

IAS Mains Q&A

10 Years (2016-2025)

POLITICAL SCIENCE & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

TOPICWISE

PYQ SOLVED PAPERS



Topic-wise
10 YEARS (2016-2025)

**POLITICAL SCIENCE &
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**
IAS Mains Q&A

PYQ Solved Papers

This book features 10 years (2016-2025) topic-wise solved papers of Political Science & International Relations Optional of the IAS Mains Exam. With detailed solutions strictly aligned to the UPSC syllabus, it helps aspirants master PYQs for Civil Services and State PSC examinations.

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Edited by - N.N. Ojha

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Q. Explain the Philosophical approach to the study of Political theory. (CSE 2025)

Ans: The philosophical approach is the oldest methodology in political science. It focuses on fundamental, abstract questions using logical reasoning to explore what politics ought to be rather than what it is.

Philosophical Approach to the study of Political Theory

The philosophical approach is fundamentally concerned with prescriptive questions. It seeks to find value-based criteria in political theory, assessing what is right or wrong. For example, "What principles should govern political life and society?"

It examines the moral and ethical dimensions of politics. It raises questions such as-

- Why should individuals obey the state?
- What constitutes a just society? etc.

The philosophical approach employs logical reasoning and conceptual analysis rather than empirical observation. It uses deductive reasoning from general principles to specific applications.

Philosophical approach engages in critical clarification of core concepts such as liberty, equality, justice, rights, and authority. This involves exploring the meaning and implications of these ideas rather than empirical observation.

Plato, regarded as the father of Political Philosophy, emphasised that understanding the "idea of state" is more crucial than merely describing existing states. His 'Republic' is the first major work of Western political philosophy.

Political thinkers like Aristotle provided a bridge between pure philosophical abstraction and empirical observation emphasising the interconnection between ideas and material reality.

Thomas Hobbes formulated modern political obligation through his Leviathan, establishing the social contract theory framework.

Locke and Rousseau further developed social contract theory emphasising natural rights and popular sovereignty.

- Contemporary philosophers like John Rawls and Leo Strauss revitalised philosophical approaches in the 20th century, defending normative inquiry against behaviorist criticism.

- Behaviorists criticised philosophical theories as armchair theories, dismissing them as unverifiable and disconnected from reality. Lord Bryce's dictum- "we need facts, facts and facts"- highlights this rejection.

However, contemporary scholars argue that the philosophical approach remains indispensable for political science. It provides the moral compass for evaluating institutions and offers ethical clarity in times of political crisis.

Q. Provide a comparative analysis of behavioural and institutional approach to the study of political theory. (CSE 2025)

Ans: The behavioural and institutional approaches represent two distinct but increasingly complementary paradigms for studying political phenomena. They reflect fundamental shifts in methodology and analytical focus within political science.

Foundational Orientation and Focus

Institutional Approach

- Originated in 19th-century Europe, notably through Max Weber, Emile Durkheim, etc.
- Focuses on formal political structures like legislatures, executives, courts, constitutions.
- Examines rules, procedures, and organisational frameworks shaping political interactions and societal order.
- Largely descriptive and normative, analysing politics through legal and organizational lenses.

Behavioural Approach

- Emerged post-WWII in America, focusing on individuals and groups within political systems.
- Employs empirical methods like surveys and statistical analysis to study attitudes, voting, decision-making and social interactions.
- Pioneered by David Easton, it seeks regularities in behaviour with a scientific, value-neutral stance to explain and predict political phenomena.

Methodological Differences

Institutional Methodology

- Primarily qualitative and historical, using descriptive narratives and comparative institutional analysis.

Q. What is the Marxist and liberal approach towards the state? On what grounds the theoretical differences between them are premised? Explain. (CSE 2025)

Ans: The Marxist and liberal perspectives represent fundamentally opposed theoretical positions on the state. The differences are rooted in contrasting analyses of class relations, economic structures and human freedom.

Marxist Approach towards the State

Marxism, articulated by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, rejects the social contract theory entirely. Marx famously declared: 'The state is the executive committee of the capitalist class' emphasizing that the state is not neutral but an instrument of class domination.

The state arises not from consensual contract but from irreconcilable class antagonisms. Engels argued that the state emerged as a violent force to contain class struggles between bourgeoisie and proletariat.

According to Marxism, functions and nature of state include: coercive apparatus protecting capitalist property and suppressing working-class resistance; reflect the underlying capitalist mode of production; and maintains ideological hegemony, presenting capitalist domination as natural or inevitable.

Marx envisioned the "dictatorship of the proletariat" as a transitional phase where the working class uses state power against bourgeoisie ultimately leading to the state "withering away" when classless society emerges.

Liberal Approach towards the State

Liberalism, articulated by John Locke, views the state as emerging from a social contract based on consent of the governed. Individuals possess natural rights to life, liberty, and property and establish the state to protect these rights. The state is conceived as a neutral arbiter transcending individual interests.

The liberal state functions to: uphold the rule of law and ensure justice; protect individual freedoms and property rights; maintain order with minimal interference in private life; and support capitalist markets through constitutional constraints on state power.

Liberalism emphasizes constitutionalism, separation of powers, democracy, and pluralism - mechanisms designed to limit state authority and prevent tyranny. John Stuart Mill further developed this framework, advocating limited intervention to ensure equality of opportunity.

Grounds of Theoretical Differences between Them

- Liberals view humans as rational, autonomous individuals with inherent freedoms. Marxists see individuals as fundamentally shaped by economic conditions and class positions.
- Marxism premises that economic structures determine political institutions. Liberalism assumes political structures can transcend and regulate economic systems.
- Liberals argue the state can be neutral and representative of collective will. Marxists contend the state inherently serves ruling-class interests.
- Liberal theory rests on voluntary consent. Marxism emphasizes coercion and force as the state's foundational basis.
- Liberals believe freedom exists within capitalist markets with state protections. Marxists argue capitalism inherently alienates individuals, requiring transcendence through socialism.

Liberalism pursues justice through constitutional institutions of the state whereas Marxism demands dismantling capitalist state structures for substantive justice. Both rest on incompatible assumptions about class, power and freedom.

Q. Write approximately 150 words on Pluralist theory of State. (CSE 2024)

Ans: The pluralist theory of the state emerged as a critique of the elitist theory proposed by C. Wright Mills. The fundamental characteristic of pluralist theory is that the state, rather than being dominated by a singular capitalist class or elite, is governed by various interest groups.

Robert Dahl introduced the concept of the pluralist state while attacking C.W. Mills' elitist view of power in his article 'Who Governs America?' Dahl posits that the United States is governed not by political elites like

Q. Explain how Rawls used the liberal and egalitarian perspective to develop his concept of distributive justice. (CSE 2025)

Ans: John Rawls synthesised liberal and egalitarian traditions to construct a comprehensive theory. He reconciles individual liberty with substantive equality through “justice as fairness,” transcending classical liberalism’s limitations.

Classical liberalism emphasises formal rights and negative liberty but neglects material conditions enabling meaningful freedom. Utilitarianism maximises aggregate welfare while sacrificing minority interests and the least advantaged.

Rawls argues justice requires both liberal freedoms and egalitarian distribution, not one at the expense of the other.

The liberal ideal of impartiality grounded procedurally is ensured by Rawls’ construction of a hypothetical scenario (veil of ignorance). Since no one knows their future position, rational deliberators cannot design rules favouring themselves. This ensures principles chosen are universally applicable and fair.

Rawls develops ‘pure procedural justice’- if the procedure is fair, outcomes are just by definition. Yet his endorsed outcomes are substantively egalitarian, prioritising the least-advantaged. This bridges liberal procedure (fairness through impartial process) with egalitarian substance (ensuring real equality and opportunity).

