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1. **Discuss the relevance of the normative ethos of the Not-Aligned Movement in magnifying India's soft power in pursuit of her national interest.**

   The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) is a forum of 120 developing world states that are not formally aligned with or against any major power bloc.

   After the United Nations, it is the largest grouping of states worldwide

   The movement originated in the 1950s as an effort by some countries to avoid the polarized world of the Cold War between the pro-Soviet communist countries belonging to the Warsaw Pact, and the pro-American capitalist countries belonging to NATO

   The principles were agreed at the Bandung Conference in 1955, and the Non-Aligned Movement was established in 1961 in Belgrade, Yugoslavia through an initiative of the Indian Prime Minister, Yugoslav President, Egyptian President, Ghanaian President and Indonesian President

   Purpose of the organisation is to ensure "the national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of non-aligned countries" in their "struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, and all forms of foreign aggression, occupation, domination, interference or hegemony as well as against great power and bloc politics."

   Why is NAM important for India?

   For India, the concept of non-alignment began as a policy of non-participation in the military affairs of a bipolar world and in the context of colonialism aimed towards optimum involvement through multi-polar participation towards peace and security

   Also, Indian non-alignment was a product of the Cold War, a bipolar world and India's colonial experience and the non-violent Indian independence struggle

   The term "non-alignment" was coined by V K Menon in his speech at the United Nations (UN) in 1953, which was later used by Indian Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru during his speech in 1954 in Colombo, Sri Lanka; in which he described the Panchsheel (five restraints) which would later become the basis of the Non-Aligned Movement

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Nehru's concept of non-alignment brought India considerable international prestige among newly independent states that shared its concerns about the military confrontation between the superpowers and the influence of the former colonial powers

By laying the foundation stone of 'Non-Alignment Movement', India was able to establish a significant role for itself as a leader of the newly independent world and in the multilateral organisations like the UN.
First Criticism relating to NAM

The non-aligned nations were unable to fulfil the role of peacekeepers during the Indo-China war of 1962 and the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965 despite meaningful attempts.

The non-aligned response to the Bangladesh Liberation War and the following 1971 Indo-Pakistan War showed most of the non-aligned nations prioritised territorial integrity above human rights
It was during this period, that India's non-aligned stance was questioned and criticized

Present day importance of NAM to India
Global South Cooperation
India is widely perceived as a leader of the developing world. Thus, India's engagement with NAM will further help in the rise of India's stature as the voice of the developing world or global south
So, in times of increasing protectionism, NAM can provide a good platform
Strengthening of Multipolar World Order
This aspect being concurrent with India's foreign policy, can be further complimented with the role of NAM
Push for India's candidature in UNSC
NAM's total strength comprises 120 developing countries and most of them are members of the UN General Assembly; which can act as a strong support for India's candidature as permanent member of UNSC
India's non-alignment policy has prioritized the free development of individuals, economic and social progress of society, and of nations. This strategy merges the objectives of peace and economic development within

the country with the liberation of peoples from all forms of subordination and exploitation. As a result, India's non-alignment stance serves as a benchmark for the positive development of international relations on a global scale.

Most of the NAM countries condemned the actions of the Russian Federation against Ukraine in the UN, but many abstained, and some even took the side of the Russian Federation. At the same time, NAM countries often and actively criticize Western sanctions as ineffective. The public position of the Movement itself has not yet been formed. Although the most clear and unequivocal lines of non-alignment to the conflict in the Ukrainian-Russian war from the NAM state and the G-20 are India, South Africa, Brazil, Indonesia and some other countries that set the tone for the Movement.

India because of its authority and historical experience, economic strength and growth dynamics that could become the real leader of the renewed NAM.

2. **Narrate the various ways in which rapid environmental degradation is posing a serious threat to human security. Illustrate your answer with suitable examples.**

Rapid environmental degradation is a pressing global issue with far-reaching implications for human security.

Water Scarcity
Impact: Depletion of freshwater sources threatens access to clean drinking water and agricultural production, causing food and water insecurity.
Example: The Aral Sea in Central Asia has shrunk drastically due to excessive irrigation, leaving nearby communities struggling with water scarcity.

Climate Change
Impact: Rising temperatures, extreme weather events, and sea-level rise result in displacement, loss of livelihoods, and increased vulnerability to natural disasters.
Example: Cyclone Idai in 2019 affected Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Malawi, displacing thousands and causing food shortages.

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Loss of Biodiversity

Impact: Erosion of biodiversity affects ecosystems, disrupts food chains, and threatens global food security.

Example: The decline of honeybee populations worldwide endangers pollination of crops and food production.

Deforestation

Impact: Destruction of forests contributes to habitat loss, disrupts ecosystems, and exacerbates climate change.

Example: The Amazon rainforest's deforestation threatens its role as a carbon sink and biodiversity hotspot.

Soil Degradation

Impact: Soil erosion and degradation reduce agricultural productivity, leading to food insecurity and displacement.

Example: Soil erosion in China's Loess Plateau has displaced millions and harmed agriculture.

