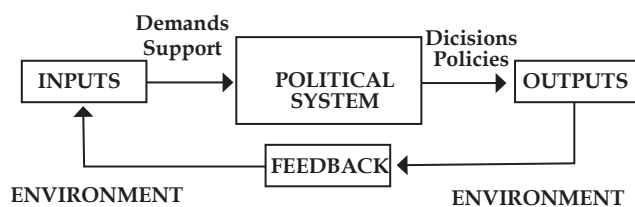
Ans: Systems Approach is a contemporary comparative politics approach used to comprehend the politics of various nations.

The concept of system was derived from the biological and physical sciences, in which the human body or any machine was conceptualised as a system with subsystems (organs or pieces) that had “boundaries” yet were strongly linked and overlapping.

It was influenced by Karl Mannheim, whose study of society included “systematic sociology.” In the field of political science, David Easton is known as the “father” of the Systems Approach.

The Political System (1953) by David Easton defines the political system as the method by which social policy is formed and implemented; thus, the political system is the policy-making process. Easton described political behaviour as the “authoritative allocation of values,” or the distribution of the system’s rewards in the form of wealth, power, and prestige.

Easton’s conception of system highlights the system’s connections to its environment. Inputs (demands) are transformed into outputs (decisions and policies) that constitute the authoritative allocation of values.



The input of a system comprises of demand and support. And the output consists of decision and policies. Here, decision refers to a single decision, whereas policy refers to several decisions. While feedback is a dynamic process in which information about the functioning of the system is transmitted back to it. The Systems Approach is attacked for conceptual inadequacies, the introduction of superfluous jargon, a lack of analytical and explanatory power, and the

projection of the western political system as ideal and universal. Marxists attack the Systems Approach on the grounds that it is elitist. However, Systems Approach is a crucial step towards scientificizing political science.

Q. Write on the Cultural Relativism.(CSE 2022)

Ans: Cultural relativism asserts that each culture and its traditions are valid in their own right. There is no right or wrong culture. It is opposed to universalism. In addition, proponents of cultural relativism typically claim that the norms and values of one culture should not be compared to those of another.

It is the evaluation of a culture by its own standards or in its own context, rather than through the lens of our own culture. Abraham (2006) asserts that each piece of culture has a specific purpose for the group that shares that culture.

Many habits and practises in a society should not be evaluated based on whether they are right or wrong, good or terrible, but rather on their function. For example: Many Americans are perplexed by the fact that Indian farmers refuse to eat their cows even if they are starving. While for us Indians it a matter of love, compassion and religion.

In part, cultural relativism was a reaction to Western ethnocentrism. One may be an ethno-centrist if they intentionally feel that their people’s arts are the most beautiful, values are the most admirable, and beliefs are the most accurate. However, there is another set of argument that cultural relativism may result in xenocentrism, the antithesis of ethnocentrism. The view that other civilizations are superior to one’s own is xeno-centrism.

Q. Examine the importance of behavioral approach in political theory. What led to its decline? (CSE 2021)

Ans: The term theory stands for “Systematic Knowledge”. Political theory describes, explains, and evaluates political events and institutions.

2 CHAPTER

THEORIES OF THE STATE

Q. Write on the Locke's Social Contract

(CSE 2022)

Ans: The Social Contract Theory is a mechanistic state theory. This idea views the state as a product of the mutual agreement of men, developed for a particular function to meet specific social requirements.

Similar to other contracts, Locke's Social Contract consists of three basic elements:

- (i) Human Nature,
- (ii) the State of Nature, and
- (iii) the Terms of the Contract.

According to Locke, men are rational by nature and are governed by reason. Although men are passionate, reason compels them to recognise that their self-interest rests in partnering with others. Consequently, mankind pursues enlightened self-interest.

Thus, for Locke, the state of nature is characterised by "harmony, benevolence, mutual aid, and preservation." Even if men are secure in their natural state, they nonetheless wish to enter into contracts with one another due to the state's provision of some conveniences. The convenience includes generating legally binding contracts and resolving disputes.

The social contract of Locke consists of two contracts:

- (i) The first contract establishes a civil society whose objective is to recognise natural rights.
- (ii) The second contract establishes a government.

In Locke's Social Contract, the people do not delegate to the government their rights to life, liberty, and property. They only entrust the authority to create, implement, and interpret laws to the government.

Locke was a capitalist proponent. Consequently, he asserted unequivocally that the purpose of government is to defend property and other rights, not to destroy them, and that the government cannot take or transfer property without agreement.

Finally, Locke's liberal state concept follows from his theory of natural rights.

Q. Examine the liberal theory of State in contemporary politics.

(CSE 2022)

Ans: The institution of the state has existed since antiquity. It has taken on a variety of forms and been analysed from a variety of angles. In the seventeenth century, the liberal perspective on the state emerged as an ideology of the capitalist class.

The Liberal Theory of State advocates for a minimum or night watchman state whose responsibility is to uphold law and order.

While the people have the right to life, liberty, and property, according to Locke and other classical liberals, the social contract grants the state only three rights:

- (i) the power to make law,
- (ii) the right to execute law, and
- (iii) the right to adjudicate law.

In current politics, however, the liberal theory of state is a synthesis of the welfare state and the neoliberal state, or the positive liberal and neoliberal states, respectively. Both concepts contribute to the modern state, with each paradigm operating in parallel with the other.

The welfare state operates through a "cradle-to-grave" mechanism in which the state protects the liberty of its citizens and regulates the free market economy to protect the interests of the vulnerable parts. In addition to maintaining law and order, it is concerned with all areas of its inhabitants' wellbeing. This form of state is exemplified by the modern Scandinavian state, which consists of countries such as Norway and Sweden.

John Stewart Mill's liberal state theory is also applicable to contemporary politics. His concept of constitutional and representative democracy is reflected in periodic elections held by democracies worldwide. In addition, his concept of Liberty is pertinent since freedom of speech and expression is a prerequisite for any civilised society in the modern era.

Another well-known liberal, John Rawls, and his views of justice, in particular the principle of difference, have resonance in modern politics. Rawls's notion that social and economic policies must be structured to

3

CHAPTER

JUSTICE

Q. Examine the entitlement theory of justice.
(CSE 2022)

Ans: Robert Nozick, a libertarian, is the creator of the Entitlement theory of justice. It advocates for a free market economy and seeks to restrict government social programmes. A tax-policy that redistributes wealth in the name of social justice is something that this group strongly opposes.

Because proponents of the Entitlement theory consider the method by which taxes are redistributed to be morally repugnant and restrictive of individual freedom.

There are three basic ideas to Nozick's entitlement theory:

- (i) **Acquisition Principle based on Fairness:** The acquisition of properties is the focus of this guiding concept. It's a history of the first appropriations of land, resources, and other items from the natural world, as well as a discussion of the legal and social implications of such acquisitions.
- (ii) **Transfer Justice Principle:** This principle describes how one individual can acquire property from another, even through voluntary exchange and gifts.
- (iii) **Principle of Redressing Wrongdoing:** This principle explains how to deal with unfairly obtained or transferred assets, whether and to what extent victims can be reimbursed, and how to deal with long-past sins or injustices committed by a government, among other things.

Nozick's theory is founded on the property right. It asserts that individuals either have total ownership rights over diverse things or can earn them.

Here, complete ownership refers to the following:

- the right to use or control the use of one or more things by others;
- the right to receive compensation from those who have violated one's rights;

- the right to use power, punish, and receive compensation from those who have violated one's rights; and
- the right to transfer this right to another person.