Rawls prioritises liberty; each person has equal rights to extensive basic liberties. But he acknowledges that formal equality perpetuates injustice when initial conditions are unequal. Here, he uses the egalitarian perspective that social and economic inequalities are permissible only if they benefit the least-advantaged group.

Rawls argues that morally arbitrary factors such as birth, natural talents, social circumstances, should not determine life chances. While liberalism protects individual freedom, egalitarianism demands compensating for unjust inequalities arising from factors beyond individual control.

Rather than redistributing individual holdings, Rawls emphasises restructuring the basic social

structure like constitutional frameworks, economic institutions, and family systems. This prevents treating justice as charity rather than institutional responsibility. E.g. Progressive taxation exemplifies this; ensuring wealth concentration doesn’t undermine political equality.

Drawing from liberalism, Rawls argues the state must remain neutral among competing visions of human flourishing. This view justifies institutions through ‘public reason’ citizens can accept regardless of personal beliefs. Yet Rawls’s public reason cannot endorse unlimited inequality or deny basic opportunities, ensuring liberal neutrality operates within egalitarian constraints.

Rawls, in his theory of justice, recognised that genuine freedom requires material conditions and fair opportunity, not merely formal rights. His theory balances liberal acknowledgment of individual differences with egalitarian concern for justice.

Q. Rawl’s idea of ‘liberal self’ is too individualistic. Explain, in this context, the communitarian critique of Rawls’s theory of justice. (CSE 2023)

Ans: Rawls’s ‘A Theory of Justice’ revived the normative trend of political philosophy in recent times. The aim of Rawls was to formulate universal principles of justice based on purely procedural methodology. This methodology, however, is based on liberalism, which puts individualism at the center of reasoning.

- In his ‘A Theory of Justice’, John Rawls conducts a thought experiment that is similar to a social contract in which individuals are organised into a group in order to bargain for the distribution of primary goods such as rights and liberties, opportunities, income, and wealth, and the social bases of self-respect called original position. These individuals are unaware of the final outcome as there is a hypothetical veil of ignorance in front of them, and after bargaining, they arrive at the final principles of justice.
- The Communitarians precisely critique this conception of the atomistic individual and call it “abstract individuals” devoid of reality. In real

Q. Write a note on the relation between equality and liberty from the multi-cultural perspective. (CSE 2025)

Ans: Equality refers to fair treatment and equal access to resources and opportunities for all. Liberty encompasses individual freedom to express oneself and make autonomous choices.

Relation between Equality and Liberty from the Multi-Cultural Perspective

In traditional liberal theory, concepts of equality and liberty are viewed as individually sufficient but multicultural theory demonstrates their interdependence.

The multicultural perspective analyses how diversity shapes politics and governance. It argues that both equality and liberty are essential but require reframing to accommodate cultural diversity and group identities.

True equality demands context-sensitive policies recognising that identical treatment of unequal situations perpetuates injustice. Will Kymlicka's liberal multiculturalism introduces group-differentiated rights, special protections for national minorities and immigrants.

Bhikhu Parekh's 'Dialogic Perspective' contends that human beings are fundamentally culturally embedded.

- Equality must be redefined as equal respect for different ways of life, not uniformity of treatment.
- Liberty includes the freedom to live according to one's cultural values, balanced with civic norms ensuring mutual respect and social cohesion.

Charles Taylor emphasises that the dominant culture's implicit assumption of universal values often marginalises minority perspectives undermining both their equality and liberty.

Liberty without equality leads to cultural domination as dominant groups exploit freedoms to marginalise minorities.

- Equality without liberty suppresses individual and cultural expression through assimilationist policies.
- Multicultural theory reconciles these tensions through flexible legal frameworks, affirmative protections, intercultural dialogue, etc.

From the multicultural perspective, equality and liberty are inseparable and mutually reinforcing. Multicultural societies must transcend abstract universalism to recognise how cultural context shapes both.

Q. The nature of relationship between equality of democratic citizenship and liberty of citizens is influenced by economic equality. Comment. (CSE 2024)

Comment. (CSE 2024)

Ans: In political science, equality denotes the notion that all individuals possess equal intrinsic value and should have uniform access to political, social, and economic rights and opportunities. It includes equitable legal treatment, non-discrimination, and equal engagement in the political process. The interplay between equality and liberty in democratic citizenship is significantly influenced by economic equality, as evidenced in many academic viewpoints.

Political philosopher **Michael Walzer**, in his influential work "**Spheres of Justice**" (1983), contends that when wealth dictates access to essential goods and services, it engenders a form of domination that erodes both political equality and substantive liberty.

Elizabeth Anderson further elucidates this relationship in "**What is the Point of Equality?**" (1999), asserting that democratic equality seeks not to eradicate all disparities in economic outcomes, but to establish a community in which individuals maintain relations of equality with one another.

Thomas Piketty compellingly elucidates the conflict between economic inequality and democratic freedom in "**Capital in the Twenty-First Century**" (2014), illustrating that when the rate of return on capital substantially surpasses the economic growth rate, it inherently produces arbitrary and unsustainable inequalities that fundamentally erode the meritocratic principles underpinning democratic societies.

Nancy Fraser further examines the economic aspect of democratic citizenship by introducing the concept of "participatory parity" in her work "**Scales of Justice**" (2009). She argues that genuine democratic participation requires both the objective condition of economic independence and the intersubjective condition of cultural recognition.

Q. The debate on human rights is caught between the limitations of both universalism and cultural relativism. Comment. (CSE 2024)

Ans: Human rights are internationally acknowledged fundamental rights and freedoms intrinsic to all individuals, irrespective of nationality, gender, ethnicity, religion, or any other status. These rights encompass civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights, including the right to life, liberty, and security. Human rights are safeguarded by international and state legal frameworks such as the UN Charter.

Universalism vs. Cultural Relativism

The discourse on human rights is characterised by a fundamental contradiction between universal human rights and cultural relativism. In **“Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice” (2013)**, Jack Donnelly argues that although human rights possess a universal conceptual framework, their application must consider cultural differences, advocating for a “relative universalism” that acknowledges both universal principles and local contexts.

In **“Human Rights: A Political and Cultural Critique” (2002)**, Makau Mutua critiques the Western-centric perspective of universal human rights, contending that the existing human rights framework embodies cultural imperialism. He argues that the **Universal Declaration of Human Rights** predominantly embodies Western liberal ideas and may insufficiently encompass varied cultural viewpoints on human dignity and social fairness.

Abdullahi An-Naim elaborates on this perspective in **“Human Rights in Cross-Cultural Perspectives” (1992)**, arguing that cultural legitimacy is essential for the application of human rights and that universal principles must be rooted in local cultural traditions to achieve efficacy.

In **“What Are Human Rights?” (2010)**, Marie-Benedicte Dembour offers a comprehensive approach, delineating four major schools of thought about human rights: natural, deliberative, protest, and discursive schools. She illustrates how these varied conceptual frameworks generate intrinsic contradictions in the understanding and implementation of human rights across cultures.

In **“Development as Freedom” (1999)**, Amartya Sen writes that human rights and cultural values are not inherently at odds. He posits that all cultures possess traditions that uphold essential human liberties, albeit expressed in diverse manners.

Rhoda Howard-Hassmann presents a sixth position in **“Universal Women’s Rights” (2011)**, asserting that although cultural sensitivity is significant, certain fundamental rights must remain inviolable to preserve the integrity of the human rights framework. She specifically underscores this regarding women’s rights, as cultural relativism has occasionally been employed to rationalise discrimination.