Ocean Acidification

Impact: Acidic oceans harm marine life, affecting fisheries and coastal communities" livelihoods.

Example: Coral reefs, vital for fisheries and tourism, are dying due to ocean acidification and warming.

Pollution

Impact: Air, water, and soil pollution contribute to health problems, reducing life expectancy and well-being.

Example: Air pollution in New Delhi, India, has reached hazardous levels, causing respiratory illnesses.

Resource Scarcity and Conflict

Impact: Competition for dwindling resources can lead to conflicts and displacement.

Example: Water disputes between upstream and downstream countries, like the Nile River conflict, can escalate into regional tensions.

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Forced Migration

Impact: Environmental factors, such as droughts and floods, contribute to forced migration and refugee crises.

Example: Syrian refugees, in part, resulted from a prolonged drought that led to crop failures and displacement.

Addressing these challenges requires concerted global efforts, sustainable resource management, and proactive climate adaptation and mitigation strategies. Failure to do so could lead to severe humanitarian crises and increased vulnerability for communities worldwide.

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3. **Critically examine the impact of Globalisation on the developing countries of the world.**

Globalization is the free movement of goods, services and people across the world. (i.e.) current focus of economic globalization is the elimination of national borders. Globalization, both as an ideology and process, has become the dominant political, economic and cultural force in the 21st century and impacted the role of state in a significant manner.

Globalization has changed the role of the state politically because of strengthened interstate relationships and dependence on one another. States were created to be sovereign but now, due to globalization, often give their sovereignty away to 'pooling' in conventions, contracting, coercion and imposition. This has led to increasingly similar jurisdictions across states and to power being seen as an economic rather than political progress because states now make political progression and regression together, causing states to become more developmental.

Change in Economic role

Globalized economic changes have a substantial effect on the state's role. The global economy has been created by online banking, stock markets and, largely, global franchises. The state no longer controls currency because of intangible assets and importation as well as online and electronic banking and a shared currency between many states, like in much of Europe.

International organizations like WTO have a dominant role in influencing countries to adopt certain market initiatives.

Social dimension

Social globalisation has created greater social awareness of human rights violations, child labour abuses and corruption. These challenges, in turn, affect public administration and the role of government. The major change in the configuration of the public-private spheres in favour of globalising the corporate sector has changed the leading role of government
in the allocation of resources, the distribution of wealth, the stabilisation of the economy and economic growth.

Pros

By economic integration, it helps the government of developing countries to deal with major problems by increasing their economic growth, solving the poverty problems etc.

The model of state and its functioning also evolves as a result of the free flow of political ideas.

The government takes policy initiatives in the field of health, education and technology which are the direct result of globalization.

Recent verdicts on the rights of the LGBTQ community in India are the perfect example of the changing role of the state in providing rights to its citizens.

Cons

Matters related to India's subsidy regime at WTO shows too much interference by the dominant powers at the world stage.

Globalization facilitates the spread of new diseases in developing nations by travellers between countries, and states in developing countries have to rely on developed countries due to lack of capabilities of tackling these problems.

Decrease in skilled labour in the developing countries because of easy mobility of skilled manpower to other countries having higher opportunities.

Globalisation has led to economic inequality in developing countries.

In this way, globalization has changed the role of the state in many ways: politically through interdependence and independence of states, socially through the problems and threats of terrorism and deadly diseases,

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technologically through the media and internet and economically through the change from national to global economies. Globalization is often seen to have lowered the importance of the state, but in the end, the states that will remain the most successful in the face of globalization is those who adapt to the changes their role makes.

4. **What do you mean by offensive and defensive realism?**

Realism is a prominent theory in international relations, and it has two major branches: offensive realism and defensive realism.

Offensive Realism - John Mearsheimer	**Defensive Realism** - Kenneth Waltz
Basic Tenets: ▪ States are inherently aggressive and seek to maximize their power and security. ▪ Great powers, especially, are driven by a desire for hegemony or dominance in the international system. Anarchy in the international system means there is no central authority to enforce cooperation, leading to self-help and competition.	**Basic Tenets:** ▪ States are primarily concerned with their own security and survival. ▪ Aggression is a response to perceived threats rather than an inherent drive for power. States aim to maintain a balance of power to prevent domination by others.

Both theories acknowledge the security dilemma but interpret it differently: offensive realism views it as a fundamental driver of conflict, while defensive realism seeks to mitigate it through balancing.

Offensive and defensive realism hence offer distinct lenses through which to analyze international relations. While they both recognize the importance of security, they differ in their assumptions about states'' motivations and behavior in the anarchic international system. These theories help scholars

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and policymakers understand the complexities of state behavior and the dynamics of global politics.