Any distribution that results from a voluntary exchange under a justifiable circumstance is just. It is unjust for the government to impose taxes on these transactions without the permission of the people. Nozick provides the reasoning that, first, the free exercise of property is more desirable and, second, the property right resides in self-ownership.

Criticism to Entitlement Theory of Justice

- Amartya Sen and other social liberals attacked Nozick's excessively individualistic and hypothetical approach.
- Nozick's 'just initial distribution' is not grounded in reality, according to Sen. In contrast, Sen's social realisation-based method is based on actual people bargaining in real situations.
- Further, Sen criticises the theory because not only the initial distribution but also the person's capability should be taken into account when conceptualising any theory of justice. If two people are given the same amount of resources, the one with higher educational and professional qualifications will be able to use them more effectively.

Thus, Entitlement Theory of Justice is profoundly founded in individualism and liberalism prevalent in the West. Problematic is its disregard to humans regardless of their economic condition, opportunities, or ability.

Q. How has Rawls enriched the idea of justice in liberalism?
(CSE 2021)

Ans: According to Tom Campbell, Justice is the central and commanding concept of current mainstream normative political philosophy. **Rawls' book, "Theory of Justice"** has started what has been rightly called as golden age in theorizing about justice.

4 CHAPTER

EQUALITY

Q. Affirmative action. Comment (CSE 2021)

Ans: Equality in modern sense is considered as a principle of correcting the unjust inequalities in society. Since, the principle of equality is developed on reason, it can be stated that equality allows discrimination on “reasonable”, “logical” or relevant grounds. Such positive discrimination propounded by liberal scholars is called ‘**Affirmative Action**’.

The philosophical basis of affirmative action is found in Rawls’ “Difference Principle” and Dworkin’s “Endowment Sensitive Auction”. Affirmative action accords special concession to those who were deprived of adequate opportunities due to some discriminatory practices of the past. Champions of affirmative action contend that preferential treatment will help in fulfilling the objective of equality. Affirmative action is meant to compensate the relevant section for the injustice meted out to them in the past. Such action will enable them to escape the tough competition.

Criticism: Neo-conservatives call affirmative action as reverse discrimination. Attempt to establish “equality of outcome” by affirmative action would be disastrous because it would erode the spontaneous respect for merit and authority which is foundation of social justice and progress.

Conclusion

In country like India where there is acute scarcity and widespread poverty, need for affirmative action is largely contested. Article 15, 16 of Constitution prescribes Affirmative Action and the Supreme Court in Ram Singh case (2015) stated that Government needs to continuously evolve the new criteria so that those who are more deserving get the benefit.

Q. Equality of opportunity. Comment (CSE 2020)

Ans: Equality of opportunity is an idea which advocates giving equal opportunity to work without regard for any pre-existing social hierarchy.

John Roemer points out that there are two views of equality of opportunity that are widely held today.

- **The first**, which he calls the non-discrimination principle, states that in the competition for positions in society, individuals should be judged only on attributes relevant to the performance of the duties of the position in question. Attributes such as race or sex should not be taken into account.
- **The second** states that society should do what it can to level the playing field among persons who compete for positions, especially during their formative years, so that all those who have the relevant potential attributes can be considered.

The ideal of formal equality of opportunity is associated with the liberation of economic practices and institutions from guild privileges and restrictions and with the development of competitive market economies.

Formal equality of opportunity requires that positions and posts that confer superior advantages should be open to all applicants. Applications are assessed on their merits, and the applicant deemed most qualified according to appropriate criteria is offered the position.

More generally, equality of opportunity in the market setting requires that firms and individuals deal with one another impartially as opportunities for gain.

Equality of opportunity also forms the second most important principle of Justice in John Rawls’ theory of justice. Additionally, one can take a cue from Article 16 of Indian Constitution to understand equality of opportunity.

It states that, no citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them, be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect or, any employment or office under the State.

Thus, equality of opportunity is sine qua non for any healthy democratic society.

5

CHAPTER

RIGHTS

Q. Human Rights are complex and contested social practice that organizes relations between individuals, society and the State.

Comment (CSE 2022)

Ans: According to the Human Rights philosophy, regardless of caste, creed, gender, or nationality, everyone has access to certain fundamental rights. Human rights have their origins in the debate that followed the Holocaust, which resulted in the death of millions of Jews by Nazi Germany. Due to the western-centric conception of human rights, however, the applicability of the so-called “universalistic” ideas of human rights to other societies and states is contested.

Human Rights and Relations between Individual, State and Society

Since Human rights are concept of liberal discourse, therefore, they assume human being as rational individual. The first essential feature of Human Rights is equality. It argues that all humans regardless of class, creed, gender, should be given equal rights. These rights can range from simple things like driving to work opportunities. The right to equality is guaranteed by the state when the society demands it; for example, Right to Equality in the Indian Constitution (Article 14) demanded by the citizens across the society after Indian Independence. However, even right to equality is contested in the non-western Arab countries like the recent Hijab protest by Iranian women since the women were forced to wear head scarf.

Universalism, the second essential feature of Human Rights, is also a complex and contested concept because there is no agreement on what rights will qualify as ‘basic minimum’. While western countries think their values as universal, the South East Asian countries emphasize on ‘Asian Values’.

Further, there is also a debate on the definition of human - should terrorist be considered humans? Even the definition of terrorist can vary from state to state after all once state might terrorism to achieve its strategic goals while the other might resist it.

The social practice of human rights organizes the relation between individual and state in a cordial way as well. After all, it compels the state to abide by certain norms and procedure and protect the life of its citizen.

The Responsibility to Protect (R2P) doctrine mandates that it is the duty of the state to protect the life of its citizens. If the state fails to do so or voluntary go on a path to destroy the life its citizens particularly the minority, then it becomes the imperative of the international community to intervene in the internal affairs of the state and protect the life of the affected citizens. Thus, the R2P molds the relationship between state and individual by bringing the international community in between. Human rights appear to benefit individuals, but the state tends to have a negative impact on their connection with human rights.

Q. Can there be universal conception of human rights? Give your arguments. (CSE 2021)

Ans: Human Rights are the rights inherent to all human beings irrespective of their nationality, ethnicity, gender, religion, language or any other status. These rights are universal, inalienable, interdependent, indivisible, equal and non-discriminatory. The rights are often expressed and guaranteed by domestic laws, international treaties, general principles and other sources of international law.

Human Rights are a modern concept which started in 1940s due to Hitler’s atrocities over Jews. The human rights regime began with UDHR (United Nations Declaration of Human Rights).

Debate on Universal Conception of Human Rights

Based on ‘Natural Rights’ theories of John and Kant’s ‘Moral Rights’, the human rights regime has enhanced itself with multiple covenants like international covenant on socio-economic rights as well as legal-political rights in 1966. However the universal conception of Human Rights has been fiercely debated by different schools of thought.

6 CHAPTER

DEMOCRACY

Q. Elitist theory of democracy denies the possibility of democracy as 'rule of the people'. Elucidate. (CSE 2022)

Ans: Using an empirical method, elitist scholars, particularly western scholars, have established that power never resides with the masses but rather with the elites. There is no trickle-down effect, as the essence of money and power is identical; they are always concentrated.

In his book 'Political Parties,' elitist scholar Robert Michels introduced the concept of the iron law of oligarchies. According to this concept, oligarchy is the iron law regardless of the political system, be it communist or democracy. Constantly, power is concentrated among the elites.

In his book "Mind and Society," Wilfred Pareto describes the "circulation of elites" idea. According to him, there are two categories of elites in every community. Power therefore circulates in a tight loop between the Foxes and the Lions.

There is no power diffusion, and the history of humanity is a "graveyard of aristocracies." In the United States, for instance, power is usually shared between the elite Democratic and Republican leaders.