The conflict between universalism and cultural relativism in human rights is not merely a binary opposition but a multifaceted spectrum for meticulous navigation between honouring cultural variety and upholding essential norms of human dignity.

Q. Comment on “Multicultural perspective on rights” (CSE 2023)

Ans: The concept of rights is a modern concept that is grounded in the thesis of the "Natural Rights of Man". It is primarily a concept within liberal discourse that limits the authority of both the state and society. In traditional sense, the Individual rights are given preference over any other considerations. Hence, as per Dworkin 'Rights are Trumps'.

- Nevertheless, a conventional liberal interpretation of rights may encompass all the various identities within a society under a singular dominant identity. Therefore, it is imperative to safeguard the rights of minority groups, particularly in this period of globalization where the likelihood of conflicts arising from diverse identities has escalated. This can be achieved through the promotion of tolerance, pluralism, and reverence for human dignity.
- Kymlicka created the concept of multicultural citizenship, which entails granting three distinct rights to minority groups: polyethnic rights, special representation rights, and self-governance rights.
- Polyethnic rights comprise of giving certain religious and cultural rights, while special

Q. Explain briefly the elite theory of democracy. (CSE 2025)

Ans: The elite theory of democracy fundamentally challenges the classical conception of democracy as 'rule by the people'. It argues instead that power invariably rests with a small, organised minority.

Elite theory asserts that in all societies, democratic or otherwise, small, cohesive elite governs. Masses remain politically passive and largely excluded from substantive decision-making. Democracy thus becomes a competition among rival elites rather than genuine popular rule.

Elites may be replaced by counter-elites, but elite dominance persists. Vilfredo Pareto introduced the concept of 'circulation of elites'. He argued that history is a 'graveyard of aristocracies', emphasising cyclical elite replacement rather than mass empowerment.

Gaetano Mosca formulated the 'ruling class theory', contending that organised minorities always dominate disorganised majorities. He emphasized that political power requires organisation, cohesion, and strategic positioning. These qualities are monopolised by elites.

According to elite theory of democracy, even democratically structured organisations inevitably concentrate power in leadership hands due to organizational imperatives, expertise requirements and mass apathy. Robert Michels propounded the 'iron law of oligarchy'.

Elite theory holds that true mass participation is impractical in complex modern societies. Democratic institutions primarily legitimise elite rule rather than empower citizens. Electoral democracy merely allows periodic choice among competing elite factions.

Elite theory provides realist insight into power concentration and organisational dynamics. But critics argue it undermines democratic ideals of equality, participation and popular sovereignty.

Q. Deliberative democracy seeks to promote democratic decision making about public issues among the citizens. Discuss. (CSE 2024)

Ans: Deliberative democracy is a democratic system that prioritises conversation and deliberation

in decision-making processes. Citizens engage in discourse, discussion, and deliberation to achieve consensus, guaranteeing that decisions are informed, inclusive, and representative of varied perspectives and collective reasoning.

In "**Between Facts and Norms**" (1996), **Jurgen Habermas** writes that valid lawmaking is derived from public discussion among citizens, wherein logical speech and communicative activity underpin democratic legitimacy. He asserts that the legitimacy of democratic judgments is derived from a process of rational discourse among free and equal persons.

Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson, in "**Why Deliberative Democracy?**" (2004), elaborate on this concept by saying that deliberative democracy accommodates various other forms of democracy, including representative, direct, and participatory. They contend that the fundamental component is the obligation for individuals and their representatives to furnish justifications for their stances that are acceptable to those who seek to achieve binding judgements while staying receptive to discourse.

In "**Everyday Talk in the Deliberative System**" (2012), **Jane Mansbridge** argues that debate transpires not alone within formal political institutions but across several, intersecting public spheres. She underscores the **significance of informal discussions** in diverse social contexts in enhancing the overall deliberative system. This perspective is supported by **Seyla Benhabib's** assertion in "**Towards a Deliberative Model of Democratic Legitimacy**" (1996), in which she argues that democratic legitimacy emerges from the free and unimpeded public deliberation of all issues of collective interest.

James Fishkin, in his work "**Democracy When the People Are Thinking**" (2018), presents empirical evidence supporting the efficacy of deliberative democracy, asserting that when individuals are afforded the opportunity to thoughtfully evaluate opposing arguments, they are capable of exercising nuanced political judgment. His study illustrates how organised deliberative forums can result in more informed and thoughtful public decisions.

Iris Marion Young, in "**Inclusion and Democracy**" (2002), presents a critical viewpoint by asserting

CHAPTER 7

CONCEPT OF POWER

Q. Explain the Macpherson's view on power.
(CSE 2025)

Ans: C.B. Macpherson, a Canadian political theorist, understood power as multidimensional and relational. His analysis challenges traditional liberal assumptions and provides crucial insights into the actual functioning of democratic systems.

Macpherson's View on Power

Macpherson identifies power as operating across two distinct dimensions:

- **Extractive Power (Coercive Power):** The ability of some to extract resources, labor, or value from others without reciprocal benefit. In capitalist systems, employers profit disproportionately from workers' labour and corporations exploit communities, being obscured by market ideology.
- **Developmental Power (Creative Power):** The capacity of individuals to realise their full human potential and participate meaningfully in society. Macpherson argues this represents "creative freedom", the genuine ability to flourish and contribute to collective life.

Macpherson argues that liberal democratic framework masks inherent power imbalances by presenting formally equal individuals competing in capitalist markets. But he demonstrates that capitalists monopolise developmental and extractive power while workers possess negligible control.

According to him, power is not a static property but emerges through relationships between individuals, groups, and institutions. The government holds authority because citizens recognise and respond to it. Employers exercise power because workers depend on their labour contracts.

Unlike conventional views treating power as mere control or domination, Macpherson emphasises that power must be examined within systems of social relations and economic structures. Macpherson radicalises the vision of participatory democracy by John Stuart Mill insisting that genuine participation requires economic power redistribution, not merely political procedures.

Macpherson envisions a system eliminating extractive power relationships while preserving the

value of individual development blending democratic socialism with liberal individualism.

All individuals should possess equal opportunities to develop their capacities, described as "creative freedom." Macpherson's framework resonates with Amartya Sen's "development as freedom" approach.

Macpherson's theory of power fundamentally challenges liberal democracy's legitimacy by exposing the persistence of extractive power relationships beneath formal equality.

Q. Do you think that legitimacy acquired by consent or manufactured by indoctrination is an essential element in maintenance of political rule? Justify your answer with relevant examples.
(CSE 2025)

Ans: Political legitimacy is the acceptance and recognition of governing authority as rightful. It constitutes a foundational determinant of regime stability and durability.

Consent-Based Legitimacy for Maintenance of Political Rule

- Legitimacy by consent is the strongest foundation of political rule. For example, John Locke's social contract tradition puts actual consent as the moral foundation of political authority.
- Consent-based legitimacy creates internalised acceptance. Citizens voluntarily comply because they recognise authority as rightful, not merely coercive.
- Democratic systems exemplifying this principle (Sweden, Canada, Switzerland) demonstrate exceptional institutional resilience and adaptive capacity.
- Consent-based systems demonstrate superior institutional stability due to long-term political commitment.
- American Revolution (1776) and French Revolution (1789) established legitimacy through revolutionary consent, creating durable institutional frameworks.
- More resilient during crises because citizens perceive governance as legitimate irrespective of temporary policy failures.

Q. Explain how the slogan 'the personal is political' addresses the issue of women's oppression and discrimination? (CSE 2025)

Ans: The slogan 'the personal is political' was popularised by feminist activist Carol Hanisch in her 1970 essay. It highlights that personal experiences of women exploitation are rooted in systemic patriarchal power structures.

The public-private dichotomy rendered women's oppression invisible by treating it as private matters beyond political concern, legitimising male domination. Hanisch's slogan asserts that this dichotomy is itself political, a mechanism perpetuating women's subordination.

Traditionally, women's oppression was framed as women's individual failings or inadequacies. Hanisch argues that women's personal problems like domestic violence, childcare burdens, wage gaps, etc. are not individual failures but consequences of systemic patriarchal oppression.

By politicising personal experiences, feminists demonstrate women's common suffering results from collective male domination requiring collective political response, not individual therapeutic solutions.

The slogan reveals that sexual abuse, emotional manipulation, economic control and reproductive coercion are not personal conflicts but manifestations of systemic male power. Family, traditionally considered apolitical, is actually the primary site of women's oppression and patriarchy's foundation.

In personal experiences of women like domestic violence, reproductive control, beauty standards, etc. patterns emerge revealing systemic oppression rather than individual misfortune. This collective analysis transforms isolated personal suffering into recognition of shared political oppression, catalysing organised resistance.

The slogan expands politics beyond government and law to encompass all 'power-structured relationships'. This radical reconception means that family hierarchies, domestic labour distribution, beauty standards, etc. become legitimate political issues.

The slogan politicises women's unpaid domestic work, exposing how societal expectation that women

perform childcare and housework is not natural. Rather a political arrangement maintaining women's economic dependence and social subordination.

Women's reproductive autonomy related to contraception, abortion, childcare access etc is revealed as fundamentally political, not merely personal choice. Restrictions on reproductive rights constitute systemic discrimination enabling male control over women's bodies and life trajectories.

The slogan connects personal economic struggles such as wage gaps, occupational segregation, etc. to systemic patriarchal structures. Such structures devalue women's labor and maintain economic subordination.

Women's conformity to beauty standards, makeup, fashion and bodily modification are revealed as politically enforced performances of femininity. The slogan exposes institutions like marriage and motherhood which are purely private personal fulfillment but used to establish women's subordination.

The slogan addresses women's oppression by shifting analysis from individual lacunas to structural critique. Radical feminists employed this insight to demand revolutionary transformation of structures and norms perpetuating women's oppression.

Q. Mention the difference between Italian and German brands of fascism. (CSE 2025)

Ans: Italian Fascism under Mussolini and German Nazism under Hitler shared authoritarian, ultra-nationalist traits but diverged markedly in ideology, control mechanisms, and goals.

Difference between Italian and German Brands of Fascism

Ideological Foundations

- **Italian Fascism**, influenced by Giovanni Gentile, was state-centric, viewing the state as an ethical entity beyond individual interests. Mussolini's dictum, "Everything in the State, nothing outside the State," embodies this.
- **German Nazism**, shaped by Alfred Rosenberg and Houston Stewart Chamberlain, was race-centric, centered on Aryan racial purity and Lebensraum. Hitler's 25-Point Manifesto declared: "only members of the race can be citizens."

CHAPTER
9

INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

Q. "State does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality, which lies at the root of all progress." – Mahatma Gandhi. Elucidate. (CSE 2025)

Ans: Mahatma Gandhi describes the state as a 'soulless machine' of concentrated organised violence. In his view, the state does the 'greatest harm' by systematically subordinating individuals to impersonal institutional machinery.

The state's foundations rest on coercion, police power, military authority and bureaucratic control. These mechanisms are fundamentally incompatible with individual autonomy.

The modern state reduces individuals to passive subjects of centralised authority suffocating creativity, moral responsibility and community bonds. This depersonalisation and stagnation of moral agency undermines the ethical foundation of progress.

Authentic progress emerges from individuals exercising creative capacity, moral judgment and conscience. These faculties flourish only through freedom and autonomy. When the state suppresses individuality through conformity and obedience, it simultaneously destroys the very source of human progress and civilisation.

Similar to Kantian philosophy, Gandhi links individuality to autonomy. It is the individuals' capacity to 'be a law to oneself', deriving guidance from within. Genuine progress requires individuals making decisions based on personal conscience and moral understanding, not external coercion.

Individuality leads to Swaraj (self-rule) which represents Gandhi's foundational principle. Rule of state is antithetical to self-rule. Swaraj transcends political independence to encompass personal, social and economic freedom.

Power centralised in a distant authority denies participation of every individual diminishing social progress. Gandhi proposes self-governed village communities who are self-sustained, self-sufficient units managing their local affairs.

State machinery treats individuals as interchangeable units within abstract systems rather than autonomous moral agents. This mechanistic

approach degrades the autonomous person essential to human flourishing and social progress.

Bureaucratic rationality of the state, while appearing rational, ignores local knowledge, cultural nuance and practical understanding individuals possess. The state's rigid structure leaves minimal space for creativity, experimentation and unconventional thinking. Artists, scientists and thinkers face state constraints like censorship, surveillance, institutional hierarchy.

State imposes a morality which lacks authenticity and transformative power; genuine moral progress requires voluntary individual conviction. Gandhi redefines progress beyond state-led industrial development to encompass moral upliftment and individual self-realisation.

Gandhi provided a radical critique of state centralisation, advocating enlightened anarchy. He emphasised on individual agency, local governance and moral authority over political power to achieve genuine progress.

Q. Dharmashastra presents a duty-centric worldview for individuals and communities. Comment. (CSE 2024)

Ans: The Dharmashastra offers a detailed duty-oriented perspective that organises both personal and communal existence through complex systems of obligations and responsibilities.

In "**Dharmasutras: The Law Codes of Ancient India**", **Patrick Olivelle** elucidates that dharma signifies not merely religious duty but also includes social, moral, and legal responsibilities that uphold cosmic and social order. This comprehensive notion of obligation transcends individual ethics to encompass communal harmony.

Diverse Scholarly Views on a Duty-Centric World-view for Individuals and Communities

In "**The Spirit of Hindu Law**", **Donald Davis Jr.** elucidates how Dharmashastra defines duties in connection to social interactions, asserting that every social position entails specific obligations intrinsically

CHAPTER
10

WESTERN POLITICAL THOUGHT

Q. Karl Popper presents a defence of the open society against its enemies. Elaborate.

(CSE 2025)

Ans: Karl Popper's seminal work - *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (1945) - was a response to rising totalitarianism. He presents a comprehensive defence of liberal democracy against authoritarian ideologies, identifying philosophical enemies.

Popper defends the open society by showing how its fundamental characteristics actively protect it from ideological enemies (Plato, Hegel, and Marx).

A key shared trait of these enemies is historicism, the belief that history follows deterministic laws leading to inevitable ends. Popper contrasts this with critical rationalism, which underpins the open society. This promotes skepticism and recognises all knowledge as provisional, enabling individuals to resist propaganda portraying totalitarianism as unavoidable.

Popper advocates piecemeal social engineering, rejecting the utopian ambitions of Plato, Hegel and Marx. Open society prevents the justification of totalitarian violence by focusing on small-scale, testable reforms aimed at specific problems - ensures that changes remain accountable to citizen evaluation and criticism.

The enemies concentrate power in unified bodies - Plato's philosopher-kings, Hegel's world-historical nation-state, and Marx's revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. In contrast, open societies disperse power institutionally through separation of powers, federalism and an autonomous civil society creating multiple centers of authority and resistance.

Totalitarian regimes suppress critical discourse to protect their ideological monopoly. Popper emphasizes that the open society constitutionally guarantees free speech and critical debate. This allows citizens to mobilise public opposition peacefully, turning society into a permanent forum to intellectually challenge and defeat totalitarian ideologies.

Enemies establish permanent, unaccountable leadership enabling abuse of power. Open societies enable peaceful leadership removal through democratic elections, ensuring leaders remain constantly accountable.