In his book *The Ruling Class*, Mosca divides the population into two categories: the ruling class and the ruled class. According to Mosca, "organisational skills" are today's prerequisite for elite status.

In a democracy, C Wright Mills introduced the concept of power elites. He noticed that the United States is governed by a power elite composed of federal lawmakers, top military officials, and the corporate class, especially the defence sector. Eisenhower dubbed the United States the "Military Industrial Complex."

Vilfredo Pareto claimed that the 'elite' demonstrate the greatest skill in their field of endeavour, regardless of its nature, while the masses are defined by a lack of leadership characteristics and a fear of responsibility.

Karl Mannheim, who had previously linked elite theories with Fascism and anti-intellectual ideologies, eventually advocated for the unification of elite theory with democratic theory. By delegating the real formulation of policy to the elites, Mannheim contended, a community does not lose its democratic nature.

However, Max Weber and Joseph Schumpeter provide the 'Market Model of Democracy' with a substantial modification. According to this theory, elections are important to democracy. In a democracy, the politicians are the business owners and the voters are the customers.

For elitists, therefore, power with the masses is a fantasy. In reality, democracies are oligarchies.

Q. "Free and fair deliberation is key to the foundation of democracy." Explain (CSE 2021)

Ans: Democracy is the belief in freedom and equality between people, or a system of government based on this belief, in which power flows from the will of the people.

Free and Fair Deliberation vs. Aggregate Democracy

The significance of free and fair deliberation was for first time given by Joseph Bessette in his book "Deliberative Democracy: The Majority Principle in Republic Government" in 1980 when there was decline in deliberation worldwide, hence this idea gained significance. He points that 'Deliberative Democracy' is different from 'Aggregate Democracy' given by Bentham, because latter leads to majoritarianism and is pursuit of individual pleasure, whereas in former, law & policies emerge out of deliberation on rational dialogue.

Free and Fair Deliberations and Deliberative Democracy

Idea of deliberative democracy goes as old as Pericle, Athenian Statesmen who said discussion is not stumbling block but indispensable preliminary of wise actions.

7 CHAPTER

CONCEPT OF POWER

Q. Write on the 'Bases of Power' (CSE 2022)

Ans: In a 1959 influential study of power undertaken by social psychologists John R. P. French and Bertram Raven, power is categorised into five basic types.

They recognised coercive, reward, legitimate, referent, and expert as the five bases of power. This was followed in 1965 by Raven's establishment of a sixth independent and distinct power base: informational power.

- **Coercive power** employs the use of force or the threat of force to obtain obedience from another. Physical, social, emotional, political, and economic methods can constitute force. The essential principle of this concept is that someone is compelled to do something against his or her will. The primary objective of compulsion is obedience.
- **Reward power** is based on the right of some to grant or deny tangible, social, emotional, or spiritual benefits to others for doing as desired or required. A nice example of reward power is a bonus for a job well done.
- The source of **legitimate power** is an elected, chosen, or appointed position of authority, which may be supported by social standards. This power entails the capacity to impart specific feelings of obligation or the concept of responsibility upon another. This type of formal power is based on a person's position in a hierarchy of authority. Three valid power bases are cultural ideals, social structure acceptability, and designation. It is comparable to Weber's concept of charisma, in which power is derived from an authoritative position.
- **Referent power** derives from our affiliations and membership in groups and organisations. Both our membership in a group and its beliefs are shared to some extent. Hannah Arendt shared the same perspective on power. She maintained that power is exercised when individuals act in cooperation.

- **Expertise** is built on knowledge, experience, and unique abilities or talents. Reputation, credentials attesting expertise and deeds can all serve to demonstrate expertise.
- **Informational power** is the capacity of an agent of influence to effect change through the utilisation of informational resources. Raven thought that power as a prospective impact implied that knowledge was a type of influence and that Information Power's social power base was derived. Similar to Michael Foucault's sociological grounds of power, which famously assert "knowledge is power," this notion also holds that "knowledge is power."

As a result, there are various forms of power that can work together or in opposition to one another to accomplish a given political goal.

Q. Examine the nature and meaning of power. (CSE 2020)

Ans: Politics is considered as the study of 'sharing and shaping of power'. Though power is a core concept in political science yet it remains a contested concept at best. Steven Lukes categorizes power into three groups:

- (i) power as decision making,
- (ii) power as agenda setting, and
- (iii) power as thought control process.

The nature and meaning of power are varying and can be chiefly understood through:

- Elitist theory of power,
- Pluralist theory of power, and
- Post-modern concept of power.

Elitist theory, based on empirical approach, proposes that power never lies with people and always remains in the hand of elites. The nature and of money and power is same, they don't trickle down and are concentrated in the hand of elites. Robert Michels, one of the biggest proponents of this theory gives the 'Iron Law of Oligarchy' in his book 'Political Parties'. Further, Pareto in his book 'Mind and Society' argues that in every society there are two types of elites: Foxes and Lions, power always circulates among these elites.

8 CHAPTER

POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

Q. Write on the “Revolution in Permanence”.
(CSE 2022)

Ans: Trotsky’s “Permanent Revolution” predicted how an industrially impoverished Russia may experience a communist revolution.

According to classical Marxism, a communist revolution could only occur in a capitalist country with a sizable working class that has reached a high level of development. Russia did not meet either condition.

Karl Marx also envisioned a two-stage revolution: first, the bourgeois revolution, followed by the proletarian revolution, which would establish a dictatorship to aid the transition to communism. The two-stage doctrine, according to Trotsky, was irrelevant.

Rather, he said that Russia was in an uneven growth stage in which the bourgeois and proletarian revolutions were concurrently occurring under the influence of the developed West.

Trotsky predicted that once the Russian revolution began, it would be irreversible due to an East-West dynamic. A minority of aware proletariat would overthrow the bourgeois majority revolution and advance the revolution.

Notwithstanding, a second phase was necessary: the proletarian revolution in Western Europe, sparked by the initiative of the Russian proletariat; the West European proletariat, now in power, rescuing the persecuted proletarian minority in Russia; and paving the way for the international communist revolution.

The 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia vindicated Trotsky’s theory. The second stage of the revolution, which included the western European revolution, did not take place.

So long as the Communist Party in the Soviet Union held power instead of the workers, Marxism remained a Marxist utopia. Also unchanged was Trotsky’s utopian ideal of a “revolution in permanence.”

Q. Factors like community, culture and nation weaken the hegemony of neo-liberalism today. Discuss.
(CSE 2022)

Ans: Neoliberalism is an ideology resulting from the recent rebirth of classical liberalism. In addition to the economic sphere, neoliberals aspire to reestablish laissez-faire individualism in the social and political spheres as well. Neoliberalism’s proponents include F. A. Hayek, Milton Friedman, and Robert Nozick, among others.

Neoliberalism gained traction following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent dominance of the IMF and the World Bank, which campaigned to open the economies of emerging nations. With the advent of the World Trade Organization, the 1990s were a period of fervent support for free trade. Friedman and other neoliberals argued for reduced tariffs on goods. They also requested a reduction in taxes since they impeded the investment capacity of capitalists. Friedman referred to progressive taxation as forced labour and advocated for a minimal state.

However, the Neo-liberal surge was brief, as forces such as community, culture, and nation began to threaten the idea’s authority. Communitarians such as Will Kymlicka have challenged the neoliberal premise of ‘atomistic individualism’ and opposed it with the notion that man is a ‘situated self.’

According to communitarians, a person’s sense of good and evil derives from his community. This undermined the neoliberal claim that morality is determined by utilitarian market principles.

Culture has similarly challenged neoliberalism. “Asian values,” a term coined by Lew Kuan Yew to describe semi-authoritarian South-East Asian states, contrasts with the Neo-Liberal notion of the night watchmen state.

Arab culture, with its oil-rich monarchies in Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Qatar, etc., running the state as a family business, is likewise opposed to the neoliberal conception of the state.

9

CHAPTER

INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

Q. "The Panchayats with Gram Sabhas should be so organized as to identify the resources locally available for the development in agricultural and industrial sectors." Examine the statement in the context of Gram Swaraj. (CSE 2022)

Ans: Famously, Mahatma Gandhi declared that "the soul of India resides in its villages." Gandhi, an enthusiastic proponent of democratic decentralisation, fought tirelessly to emancipate and empower the rural regions of India, as he believed that the true India resided in the countryside.

In his book 'Hind Swaraj,' Gandhi advocates for a bottom-up approach to the allocation of power in rural areas. He believed that modern India will become a product of an urban elite-dominated western modern state. He highlighted the self-sufficiency of villages with an oceanic power-sharing circle marked by collaboration and the common benefit among its people.

Panchayat acts as a representative of the rural population. The idea of village trusteeship and common ownership of goods are reflective through Gram Sabha where there is direct participation of the people. An active Panchayat can result in optimum development of agriculture and industries in the local areas.

A greater emphasis by the self-governing body in recognizing and cultivating local resources also attracts the support from the state as well as cultural authorities. Through democratic decentralization i.e., Gram Swaraj, the rural self-sufficient economy is given the freedom to explore the possibilities of its advancement in agriculture by focusing on its indigenous resources and developing the handicraft industry.

Gram Swaraj was previously attained to some extent by the 6th Schedule of the Indian constitution, where some tribal areas enjoyed autonomy. Later it was established through the 73rd Amendment Act of the Indian Constitution. The efficient working of the village Panchayat under the 73rd Amendment Act in emancipation of the women, advancement in

agriculture and industries are few examples where Gram Swaraj was a boon in the working of the Gram Sabha.

Particularly in regards to agriculture, Panchayats are in a better position to utilise resources efficiently. In this regard, the application of MGNREGA in agriculture is a prime example. The Panchayat should have a better understanding of how to utilise labour when building bunds, dams, and other water-harvesting structures. Similarly, granting Panchayats more authority in the agri-marketing sector could reduce the problem of middlemen, lack of knowledge about agri production and harvesting, etc.

In addition, Panchayat has potential for expanded involvement in the economic life of rural areas. As opposed to a top-down strategy, the Panchayats are in the greatest position to determine which households engaging in industrial activity are genuine. This is especially true of the cottage industry in rural regions, such as the Khadi industries, food processing industries, toys, etc.

Q. Dr. Ambedkar's idea of social justice leads to 'egalitarian justice' as compared to Rawls 'justice as fairness' which aims at the notion of 'pure procedural justice'. Comment (CSE 2022)

Ans: Every thinker/philosopher is a product of his or her experiences. Their understanding and interpretation of conception and phenomenon are often influenced by their experience in the real world.

Similarly, Dr. Ambedkar's and John Rawls's interpretation of justice is reflective of their experience. Ambedkar experienced the evil of the caste system in India and Rawls was influenced by the idea of liberalism.

Social justice refers to justice in terms of distribution of wealth, opportunities, and privileges within a society. It aims to meet the challenge of socio-economic inequality by the rule of law. Dr. B.R.

10 CHAPTER

WESTERN POLITICAL THOUGHT

Q. Individualism is inherent in Hobbes' absolutist ideology. Comment (CSE 2022)

Ans: Thomas Hobbes in his work Leviathan gives the theory of an absolute state. According to him, individuals in the state of nature give every right to the state except right to life. Still, he is regarded as the greatest of all individualists because his conception of absolutist state is for the sake of protection of the individual.

Hobbes is a methodological individualist. Through his resolute composite method he argues that human brain is made up of particles. And the particles of the brain are inclined towards the things that give them pleasure and averse to things that give pain. Thus, he establishes that human beings are utilitarian by nature. Therefore, he removes the guilt of being an individualist and argues that humans are naturally attracted to things which give them pleasure and averse to things which give pain.

Further, Hobbes argues that the state is sovereign and absolute meaning "state is an institution exercising monopoly of violence over a territory." State also limits the liberty of human being and "man has liberty where law is silent." Also, the state has the right to punish those who disobey its laws. For Hobbes "covenants without swords are nothing but words."

If a person disobeys the law formulated by the state, he is disregarding the sovereignty of the state. That person will also tempt others to break the law which would result in chaos. The action of one individual can result into anarchy for everyone.

The anarchy is dangerous because it is similar to the state of nature. In the state of nature there was no right and might was right. This resulted into a state of war of all with all in which life was short and nasty. The threat of losing life is the gravest loss to an individual because that reflected the loss of the pleasure. Hence, Hobbes wrote that "man has only two options - either to live under absolute authority or absolute anarchy."

Thus, the power of sovereign is absolute; man has no freedom to act according to his own wishes. He has the freedom to act according to his own wishes only when the law is silent.

Hobbes gives preference to security over liberty. And therefore, individualism promoted through the protection of the life of the individual, is inherent in Hobbes' absolutist ideology.

Q. J. S. Mill's ideas on women suffrage. Comment (CSE 2021)

Ans: J. S. Mill belonged to 19th century England. During that time the right to vote was limited to only certain sections of society. J. S. Mill inspired by the utilitarianism and liberal individualism postulated the 'Theory of Freedom of Speech and Expression' which became the basis for the propagation of the idea women suffrage.

Mill believed everyone should have the right to vote, with the only exceptions being barbarians and uneducated people. Mill argues that people should be able to vote to defend their own rights and to learn to stand on their two feet, morally and intellectually. This argument is applied to both men and women. In Mill's time a woman was generally subject to the whims of her husband or father due to social norms which said women were both physically and mentally less able than men and therefore needed to be "taken care of".

Contradicting this view Mill argued that the inequality of women was a relic from the past, when "might was right," but it had no place in the modern world. Mill saw that having effectively half the human race unable to contribute to society outside of the home was a hindrance to human development.

In "The Subjection of Women", Mill sets forth the progressive theory espousing equality of women in society. Mill argues that social and legal conditions which restrict the liberty of women serve as one of the chief hindrances to human development.

11

CHAPTER

INDIAN NATIONALISM

Q. Revolt of 1857 is a “Sepoy Mutiny” or “First War of Independence”. Comment (CSE 2018)

Ans: While British historians called it the Sepoy Mutiny, Indian historians termed it the Revolt of 1857 or the First War of Indian Independence. British historians pointed that geographically the revolt spread primarily in the Northern region and had no support by all the sections of the society like Princely States, Zamindars, and Bhadrals or upper class. Personal grievances of princes due to Doctrine of Lapse, land confiscation from zamindars, etc. were reasons for the mutiny. Also, there was extremely less coordination between the leaders of the revolt.

Some historians like R.C. Majumdar even go to the extent of holding it neither the first nor the war for independence. However, 1857 was the first expression of organized resistance. Prior to that tribal revolts and minor uprisings existed. Vir Savarkar became the first person to call the 1857 revolt as the first war of independence because it was shaped by political causes due to Doctrine of Lapse, socio-economic causes due to revenue assessment, weakening of handicraft industry, religious causes due to the actions of missionaries and military discrimination.

There were collective grievances which was impacting the whole society and not just any singular factor. Exceptional Hindu-Muslim unity was observed. Even the thinkers such as Karl Marx and Benjamin Disraeli held the event as a national revolt. Keeping in mind the extent it shaped the historic identity of the country, 1857 can be held as First War of Indian Independence.