Popper also highlights education's role in defending freedom by developing citizens' critical capacities thereby protecting against manipulation and ignorance exploited by totalitarian ideologies.

Open societies institutionalise transparency, historical record-keeping, free press, and academic freedom to preserve access to truth, and prevents narrative control by authoritarian regimes.

The open society enshrines individual dignity and rights, opposing the enemies' dehumanising subordination of individuals to collectives.

Popper's defence of the open society is fundamentally structural and institutional rather than merely rhetorical. The open society's core features create multiple, reinforcing barriers against totalitarian enemies.

Q. The foundational base of western democracy has been shaped by Locke's ideas of constitutionalism, freedom and property. Elucidate.

(CSE 2025)

Ans: John Locke's political philosophy establishes constitutionalism, individual freedom and property rights as interdependent pillars of legitimate governance. His ideas directly influenced the American and French Revolutions and remain foundational to liberal democracy.

Locke's Ideas as Foundational Base of Western Democracy

Constitutionalism

Prior to Locke, Western political systems remained dominated by divine right based monarchy and absolute sovereign authority. For Locke, Government power is not original but derivative, delegated by the people for specific, limited purposes:

- All authority derives exclusively from the people's rational consent; this is constitutionalism's cornerstone.
- Government is constituted by the people through constitutions defining its powers, structures, and limitations.

Locke's philosophy directly generated the constitutional principle that supreme law (the constitution) binds all governmental actors, including the legislature.

COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Q. Discuss the psychological approach to the study of comparative politics. (CSE 2025)

Ans: The psychological approach in comparative politics shifts the focus from formal institutions to the individual and group psyche. It assumes that political outcomes are shaped by personality traits, motivations, etc.

Psychological Approach to the Study of Comparative Politics

- **Development of Psychological Approach:** Emerging as a critique of legal-institutionalism, it focused on human behavior's irrational elements. Graham Wallas (1908) pioneered it and the 1950s Behavioral Revolution expanded it to explain fascism and voting behavior.
- **Prominent Thinkers and their Works:** Graham Wallas (Human Nature in Politics) emphasised instincts over reason. Harold Lasswell (Psychopathology and Politics) linked power-seeking to personality compensation. Theodor Adorno (The Authoritarian Personality) connected personality traits to fascism.
- **Nature of Psychological Approach:** It is micro-analytical and interdisciplinary, focusing on the individual psyche as the unit of study. It assumes political outcomes arise from perceptions, emotions and personality traits rather than purely rational structures.
- **Scope of Psychological Approach:** It covers political socialisation (value transmission), leadership styles (personality profiling), voting behavior (emotional party attachments) and mass movements analysing how individual motivations scale up to shape politics.
- **Impact of Psychological Approach:** It introduced empirical survey methods and the concept of 'Political Culture' (Almond & Verba), enabling cross-national comparisons of attitudes. It provided tools to understand 'irrational' phenomena like ethnic violence and populism.
- **Limitations of this Approach:** Critics allege reductionism, ignoring economic and institutional constraints by treating politics as mere individual psychology. Measuring subjective mental states across diverse cultures also poses significant methodological challenges.

While risking reductionism, psychological approach provides vital micro-foundations to political studies. By highlighting the human element, it offers a more realistic understanding of why political systems succeed or fail.

Q. Discuss the political socialization of open and closed societies. (CSE 2025)

Ans: Political socialization transmits values across generations. Karl Popper distinguishes between Open Societies (democracies) and Closed Societies (authoritarian regimes), where this process differs fundamentally.

Political Socialization of Open and Closed Societies

- **Agents of Socialization:** In Open Societies, autonomous agents (family, peers, media) compete, offering diverse views. In Closed Societies, the State monopolises all agents (schools, youth leagues) to enforce a single official ideology.
- **Goal (Participant vs. Subject):** Open Societies aim to create critical 'Participant Citizens' (Almond & Verba) capable of independent judgment. Closed Societies manufacture obedient 'Subjects' whose primary virtue is uncritical loyalty to the regime.
- **Nature of Transmission:** Open Societies foster continuous evolution where values change through debate. Closed Societies enforce rigid dogmatism, where values are frozen by censorship and change only occurs through systemic collapse.
- **Critical Education vs. Indoctrination:** Open Societies use education to teach critical thinking and debate. Closed Societies use it for indoctrination, revising history to glorify the leader and demonise external 'enemies.'
- **Handling Dissent:** Open Societies socialise citizens to view dissent as legitimate democratic feedback. Closed Societies frame dissent as treason, using fear to ensure citizens self-censor and police one another.
- **Homogeneity vs. Heterogeneity:** Open Societies embrace a heterogeneous culture where sub-identities coexist. Closed Societies force homogeneity, suppressing diversity to create a monolithic 'national will,' leading to fragile stability.

CHAPTER 2

STATE IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Q. What are the distinctive features of the post-modern state in the advanced capitalist economies? Analyze. (CSE 2024)

Ans: In the advanced capitalist economies, the post-modern state is a state that prioritises neoliberal policies, market-oriented governance, and decentralisation. It partners with non-state entities, such as international corporations and NGOs, to oversee economic and social matters. This state addresses globalisation's problems and maintains social cohesiveness amid swift economic and technical transformations.

Features of Post-Modern States in the Advanced Capitalist Economies

The post-modern state in advanced capitalist countries exhibits several distinctive characteristics. Decentralisation and privatisation are significant, with authors such as **Ralph Miliband** contending that the state has become increasingly decentralised, delegating numerous functions to private firms, indicative of a transition towards market-oriented democracy.

Poulantzas underscores the state's partnership with multinational businesses, NGOs, and international organisations, identifying this interconnected governance model as a defining characteristic of the post-modern state.

The post-modern state navigates the problems of globalisation, reconciling national interests with global economic integration, essential for preserving social cohesion throughout swift economic transformations. Technological improvements have increasingly interconnected worldwide marketplaces, enhancing international commercial operations and highlighting the post-modern state's significance in the global economy.

The post-modern state is essential in resolving conflicts among various social groupings, thereby ensuring social cohesiveness, especially amid economic and technological transformations. Post-modern states exemplified by the United States and the United Kingdom notably exhibit these characteristics.

Limitations of Post-Modern States in Advanced Economies

Economic inequality is a critical concern, as researchers such as **Ralph Miliband** contend that the state's strong association with capitalist elites intensi-

fies this disparity, frequently favouring policies that advantage the affluent and resulting in an expanding wealth gap.

Poulantzas asserts that the state's relative autonomy is diminished as it gets increasingly entangled with global capital, restricting its capacity to implement autonomous policies that may oppose the interests of prevailing economic elites.

Ernesto Laclau asserts that the state's function in mediating social conflicts may result in social fragmentation, emphasising that market-oriented policies weaken social cohesion and intensify societal differences.

The focus on economic expansion and globalisation may result in environmental deterioration, as the state's dependence on market mechanisms frequently overlooks environmental issues, leading to unsustainable practices.

Moreover, technical developments, although advantageous, may cause job displacement and social dislocation, with the state's failure to manage these transitions efficiently leading to economic and social instability.

Thus, postmodern states have evolved as entities that provide solutions to issues stemming from modernisation by actively interfering in topics impacting domestic constituents, such as employment, liberty, and environmental damage, when necessary.

Q. What are the difficulties faced by a political theorist in comparing the States? (CSE 2023)

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

POLITICS OF REPRESENTATION & PARTICIPATION

Q. Comment on the Red Lipstick Movement in the context of feminist rights. (CSE 2025)

Ans: The 2018 Nicaraguan #SoyPicoRojo protest, led by Marlen Chow, used red lipstick to revive Suffragette symbolism, reclaiming femininity as a political weapon against patriarchal state power.