Q. The success of Mahatma Gandhi lay in transforming both political and non-political movements into a unified movement. Comment

(CSE 2017)

Ans: Mahatma Gandhi was the most significant person who played a major role in the freedom

movement. The method of non-violence, satyagraha and truth used by Gandhi during freedom struggle played a major role in transforming both political and non-political movement into a unified national movement.

On his return to India, he was not fully familiar with the social pattern prevalent in India and his own lifestyle was different from the majority of Indians. At this juncture, his political Guru G.K. Gokhale advised to undertake a journey across India to understand the people and politics which changed Gandhi's perspective of Indian freedom struggle and transformed his personality, lifestyle and thought process. It brought to the forefront of Gandhi's mind, the realities of India's caste system and the divisions created by it in the society.

At the political level, he started Champaran Satyagraha, Kheda Satyagraha and Ahmedabad Mill Strike that brought farmers and workers into mainstream politics and led to broadening the base of Congress party. Non-cooperation Movement by Gandhi and his support to Khilafat Movement strengthened political consciousness among Indian people.

He also played a major role in empowering women, declared untouchability as a sin and brought oppressed class into mainstream society. Gandhi's ashram played constructive work for the upliftment of downtrodden and poor people.

He also preached religious pluralism, non-discrimination on the basis of caste. Civil Disobedience Movement and Individual Satyagraha started by Gandhi brought Indian masses into freedom struggle which followed by Quit India Movement that gave the final blow on British rule in India.

He followed the policy of S-T-S or Struggle-Truce-Struggle. In the truce period, he emphasised on the constructive works like eradication of untouchability, promotion of cottage industry, enhancement of the status of women and vocational education.

1 CHAPTER

PAPER-II

COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Q. Discuss the main limitations of the comparative method to the study of Political Science. (CSE 2022)

Ans: Aristotle is considered the “Father of Comparative Politics,” it a study that is divided into the Traditional and Modern subfields based on his work chronicling the constitutions and practises of 158 Greek city-states and his ‘Theory of Constitutions’. The study of the state and its activities, as well as the concepts and ideas that motivate political organisation and their activities, are at the heart of traditional techniques. These were philosophical and normative procedures.

Political philosophers who raised questions such as “what should an ideal state be?” favoured these methodologies. According to them, the study of Political Science should be limited to official government structures, laws, and regulations.

Limitations

Traditional approach was too formalistic and focussed on the study of formal institutions of governance, resulting in a number of shortcomings. Because the western world shared a similar culture, degree of political development, and level of economic growth, it was mainly non-comparative. Therefore, it is Eurocentric because the scope of research is confined to Western constitutions. Rarely do traditional methodologies seek to link theory and research. In addition, it was stated that, because facts and values are intertwined, Political Science research can never be scientific. Consequently, it was of a static nature, since the favoured method was the analysis of constitutions.

Modern comparative politics approaches, such as the System’s approach, structural functional approach, and political development approach, among others, have the drawback of introducing needless complexity and language. It has no analytical significance. In addition, Marxists are sceptical of Behavioralists, as they view the system approach as status quoist and non-universalist, which holds the western society as the ideal.

Still, comparative politics remains a popular approach of inquiry and interpretation due to its beneficial framework for comprehending the politics and culture of many nations. It is ideal for conducting research at beginning or even advanced levels due to the ease of its approach and the complexity of its analysis outputs.

Q. Discuss the political economy approach to the comparative analysis of politics. (CSE 2021)

Ans: Comparative politics is the study and appraisal of domestic politics across countries. In his “History of Economic Analysis” Joseph Schumpeter defined political economy as an exposition of a comprehensive set of economic politics on the strength of certain unifying normative principles.

Adam Smith, also called ‘Father of Political Economy approach’ in his work “An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations” discussed the major themes of commodity, values, capital, and simple and complex labour.

Political economy, an interdisciplinary or hybrid approach involving politics and economy is one of the modern approaches to the study of comparative politics. It is the methodology of economics applied to the analysis of political behaviour, processes and institutions.

For e.g. – Marx related his conception of the state to the prevalent mode of production. According to him, the character of the state changes with the change in the mode of production. Marxists consider politics as a super-structure on economic base.

Within the political economy approach, the concept of dependency has been widely used in comparative analysis of the third world systems, particularly in Latin America. Political economy approach has been applied by neo-Marxist scholars like Hamza Alavi in analysing the nature of economic policies adopted by the post-colonial states.

2 CHAPTER

STATE IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Q. "The post-colonial state was thought of an entity that stood outside and above society as an autonomous agency." Explain

(CSE 2021)

Ans: The post-colonial state refers to the states that got independence in the recent past. Modern state is an imported concept for post-colonial states. These states have been thought as an entity and are analysed by different schools of thought to get better insights of them as an autonomous agency.

Liberal Perspective of Post-Colonial States

Liberal scholars have applied the political development and political modernization approaches in the context of post-colonial states. To explain the unique conditions and dynamics of politics and administration in the developing nations, Liberal scholars F.W. Riggs presented the concept of "Prismatic Society". He contended that societies are in the process of development - moving from a fused mode (little or no differentiations) to a diffracted condition (high degree of functional specialization).

According to Riggs, such prismatic societies are characterized by formalism (theory practice gap), heterogeneity (co-existence of the tradition and modern) and functional overlaps (similar functions are performed by different institutions).

These features are reflected in the prevalence of poly-communalism in society (interaction among communities based on suspicion and distrust); the 'Bazaar Canteen' model of economy and its price indeterminacy (caused by influenced of economic behavior); poly-normativism in decision process (use of both rational and irrational criteria).

Gunnar Myrdal explained post-colonial states as "Soft States" which lacks institutional discipline and capacity to enact laws and effectively implemented it.

Marxist Perspective of Post-Colonial States

There are two schools of thought in Marxist analysis of post-colonial states:

(i) **Instrumentalist or Dependency School:** This approach produced an important challenge to modernization and growth theories of development. The scholars from third world countries such as A. G. Frank, Samir Amin challenged the Euro-centric notion that development was a catch-up game in which backward third world mired in tradition, could only become developed with the help of western capitalism. They argued that contact with western capitalism created, rather than solved, under development in third world.

(ii) **Structuralists or Theory of Overdeveloped States:** Hamza Alavi, a neo-Marxist scholar has applied structural approach to study the nature of state in Pakistan. However, his theory is useful in understanding the nature of state in other third world countries. Alavi has rejected the instrumentalist approach for the third world countries as he considered it to be relevant only where capitalism is fully developed (i.e. western states).

According to Alavi, there is a structural mismatch between the political and social evolution in a post-colonial state. It means that development of political and socio-economic structure has not been in sync resulting in fully-developed state machinery, while the socio-economic structure is still in transition from primitive to modern.

Alavi argues that this mismatch exists in post-colonial states owing to the colonial legacy. Unlike western countries, where capitalist state developed naturally with the rise of indigenous bourgeois class, state in post-colonial societies is an imported institution as imperial masters imposed modern state in a pre-modern society.

Though post-colonial states are thought to be an autonomous agency, however they lack complete autonomy due to prevalence of neo-colonialism as explained by Immanuel Wallerstein through his World Systems Theory. It is proposed that these states should focus on autonomous development to attain autonomy.

3 CHAPTER

POLITICS OF REPRESENTATION & PARTICIPATION

Q. How has the electoral democracy augmented the participation of people in the democratic process? (CSE 2022)

Ans: Democracy is a kind of political organisation in which the general control and direction of the common-wealth are routinely established by the majority of the community in line with agreements and processes ensuring the involvement and consent of the populace. Nevertheless, periodic free and fair elections must be held to elect the representatives in order for the people to participate in government.