Red Lipstick Movement in the Context of Feminist Rights

- **Symbol of Political Defiance:** Historically, red lipstick was used by Suffragettes (aided by Elizabeth Arden) in 1912 New York marches to shock men and claim autonomy. In 2018, Marlen Chow, interrogated by Nicaraguan police, applied red lipstick to defy her captors transforming a cosmetic item into an 'instrument of resistance.'
- **Reclaiming the Body Politic:** This movement aligns with Third-Wave Feminism's goal to reclaim 'girly' aesthetics (Lipstick Feminism) from patriarchal control. It rejects the Second-Wave critique of makeup as objectification instead asserting that a woman can be both feminine and a revolutionary ('The Personal is Political').
- **Subversion of Authoritarian Masculinity:** In Nicaragua and Chile (Las Tesis), authoritarian regimes rely on hyper-masculine dominance. The use of red lipstick by protestors (including men) mocks this machismo. It creates a visual counter-narrative, subverting the 'male gaze' into a 'stare of defiance.'
- **Digital Solidarity and Transnationalism:** Through hashtags like #SoyPicoRojo and the 'Un Violador en Tu Camino' (A Rapist in Your Path) protests, the movement exemplifies transnational feminist solidarity. It allows women across the Global South (Chile, Turkey, and India) to unite against state-sponsored violence using a shared, accessible visual code.
- **Intersectional Resistance:** The movement transcends gender. In Nicaragua, men also wore red lipstick to support female political prisoners, illustrating intersectionality. It links feminist rights with broader democratic struggles, proving that women's rights are inseparable from political liberty.

The Red Lipstick Movement shows women using their own bodies and appearance to challenge power, proving feminist rights are also about being seen and speaking boldly in public.

Q. Critically examine the role of political parties in sustaining and stabilising democracies in the developing societies. (CSE 2024)

Ans: Political parties are organised groups of individuals who share common political ideologies, goals, and objectives, and seek to influence public policy and government by electoral competition and gaining political power. They play a crucial role in representing diverse interests within society, structuring political debate, mobilising voters, and providing a mechanism for collective action.

Role in Stabilising Democracies

Political parties are essential for maintaining and stabilising democracy in developing countries by encouraging political accountability, pluralism, and compliance with constitutional principles. They serve as intermediaries between the citizens and the government, facilitating political competition, expressing public demands, and transforming these into implementable policies.

In India, political parties incorporate the nation's varied ethnic, linguistic, and cultural groupings, guaranteeing them representation and involvement in administration. This inclusivity cultivates credibility and stability.

Academics such as **Christophe Jaffrelot** have emphasised that enhanced involvement from marginalised communities fortifies democracy. **Susan Scarrow** underscores the significance of intra-party democracy, promoting regular elections within parties and grassroots involvement in decision-making processes.

This internal democracy guarantees that parties stay attuned to the electorate's requirements and preferences.

Additionally, political parties facilitate public discourse and policy development, guaranteeing that

Q. Global South-sensitive model of globalization would prevent the danger emanating from overcentralized globalization. Discuss.

(CSE 2025)

Ans: Overcentralised globalisation increases Global South inequalities through unequal trade, debt traps and vulnerability. A sensitive model promotes equity, localisation and South-South cooperation to prevent these dangers effectively.

Dangers of Overcentralised Model

- Current globalisation concentrates power in G7/MNCs, creating fragile supply chains (COVID disruptions cost \$4 trillion). Joseph Stiglitz critiques IMF/WB policies causing poverty spikes (e.g. Asia 1997 crisis).
- Global South bears disproportionate climate costs despite low power capita emissions.
- Current model of globalisation reflects core-periphery exploitation (Dependency theory, Frank) perpetuating the role of Global South as a raw material supplier.
- Global South exports raw goods, imports high-tech, widening Gini gaps (Africa's 43% inequality).

India's Approach: India advocates human-centered globalisation over the existing self-centered model of Global North.

Equitable Trade Reforms

- Global South-sensitive model demands fairer WTO rules, special treatment for developing nations. This model protects infant industries, ensures market access beyond commodities.
- **Example:** BRICS New Development Bank offers non-conditional financing vs. IMF austerity.

Regional Integration Priority

- South-South cooperation via BRICS+, ASEAN, AfCFTA builds resilient supply chains. Reduces dependency on Global North e.g. BRICS+ circle enhances collective bargaining power.
- Localisation fosters economic security, technology sovereignty. etc.

Technology and Innovation Shift

- From technology recipient to innovator, Global South sensitive model places developing nations

in leadership roles. For example, UPI digital model exported to more than 20 nations.

- Affordable digital public goods promote development. Inclusive digitalisation could bridge North-South tech divide in the current overcentralised model.
- Climate adaptation finance prioritises vulnerable economies over mitigation mandates.

Governance Reforms Essential

- Proposed IMF reforms (presently, Global South 40% quota vs. 60% voting), expansion of UNSC representation would mark such a Global South sensitive model.
- Demand-driven development cooperation needs to be replaced with debt-creating projects.

Counters Currency Weaponisation

- Local currency settlements (India-Russia rupee-ruble trade) neutralise dollar dominance risks, stabilising 40% of Global South imports.

A Global South-sensitive model brings multipolar equity, empowering local and regional groupings with focus on inclusivity and self-reliance. It would ensure that globalisation serves humanity over hegemony for lasting growth and stability.

Q. "Deglobalisation is displacing globalisation."

Comment.

(CSE 2024)

Ans: Globalisation is the process of increased integration and interdependence across nations, cultures, and economies, propelled by advancements in technology, transportation, and communication. This process facilitates the interchange of ideas, goods, services, and information across borders, enhancing connectedness and interaction globally.

Deglobalisation includes the contraction of international trade, investment, and cultural interactions, resulting in the revival of national and local economies, policies, and identities. Deglobalisation may arise from multiple sources, such as economic protectionism, political transitions towards nationalism, and social movements promoting localism and self-sufficiency.

APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Q. Neo-liberalism lightened neo-realism's dark view of international politics. Comment.

(CSE 2025)

Ans: The 'Neo-Neo debate' (Neo-realism vs. Neo-liberalism) defines modern IR theory. While both accept anarchy, Neo-liberalism 'lightens' Neo-realism's view by arguing that anarchy does not make conflict inevitable.

- **Reinterpreting Anarchy:** Neo-realists (Waltz) see anarchy as a state of constant war ('self-help'). Neo-liberals (Keohane) argue anarchy is merely the absence of government, not chaos. Cooperation is possible despite anarchy if rules are established.
- **From Relative to Absolute Gains:** Neo-realists fear Relative Gains (who gains more), blocking cooperation. Neo-liberals argue states are rational actors seeking Absolute Gains (total prosperity). If both sides benefit, cooperation proceeds (e.g., global trade).
- **Institutions as Facilitators:** Realists dismiss institutions as weak. Neo-liberals argue institutions (WTO, UN) are vital tools that reduce transaction costs, share information and monitor violations making the 'dark' mistrust of anarchy manageable.
- **Mitigating the Security Dilemma:** Realists believe one state's security is another's threat. Neo-liberals counter that. Regime Theory creates transparent rules (e.g. arms control treaties), reducing fear and preventing the spiral of insecurity.
- **The 'Shadow of the Future':** Neo-realists see short-term survival. Neo-liberals use Game Theory (Axelrod) to show that in repeated interactions ('iterated games'), states avoid cheating today to ensure future benefits. Thus, making cooperation rational.
- **Complex Interdependence:** Realists focus on military force. Keohane & Nye argue multiple channels (trade, NGOs) create complex interdependence. This web of connectivity makes war costly and irrational, replacing force with bargaining.