Intriguingly, electoral democracy's ability to draw the masses has expanded involvement in the democratic process. Elections have increased engagement because people want to support their popular leaders. The popularity of actors such as Jayalalitha and N.T. Rama Rao in Andhra Pradesh has pushed a substantial portion of the population into democracy.

People's participation has increased as they have realised that their interests can only be protected if their preferred candidates are elected. Farmers' desire to elect their representatives in the wake of the Green Revolution, which Yogendra Yadav dubbed the 1st democratic uprising, stems from the realisation that farmer-friendly policies can be formed when their representation is in power.

In India, elections have become a celebration of democracy. People from diverse backgrounds, ranging from tea stalls to corporate boardrooms, are drawn to democracy by the daily discussion of election manifestos, leaders' achievements, and party ideologies.

Moreover, television debates are heated. Additionally, the news channel, the opinion poll, etc., increase people's participation in the political process.

According to elitist theorists such as Mosca, political parties have become powerful institutions. Thus, they are able to develop sufficient resources, such as posters, propaganda, cadres, etc., to mobilise individuals and increase their participation in the political process. In an electoral democracy, the Election

Commission - the constitutional agency charged with ensuring free and fair elections - also increases people's participation through advertising. Additionally, the trust that individuals feel in the organisation boosts their engagement. Thus, electoral democracy has increased people's participation in the political process by exerting pressure from below and increasing participation at the grassroots level.

Q. Discuss the role of social movements in strengthening the democratic processes in developing societies. (CSE 2022)

Ans: A social movement is a loosely structured effort by a large number of individuals to attain a specific objective, often a social or political one. Social movements have been characterised as organisational structures and techniques that enable underprivileged groups to mount effective challenges and resist more powerful and privileged elites.

As a result, social movements have contributed significantly to the global consolidation of democracy. Its utility in poor countries cannot be overstated.

How Social Movements strengthening Democratic Processes in Developing Countries

- Calling for struggles against authoritarianism, the social movement bolstered the democratic process in developing nations.
- Social movements, whether mass-driven, elite-inspired, or both, have challenged dictatorial governments everywhere.

Examples

- Latin American elites organised rallies against any form of dictatorial authority. In 2001, the world witnessed how enormous Piquetero-led uprisings in Argentina forced the resignation of five presidents in one week.
- In nations where any sort of collective action is permitted, there are occasionally sporadic protests. It appears to be subject to dictatorial rule. In such

4

CHAPTER

GLOBALISATION

Q. What are the main challenges faced by the developing countries in the era of globalization? (CSE 2022)

Ans: Globalization refers to the increasing interdependence of the world's economies, cultures, and populations, as a result of cross-border commerce in commodities and services, technology, and flows of capital, people, and knowledge.

The developing nations have been negatively affected by globalisation:

- It has resulted in disparities between and within states.
- The developed world is notoriously known for its ravenous consumption, whilst the southern hemisphere is continuously impoverished.
- In poorer nations, global inequality has increased as a result of globalisation.
- Even while only 23% of the world's population lives in the industrial north, it generates 85% of global revenue and consumes most of the world's resources. In addition, the North consumes far more energy per capita than the South.
- The impact of globalisation on agriculture and food security in developing and poor nations has been unfavourable.

Scholars' views on Globalization

- According to Professor Ramesh Thakur, globalisation is the soft stage of capitalism.
- Marxist international relations scholars, such as AG Frank and Immanuel Wallerstein, concur that globalisation has resulted in a transfer of wealth from peripheries (Developing countries) to core countries (Developed countries). The ruling elites of the Global South are governed by multinational corporations, just as they are in Latin American and South American republics.
- According to Noam Chomsky, globalisation has led to a reduction in poor nations' health, education, and nutrition. It has resulted in a policy that places profit before people.

- As per Arundhati Roy, globalisation is a mutant kind of colonialism that has exacerbated poverty, damaged democracy, and harmed the environment in poor nations.

Thus, worsening ecology, food security, agriculture, rising inequality, etc., are some of the most significant difficulties developing countries face as a result of globalisation.

Q What is globalization? Why is there an intense debate about globalization and its consequences? (CSE 2021)

Ans: Anthony Giddens defines globalisation as the intensification of worldwide social relations linking distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many thousands of miles away and vice versa.

Elements of Globalisation

- Multidimensional and multifaceted
- Complex web of phenomena
- Marked by complex interdependence

Globalisation is not a single process but a complex of processes, sometimes overlapping, interlocking at times contradictory and oppositional. It cannot be reduced to a single theme. It is expressed in various developments. However the underlying theme is "interdependence". Globalisation is like waves of oceans interacting with each other, affecting each other at the same time. Robert Keohane describes Globalisation as a trend of increasing transnational flow and include thick network of interdependence.

Debate over Globalisation

There has been debate over globalization over its nature and its effect on the states among different schools of thought. Hyperglobalists like Marshall McLuhan and Kenichi Ohmae point that globalization is very real, profound and has led to revolutionary set of economic, cultural, technological, and political shifts. They point that globalization has led to erosion of state sovereignty.

5 CHAPTER

APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Q. Discuss the commonalities between the Marxist and Realist approach to the study of International Politics. (CSE 2022)

Ans: In the past, Marx never presented a theory of international politics despite his assertion that capitalism is fundamentally expansionist. As a proponent of proletariat internationalism, he said that “the imperatives of capitalism push the bourgeoisie to nest and settle everywhere.”

Later Marxists, applying Marx’s criticism of Capitalism to the world stage, developed the Marxist approach to International Politics in order to understand its foundations.

Similarities between Marxist and Realist Approach

- The primary similarity between the two approaches is that both view the state as a prominent player in international affairs.
- While realists view the state as a legitimate actor, Marxists view the state in international politics as a plot by global capitalists to conceal their true aim to monopolise the world’s resources and put the state in the foreground.
- Still, the fact that the state is a tool of the capitalist class lends credence to the notion that it is the primary actor in international politics.

Marxists and Realists both place an emphasis on material power capacities in international relations:

According to Waltz’s Theory of International Politics, the Comprehensive Indicator of National Capability (CINC) expresses the relative power capacities of realists.

Similarly, Immanuel Wallerstein emphasises material resources in his theory of the World’s System. He contends that developing “periphery” countries are experiencing underdevelopment as wealthier nations shift natural resources from peripheries to the core and export completed goods to the peripheries.

Despite the fact that there are similarities between the two schools of thinking. However, the similarities are superficial and the distinctions are fundamental.

Q. What is the realist prescription to the States to ensure their survival in an anarchical world? (CSE 2022)

Ans: Realism is one of the most influential schools of thought in international relations theory, formalizing the Realpolitik statecraft of early modern Europe. Although a highly diverse body of thought, it is united by the conviction that world politics is always and inevitably a battlefield of power-seeking actors.

Realists’ Prescription for Peace

Balance of Power (BOP): It is the Realist concept for peace, militaristic, fundamental Law of IP, axiom of IP, based on Realist assumptions that Human Nature is self-serving or Animus domindandi, thus the purpose of state is to preserve National Interest, Nature of National Interest is dynamic where power is both an end and a means, politics is not ethics, rather pragmatism is the ethics of politics.

- By utilizing BOP, the state achieves Internal and External Balance. The ideal BOP conditions are a regional setting with five to six powers. The objective of the parties to BOP is to protect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the members of the groupings, and members frequently wage war to maintain the equilibrium.

In addition, BOP techniques include Arms Race, War, Alliances, Counter-Alliances, Territorial Division, the Creation of Buffer Zones, and Disarmament.

Deterrence

Deterrence is an additional realist peace strategy derived from the Latin word De terrere, which means to frighten. Game theory is the basis of this psychological concept. There are two types of deterrence: nuclear and non-nuclear.

Massive Retaliation

- Massive Retaliation (Targeting civilians with long-range strategic weapons); Flexible response (Short-range Tactical); Catalytic - dependent on external support - Israel; Asymmetric escalation - France and Pakistan; NUTS (Nuclear Utilisation Target Selection) - Enemy nuclear arsenal destruction in a first strike are some of the nuclear deterrence technique.

6

CHAPTER

KEY CONCEPTS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Q. National Interest is an essentially contested concept. Comment (CSE 2022)

Ans: Morgenthau famously stated, there is only one guiding principle, one thought standard, and one rule of behaviour, and that is national interest. He then subdivided it into vital Interests, which included the security and existence of the state, and non-vital Interests, which included economic security, cordial ties with others, and the pursuit of global commons. National interest is a very dynamic concept. In international relations, power serves to safeguard national interests.

In this framework, Mearsheimer suggested use of hard power and an offensive strategy to safeguard national interests. While Neo-Liberals encourage the use of soft power to advance national interests, this renders the concept of National Interests unclear.

National Interest

- National interest is a pseudo theory, as stated by Raymond Aron. Due to its vagueness, subjectivity, and context-dependent meaning, he believed national interest to be fictional.
- The ambiguity of the idea hinders the development of an acceptable theory of national interest, mainly because it is a highly subjective concept.

Challenge to National Interest

- National interest has been challenged by Marxist theorists.
- Charles Beard performs the first Marxist investigation of the national interest from a theoretical standpoint. In the words of Charles Beard, if citizens must support the government that persecutes them, if soldiers must die for it, and if foreign policy must conform to it, what other title can it have than national interest?
- **Joseph Frankel** considers any pursuit of the concept of national interest futile, as it is utilised in several ways and for a variety of purposes, and there is no single meaning and content.
- **Burchill Scott** asserts that the idea lacks substance despite its extensive use, whilst Burchill Scott asserts the opposite.

- According to **Mohammad Younus**, the national interest serves to advance the goals of elites. In his published work on the theory of national interest, he explains how the Pakistani military defines “national interest” in reference to its own objectives.

So, National Interest is a problematic concept because there is a gap between theory and practise and because national interest is frequently applied selectively and conditionally.

Q. Discuss the conceptual dimensions of collective security. (CSE 2022)

Ans: Liberal thinkers have a firm belief in the effectiveness of collective security. This is a protective measure utilized by an alliance of states. When illegitimate and coercive activities are directed towards one state, the other supportive states demonstrate unified opposition. Collective security is best characterized by the phrase “one for all, all for one.”

Collective security is an institutionalized process designed to prevent the disruption of international peace and order by the international community’s collective response. The League of Nations first institutionalized the concept of collective security, followed by the United Nations.

Article 51 of the United Nations Charter recognises the “right to self-defense.” The concept of “collective defence” is derived from the idea of “self-defense.”

Conceptual Dimensions

The concept of ‘collective security’ presupposes that the War is a permanent aspect of IP, and therefore more power is a remedy for power. Formally stated Collective Security is an institutionalised Balance of Power. Collective security cannot be implemented without the existence of international organisations.

United Nations military action against those who violate peace. Collective Security is a condition of peace that is secure, whereas Balance of Power is a state of peace that is anxious.

7 CHAPTER

CHANGING INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ORDER

Q. Bipolar structure of the world is more stable than the multipolar one. Comment

(CSE 2022)

Ans: Multipolarity is a form of power distribution in which more than two nation-states have almost equal amounts of power. Theorists of classical realism, such as Hans Morgenthau and E. H. Carr argues that multipolar systems are more stable than bipolar systems because strong countries can acquire strength through alliances and minor conflicts that do not directly confront other powers. However, Neo-realists argue that multipolar regimes are especially unstable and prone to conflict due to the complexity of managing alliance structures and the increased likelihood of misjudging the intentions of other states.

Thomas Christensen and Jack Snyder suggest that multipolarity tends toward instability and conflict escalation as a result of “chain-ganging” (in which allies are lured into hostilities started by alliance partners) and “blame shifting” (states which do not experience an immediate proximate threat do not balance against the threatening power in the hope that others carry the cost of balancing against the threat). The originator of structural realism, Kenneth Waltz, maintains that increasing numbers of agents increase systemic uncertainty. Uncertainty increases the likelihood of miscommunication and conflict. Therefore, bipolarity is the most reliable method of international power distribution.

Furthermore, he contends that a bipolar system enables two powers to continuously change their political practises in order to avoid ambiguity and conflict, as such a system provides the two actors with a much deeper grasp of the perspective of their opponent.

Consequently, the United States and the Soviet Union engaged in an arms race and a fierce rivalry during the Cold War. As a result of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD), neither the United States nor the Soviet Union ever used nuclear weapons during their fifty years of leadership and competition, knowing that doing so would result in their own destruction.

Q. Critically examine the rise of People’s Republic of China (PRC) as a great power and its implications on Asian Political Order.

(CSE 2022)

Ans: Following Deng Xiaoping’s announcement of the reforms and opening up’ strategy, China has made enormous strides in economic development and technical progress. China is the world’s second largest economy, with a GDP of \$17 Trillion. China has converted its economic dominance into military force and abandoned Deng’s “lay low and bide your time” strategy to prepare the way for the much more aggressive and assertive “China Dream.”

Rise of China

- According to Fareed Zakaria, the ascent of China is unique since no country of China’s size has ever experienced double-digit growth for more than two decades. John Mearsheimer warned in ‘The Tragedy of Great Power Politics’ that China’s development would be everything but peaceful.
- The rise of China is being closely followed around the world. China launched the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in Kazakhstan in 2013. The purpose of BRI is to revitalize the ancient Silk Route. China is constructing enormous infrastructure projects, such as an inland port in Kazakhstan, a railway network from China to Europe, and ports like Hambantota and Gwadar, among others.
- Nevertheless, Chinese projects force minor economies into debt. Chinese debt trap diplomacy compelled Sri Lanka to lease the port of Hambantota to China for 99 years.
- A growing China has also influenced the global trading regulations in its favour. China is flooding the global economy with cheap commodities. It fought a fierce trade war with the United States.
- Contrary to western expectations, a rising China did not turn its authoritarian political system into a democratic one. Indeed, China has strengthened its communist one-party rule. Through the concept

8

CHAPTER

EVOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Q. Identify and evaluate the reasons for deadlock in the WTO negotiations on fisheries between the developing and the developed countries. (CSE 2022)

Ans: The World Trade Organization (WTO) is the only global international organization concerned with international trade rules. The objective of the WTO is to ensure that trade is as smooth, predictable, and unrestricted as possible. The negotiation of the fishing industry is one of the areas covered by the WTO.

The objective of the WTO agreement on fisheries subsidies is to eliminate subsidies for illegal, unreported, and unregulated (IUU) fishing in all areas, from the territorial (12 miles from the coast) to the Exclusive Economic Zones or EEZs (200 miles) and the high seas (beyond 200 miles).

Due to members' entrenched positions on special and differentiated treatment (S&DT) concessions for developing countries, the World Trade Organization's (WTO) ongoing agreement to reduce harmful fishing subsidies has stalled.

Members of the WTO are therefore attempting to reach a consensus on the prohibition of 'harmful' fisheries subsidies, estimated between \$14 billion and \$20.5 billion per year, which contribute to overfishing and the global depletion of fish stocks.