Neo-liberalism accepts the Neo-realist starting point (anarchy) but rejects its tragic ending. By proving that institutions, trade and rules can manage distrust, it transforms international politics from a 'struggle for survival' into a 'collaborative enterprise'.

Q. Explain the central tenets of the World-Systems Theory.

(CSE 2024)

Ans: World-Systems Theory (WST), developed by Immanuel Wallerstein in the book, *The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (1974), views the world as a complex system in which the developed countries that control global wealth and power, exploited less developed third world countries for their resources and labour.

The central tenets of the theory divide the world into core, semi-periphery, and periphery countries, each playing distinct roles in the global economy. The Core countries comprising the Industrialized Global North exploit peripheral countries comprising the third world countries for resources and labour, maintaining dominance and wealth. The semi-periphery includes the developing countries of the world which are complicit with the global North in exploitation of poor countries.

Economic and political disparities are rooted in historical processes such as colonisation and the development of capitalism is another feature of WST.

WST emphasizes the interconnected nature of the global economy, where changes in one part of the system impact the whole. It views the global capitalist system as perpetuating inequality and influencing political and economic relationships.

Additionally, the theory recognises that countries can move between core, semi-periphery, and periphery statuses over time. These tenets provide a framework for analysing global power dynamics and economic dependencies.

In sum, WST emphasizes economic and political disparities, arguing that the global capitalist system perpetuates inequality and critiques traditional nation-state-focused analysis by highlighting the interconnectedness of global economies.

Q. Explain the various facets of the idealist approach to the study of international relations. Comment on its contemporary relevance.

(CSE 2024)

Ans: The idealist approach to International Relations emphasises cooperation, morality, and international institutions over power politics and

CHAPTER 6

KEY CONCEPTS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Q. Collective security and responsibility to protect (R2P) are similar but different in scope, goals and methods. Explain.

(CSE 2025)

Ans: Collective Security (CS) is universal action against aggressors by all states (League/UN model). R2P is states' duty to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity.

Collective Security and Responsibility to Protect (R2P)

Non-uniformity in Scope

- CS is broadly geopolitical; it covers all threats to peace/territorial integrity (e.g. UN Charter VII, Korea 1950).
- R2P is narrow, humanitarian, limited to four mass atrocity crimes (2005 World Summit Outcome) and excludes general conflicts (e.g. applied in Libya 2011).
- CS is state-centric as it targets interstate aggression; R2P addresses intra-state mass atrocities by governments/non-state actors as well (such as in Darfur, Myanmar).

Non-uniformity in Goals

- CS aims to preserve state sovereignty and territorial integrity against aggression. It aims to bring order and maintain balance of power against any aggressor ('all for one').
- R2P prioritises individuals and protects civilians as primary goal, even against sovereign states if failing duty.
- CS provides reactive deterrence, prevents war expansion; R2P preventive/rehabilitative deterrence and rebuilds post-atrocity societies.

Non-uniformity in Methods

- CS automatically adopts military options and collective armed response is through UNSC. So, CS is punitive.
- R2P has calibrated steps, e.g. capacity-building (Pillar II) to coercive intervention (Pillar III). It follows three pillars: state responsibility, international assistance, timely intervention (diplomatic to coercive). So, R2P is preventive/escalatory.

- CS is universally binding and all members are obligated to protect whereas R2P has voluntary coalitions (e.g. NATO in Libya). CS is formalised; R2P is flexible but implementation-dependent.

Areas of Uniformity

- Both have shared humanitarian intent and aim to prevent mass violence/escalation.
- They both have institutional roots as CS operates through UNSC though permanent veto powers often paralyse the response. R2P uses UNGA, Human Rights Council, ad hoc coalitions and has no dedicated body.

The divergence between CS-R2P is based upon state defense to human protection. It highlights evolving norms but persistent tensions for sovereignty requiring hybrid approaches for effective global crisis response.

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.

CHANGING INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ORDER

Q. Transnational actors have qualitatively transformed the world by the way of their fresh insights and actions. Illustrate your answer with suitable examples. (CSE 2025)

Ans: Transnational actors are non-state entities operating across national borders and increasingly shape global governance. They include NGOs, multinational corporations, advocacy networks, expert bodies, etc.

Role of Transnational Actors in Transforming the World

Human Rights Advocacy and Norm Setting

- **Amnesty International** transformed global human rights discourse by directing attention to systematic violations across borders.
- It campaigned against torture, death penalty abolition and arms trafficking; it mobilised millions worldwide.
- It created binding international norms, establishing accountability standards for governments.

Environmental Activism and Tangible Policy Outcomes

- **Greenpeace's** direct-action approach reshaped environmental governance. By combining confrontational tactics with scientific research, it secured binding agreements.
- **Example:** Antarctica as 'World Park', global moratoriums on toxic waste burning, nuclear dumping at sea, etc.
- Its campaign ensured 600 million Greenfreeze refrigerators adopted CFC-free technology, directly preventing ozone layer depletion demonstrating TNAs' capacity for technological transformation.

Humanitarian Intervention and Healthcare Access

- **Doctors Without Borders** delivers 16 million medical consultations annually in conflict zones where states are absent or incapable.
- **Example:** During Sudan's 2023 crisis and Gaza emergency, MSF provided surgical teams and water distribution, filling governance vacuums.
- It was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize (1999). It exemplifies TNAs' role in asserting humanitarian principles beyond territorial limitations.

Climate Knowledge Creation and Negotiation

- **Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC)**, combining expertise from 195 member states' scientists, produces assessments guiding international climate policy.
- **Example:** Its Fifth Assessment Report directly shaped the Paris Agreement (2015), securing voluntary commitments from 195 countries.

Global Agenda-Setting and Institutional Capture

- **World Economic Forum** at Davos drives global consensus on economic policy.
- Chinese Premier Xi Jinping's 2017 defense of free trade there showed how TNAs shape great-power positioning.
- WEF's Global Agenda Councils influence decisions on cybersecurity, artificial intelligence and geopolitical strategy replacing traditional intergovernmental forums in prioritising agenda.

Transnational Social Movements and Democratic Participation

- **World Social Forum** (since 2001) mobilised millions to challenge globalisation's inequality dimensions.
- Transnational networks altered domestic policies by framing issues, building coalitions and applying moral pressure.

Unlike state-centric models, TNAs bring fresh insights from diverse perspectives, mobilising resources and expertise beyond governmental capacity. They have fundamentally shifted global politics from an exclusive state domain to multi-stakeholder engagement.

Q. Of late, centrist and centre-left political parties have been facing setbacks while centre-right parties have been in ascendency the world over. Comment. (CSE 2025)

Ans: Recent worldwide elections show visible setbacks for centrist and centre-left parties and gains for centre-right formations. Yet this pattern is neither uniform nor irreversible, reflecting deeper structural, institutional and local factors.

EVOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Q. The return of trade barriers and economic sanctions has diminished the spirit of GATT. In this context, discuss the factors contributing to the decline of WTO in recent times. (CSE 2024)

Ans: In the last ten years, trade barriers and protectionism have undermined the principles of free trade. Tariffs, quotas, and subsidies have disrupted global supply chains, resulting in trade wars and economic nationalism.

This transition to protectionism has compromised the tenets of open markets and free economy, resulting in economic instability and diminishing global trade expansion.

The Decline of WTO in Recent Times

Academics such as **Jelena Baumler** contend that both internal and external obstacles have rendered the WTO in a state of crisis. One of the most significant actions was the blocking of appointments to the WTO's Appellate Body, a critical component of the organisation's dispute resolution system.

Erick Duchesne underscores the resilience of trade multilateralism despite challenges, noting that the WTO's failure to address rising trade disputes has diminished its credibility. With the emergence of protectionist measures, exemplified by the US-China trade war, the US has undermined the WTO through the imposition of tariffs on steel and aluminum imports, citing national security concerns under the Trade Expansion Act of 1962.

The US has implemented limits on investments in China's technological sectors, citing national security concerns. On the other hand, China's supremacy in rare earth elements, essential for numerous high-tech sectors, has exacerbated tensions, as China exploits its control over these resources to sustain its worldwide influence.

Henry Gao and C. L. Lim see the growth of Regional Trade Agreements (RTAs) as a contributing factor to the collapse of the WTO. These agreements frequently circumvent the WTO framework, diminishing its significance in global trade policy. The Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP) and the Regional

Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) are significant regional trade agreements that function independently of the WTO's jurisdiction.

WTO reports have indicated a significant rise in trade-restrictive measures, illustrating the shift towards unilateralism and protectionism. Examples encompass the European Union's sanctions against Russia, intended to mitigate geopolitical crises, and the United States' revocation of Russia's most-favored-nation (MFN) status in reaction to its conduct in Ukraine.

The amalgamation of internal obstacles, the ascendance of protectionism, and the expansion of regional trade agreements have considerably diminished the WTO's efficacy and significance during the last decade.

These trends underscore the necessity for organisational reform to align with the changing dynamics of global trade and governance.

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.

CHAPTER 9

UNITED NATIONS

Q. The withdrawal of the United States of America from the World Health Organization is set to have far-reaching impacts on global health. Reimagining the existing WHO is vital for the global health agenda. Discuss. (CSE 2025)

Ans: The USA's withdrawal from WHO, announced in January 2025, threatens global health framework and coordination. Reimagining WHO is essential for equitable and resilient global public health governance.

US Withdrawal to have Far-Reaching Impacts on Global Health

- **Funding Crisis:** US contributed 12-15% of WHO budget; exit leaves \$1.9 bn shortfall for 2026-27. WHO proposes cuts which risks hiring/operational curbs.
- **Surveillance Gaps:** It would disrupt disease tracking; hamper International Health Regulations (IHR) revisions, pandemic cooperation. This move can lead to COVID-like delays in surveillance, endangering early warnings.
- **Program Disruptions:** Potential to threaten global action against HIV/AIDS, TB, malaria, etc.; vaccine availability and equity (e.g. COVAX vaccine). This will affect regions like Africa which faces surged maternal/child mortality.
- **Eroding Multilateralism:** Signals populist withdrawal as other nations follow the US (e.g. Argentina). This erodes global trust in multilateral organisations. Cedes influence to China, fragmenting global health responses.

Reimagining the Existing WHO - Vital for Global Health Agenda

- **Funding Reforms:** US exit highlights the need to diversify via voluntary contributions, cap earmarks at 50%. Need to boost pledges by other major nations like India, China etc for stability.
- **Governance Overhaul:** Time to shift to member-driven decisions; strengthen regional offices for agility, as in COVID vaccine equity failures. Embed accountability via audits.
- **Mandate Refocus:** Prioritise core functions such as surveillance under IHR(2005), pandemic

preparedness over bureaucratic responses. Need to cut admin costs by 20%, redirecting them to emergencies.

- **Inclusivity Drive:** Decreasing public health dependence of Global South on other nations by empowering via tech transfers, equity funds; counter China dominance post-US void. Partnering philanthropies like Gates Foundation can be effective.
- **Innovation Pathways:** US withdrawal signals the need to be more resilient. Adopting agile structures, digital networks for real-time data; lessons from mpox response gaps.

A reformed WHO, leveraging regional autonomy and diversified funding, can pioneer equitable health security in a multipolar world strengthening multilateralism further.

Q. What is the structure and functions of International Court of Justice? (CSE 2023)

Ans: In a world of sovereign states, there is no overarching authority to enforce law or resolve disputes between them. The ICJ serves as this authority, providing a neutral and independent platform for states to present their cases and for judges to apply international law to reach binding decisions.

Structure of ICJ

- The International Court of Justice is composed of 15 judges elected to nine-year terms of office by the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council.
- In order to be elected, a candidate must receive an absolute majority of the votes in both bodies.
- One third of the Court is elected every three years. Judges are eligible for re-election.
- The Statute of the Court allows all States to propose nominees.
- The Permanent Court of Arbitration members chosen by that State under the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 make such submissions.
- No more than one State national may be on the Court. The Court must also represent the world's major civilizations and legal systems.

CHAPTER 10

REGIONALISATION OF WORLD POLITICS

Q. Latin America has made moderate success in countering US-led global economic order by forming various organizations emphasizing regional sovereignty, economic integration and alternative development. Discuss.

(CSE 2025)

Ans: Latin America's left-leaning governments created regional platforms during the 2000s commodity boom. They aimed to create alternatives to US neoliberal dominance through collective measures.

Emphasis on Regional Sovereignty

- Latin American nations prioritised institutional frameworks asserting political autonomy from US unilateral control.
- Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC, 2011) excluded US/Canada, unified 33 nations' diplomatic voice, hosting China-Russia summits to diversify partnerships.
- The Defense Council of Union of South American Nations (UNASUR), created in 2008, curbed US military bases and interventionist influence in continental affairs.

These platforms challenged Organization of American States (OAS) dominance, reclaimed decision-making space and resisted imposed governance models. However, rightward political shifts dissolved UNASUR (2019) and weakened CELAC coordination showing sovereignty gains remain fragile and ideology-dependent.

Initiatives on Economic Integration

- Mercosur created a common market reducing individual vulnerability to US trade pressures boosting intra-regional commerce from 9% to 20% (1990s).
- Brazil-Argentina axis strengthened collective negotiating power in WTO forums. Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America (ALBA) promoted solidarity trade mechanisms rejecting FTAs, protecting smaller economies.
- These blocs enabled coordinated responses to US initiatives, notably rejecting FTAA (Free Trade Area of the Americas - 2005 Mar del Plata) facilitated alternative trade corridors.

- Yet fragmentation persisted as 11 Latin nations signed bilateral US FTAs including Chile, Peru, and Colombia undermining collective leverage and revealing limited cohesion.

Alternative Development Models

- Pink Tide governments (2003-2016) pursued state-led development prioritising social investment over market liberalisation, funded by commodity booms. Poverty fell 20%; 50 million joined middle class; social missions challenged Washington Consensus orthodoxy.
- Lula's Brazil elevated Global South via IBSA, G20 activism; Chavez's Petrocaribe oil subsidies reduced energy dependence on US for 18 Caribbean nations. Bank of the South sought IMF alternatives. These initiatives demonstrated viable post-neoliberal paths yet proved unsustainable. Commodity crashes (2014+) reversed gains. Right-wing reversals abandoned redistributive policies. Revealing development gains lacked institutional strength.

Persistent Limitations

- 40% regional exports remain US-bound, creating dependency despite diversification rhetoric.
- Chinese infrastructure debt replaced US leverage, raising new vulnerabilities.
- Ideological drifts between left-right governments eroded institutional continuity.
- UNASUR dissolution (2019) and CELAC stagnation exemplify fragility.
- US maintained hegemonic tools: 11 bilateral FTAs fragmented regional unity; OAS remains Washington-influenced.
- Financial mechanisms (SUCRE, CCR) achieved limited uptake.
- Technological and military dependencies persisted, limiting genuine autonomy.
- External debt servicing consumed policy space for alternative development.

Latin America requires sustained ideological consensus, deeper economic complementarity beyond rhetoric. It is essential for maintaining sovereignty and alternative development models durably.