Reasons

- In accordance with the UN Sustainable Development Goals, developing nations such as India, South Africa, and Fiji argued that effective S&DT should be an integral part of the WTO fisheries subsidies debate.
- However, developed countries such as Canada and Australia argued that S&DT should be provided to developing and least developed countries (LDCs) based on their needs, rather than on a universal basis.
- In this regard, India proposed that developing nations with annual gross national incomes of less

than \$5,000 (for three consecutive years) should not be required to commit to fisheries subsidy reductions.

- Nevertheless, developed nations maintain that subsidies are a major contributor to the global fish stock depletion. Governments spend approximately 30 to 40 percent of the total value of all fish landed by marine vessels worldwide, or \$35 billion annually, on fishing subsidies. Subsidies create incentives that directly harm the long-term health of our oceans by encouraging overfishing in regions where it would be unprofitable to do so in the absence of subsidies.
- Moreover, developed nations maintain that subsidies are a major contributor to the global fish stock depletion. Governments spend approximately 30 to 40 percent of the total value of all fish landed by marine vessels worldwide, or \$35 billion annually, on fishing subsidies. Subsidies create incentives that directly harm the long-term health of our oceans by encouraging overfishing in regions where it would be unprofitable to do so in the absence of subsidies.

Agreement at 12th Ministerial Conference

- Ministerial meeting of the World Trade Organization (WTO) recently reached an agreement on Fisheries Subsidies (AFS).
- In accordance with the terms of the agreement, IUU and overfished stock subsidies will be prohibited.
- Furthermore, the agreement restricts the provision of subsidies for fishing on the high seas, which fall outside the jurisdiction of coastal nations and Regional Fisheries Management Organizations/ Arrangements.

Thus, both developed and developing nations are collaborating to address the issue of unsustainable fishing, which not only threatens the long-term viability of fishery sectors but also upsets the delicate balance of the marine ecosystem.

9

CHAPTER

UNITED NATIONS

Q. Describe the composition of the International Court of Justice (ICJ). Discuss its voluntary jurisdiction. (CSE 2022)

Ans: The International Court of Justice (ICJ) is comprised of fifteen justices chosen to nine-year mandates by the General Assembly and Security Council of the United Nations.

- These organs vote concurrently yet independently. A candidate must earn an absolute majority of votes in both bodies in order to be elected.
- A third of the Court is elected every three years in order to maintain stability. Judges are eligible for reappointment. If a judge dies or resigns during his or her tenure, a special election is called as quickly as practicable to replace the unexpired portion of that judge's term.
- Judges shall be elected from among persons of good moral character, who hold the qualifications necessary for appointment to the highest judicial offices in their respective nations, or who are jurisconsults with acknowledged expertise in international law.
- The Court cannot include multiple citizens of the same nation. In addition, the Court as a whole must be representative of the world's major civilizations and legal systems.
- Once chosen, a member of the Court is neither a representative of his own government nor of the government of any other state. Unlike the majority of other international organisation institutions, the Court is not formed of government officials.
- Members of the Court enjoy privileges and immunities comparable to those of the head of a diplomatic mission when doing Court business.

Voluntary Jurisdiction

- This authority is also known as advisory authority. Since only states are permitted to appear before the Court, international public organisations cannot be parties to a lawsuit before it. However, such

organisations have access to a special method, the advisory procedure, which is available exclusively to them.

- Five United Nations organs, fifteen specialised agencies, and one linked entity have access to this method.
- Contrary to judgments, the Court's advisory opinions are not binding unless expressly stated otherwise (such as in the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations, the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations, and the Headquarters Agreement between the United Nations and the United States of America).
- The requesting organ, agency, or organisation is free to determine the relevance of these opinions as it sees proper.
- Although non-binding, the Court's advisory opinions carry significant legal weight and moral influence. They are frequently an instrument of preventive diplomacy and contribute to maintaining peace.
- Advisory opinions contribute in their own manner to the clarity and development of international law and hence to the consolidation of peaceful relations between states.

Q. What measures have been undertaken by the United Nations for its reforms? (CSE 2021)

Ans: United Nations System consists of the United Nations, its subsidiary organs (including the separately administered funds and programmes), the specialized agencies, and affiliated organizations. The principal organ of the UN System is the United Nations itself. It consists of the six principal organs established by the Charter of the United Nations: UN General Assembly, UN Secretariat, International Court of Justice, UN Security Council, UN Economic and Social Council, UN Trusteeship Council.

10 CHAPTER

REGIONALISATION OF WORLD POLITICS

Q. Russian-Ukraine crisis has cast a dark shadow on the energy needs of the member states of the European Union (EU). Comment

(CSE 2022)

Ans: Each year, Europe requires more than 100 billion cubic metres of natural gas, and approximately 40 percent of its natural gas comes from Russia. The majority of the natural gas is supplied by the Nord Stream Gas Pipelines.

Nord Stream is a gas export pipeline that runs beneath the Baltic Sea and transports Russian gas to Europe.

It looks like Europe is about to experience an energy catastrophe. According to IMF countries in Central and Eastern Europe—Hungary, the Slovak Republic, and the Czech Republic—there is a possibility of 40 percent gas shortages and a 6 percent decline in gross domestic product.

Depending on the availability of alternative sources and the capacity to reduce domestic gas usage, the consequences on Austria and Germany would be less severe, but still considerable.

In the months following the Russian invasion of Ukraine, gas prices have increased tremendously. Numerous economists predict that a recession may soon follow. Russia's decision to shut down the Nord Stream 1 pipeline - a source of inexpensive natural gas on which Europe has relied for years - is a big factor. It avoids transit countries, making it extremely reliable for European clients. It possesses two pipelines, namely Nord Stream 1 and Nord Stream 2.

The twin pipelines can transfer 110 billion cubic metres of gas to Europe annually for at least fifty years. Germany has suspended the Nord Stream 2 gas pipeline two days before Russia sent its soldiers into Ukraine.

Russian gas company Gazprom said on September 2 that the Nord Stream pipeline will be totally shut down until a turbine is fixed. This is not the first time Gazprom has shut down the crucial pipeline. Gazprom

lowered the amount of natural gas coming to Europe to 20% of capacity in July of this year.

President Vladimir Putin has threatened to cut off energy supplies if price limitations are imposed on Russia's oil and gas exports. If Russia decides to cut off energy supplies, global energy markets would be impacted and energy prices would rise.

In the meantime, Europe is not idle. It has already secured alternative gas sources, such as LNG from the United States and pipeline gas from Norway and Azerbaijan. Germany is keeping operational coal facilities that it had planned to shut down in order to cut greenhouse gas emissions. The European Union has agreed a plan to cut gas consumption by 15% by March of next year. Now, it intends to impose additional limitations on Moscow. Therefore, The G7 has agreed to set a price ceiling for Russian oil exports.

However, the effects could be mitigated by securing alternative supplies and energy sources, reducing infrastructure bottlenecks, promoting energy conservation while safeguarding vulnerable households, and increasing solidarity agreements to distribute gas among countries.

Q Explain the success of ASEAN as a regional organization.

(CSE 2021)

Ans: Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is a regional organisation comprising of ten Southeast Asian states which promotes intergovernmental cooperation and facilitates economic integration amongst its members since Bangkok Declaration (1967). ASEAN is not just an economic community, but political and strategic, social and cultural community.

Achievements of ASEAN

The main achievement of ASEAN has been the maintenance of an uninterrupted period of peace and stability during which the individual member countries have been able to concentrate on promoting rapid and sustained economic growth and modernization.