5.	**Discuss the various constraints on American hegemony today. Which of these are likely to become more prominent in the future?** American hegemony, which emerged after the Cold War, faces several constraints in the contemporary global landscape. These constraints have the potential to shape the future of American power and influence. **Economic Constraints** **Debt and Fiscal Issues**: The United States carries a significant national debt, which can limit its ability to fund domestic and international priorities. Economic Rivalry: The rise of economic powers like China challenges American economic dominance and influence in global financial institutions. **Geopolitical Constraints** **Multipolar World**: The world is shifting from a unipolar system to a multipolar one, with the rise of powers like China and resurgent Russia, challenging American global pre-eminence. Alliances and Alliances'' Autonomy: American allies are increasingly pursuing their own interests and asserting greater autonomy in foreign policy decisions, reducing American control over their actions. **Military Constraints** **Overextension**: Sustaining military presence and engagements in multiple regions simultaneously can strain resources and erode military capabilities. Technological Advancements: Rapid technological advancements and the proliferation of military technology narrow the military gap between the United States and potential adversaries. **Diplomatic Constraints** **Diplomatic Disputes**: Disagreements with key partners, such as European allies on trade issues and the Iran nuclear deal, can weaken American diplomatic influence.

International Organizations: Scepticism and disregard for international organizations like the United Nations limit America's ability to shape global norms.

Domestic Constraints

Institutional architecture of the American state: A system of division of powers between the three branches of government places significant brakes upon the unrestrained and immoderate exercise of America's military power by the executive branch.

Political Polarization: Internal divisions and partisan politics can hamper consensus on foreign policy and international engagement.

Public Opinion: Public fatigue from prolonged military engagements and scepticism about the benefits of international involvement can constrain foreign policy options.

Global Challenges

Transnational Threats: Challenges like climate change, pandemics, and terrorism require multilateral cooperation, which can be hindered if the U.S. is seen as unilateralist.

Global Norms: American actions that deviate from international norms can lead to backlash and challenges to its leadership role.

Future Constraints most likely

Some of these constraints are likely to become more prominent in the future:

Economic Competition: China's economic rise is expected to continue, intensifying economic competition and possibly eroding American economic dominance.

Multipolarity: The emergence of more powerful regional actors, such as India and Brazil, may further shift the global balance of power away from American hegemony.

Technological Challenges: As technology advances, it may become increasingly difficult for the U.S. to maintain a technological edge in defense and cybersecurity.

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Climate and Pandemic Concerns: Global challenges like climate change and pandemics may demand greater international cooperation, potentially highlighting American reluctance to engage multilaterally.

Public Opinion and Political Divisions: Domestic constraints, such as political polarization and public opinion, may continue to influence American foreign policy choices.

NATO: There is only one organisation in the international system that could possibly moderate the exercise of American power today, and that is the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). The US obviously has an enormous interest in keeping the alliance of democracies that follow the market economies alive and therefore it is possible that its allies in the NATO will be able to moderate the exercise of US hegemony.

American hegemony faces a complex web of constraints, both internal and external. While the U.S. remains a preeminent global power, these constraints will play a crucial role in shaping the future of American influence and leadership on the world stage. Adaptation to these challenges and adept diplomacy will be essential for the United States to navigate an increasingly multipolar world.

6.	**Explain the major features of India's Foreign Policy in the 21st century.** The major features of India's foreign policy in the 21st century that have evolved to address emerging global challenges and seize opportunities are as below:-

Multi-Alignment:

Strategic Autonomy: India aims to maintain strategic autonomy by avoiding alignment with any major power bloc, allowing it to pursue its national interests independently.

Strategic Partnerships: While not forming formal alliances, India seeks strategic partnerships with various countries, including the United States, Russia, France, Japan, and ASEAN nations.

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Neighbourhood First:

Proactive Engagement: India prioritizes its immediate neighbours, focusing on peaceful coexistence, connectivity, and development cooperation through initiatives like the "Neighbourhood First Policy."

Act East Policy:

Enhanced Engagement: India's "Act East Policy" aims to deepen economic, political, and cultural ties with Southeast Asia and the Pacific, recognizing the region's growing importance.

ASEAN Connectivity: India seeks to strengthen connectivity and trade with ASEAN countries and plays a prominent role in forums like the East Asia Summit.

Strategic Partnerships:

U.S.-India Relations: The U.S. is a key partner, marked by civil nuclear cooperation, defense collaborations, and shared democratic values.

Russia and France: India maintains strong defense and strategic ties with Russia and France, which provide advanced military technology.

Global and Regional Engagement:

Multilateral Diplomacy: India actively participates in international organizations like the United Nations, BRICS, G20, and SCO, advocating for global issues such as climate change, counterterrorism, and global health.

Enhanced Engagement in Africa: India is expanding its presence in Africa, fostering economic cooperation and addressing security and developmental challenges.

Economic Diplomacy:

Economic Liberalization: India's foreign policy increasingly prioritizes economic engagement, attracting foreign investments, and fostering trade relations through initiatives like "Make in India" and "Digital India."

Regional Trade Agreements: India is part of regional trade agreements like RCEP (Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership) and BIMSTEC (Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation).

Climate and Environment:

Climate Leadership: India is committed to addressing climate change, striving to reduce carbon emissions and increasing renewable energy capacity. It is an active participant in global climate negotiations.
Security and Counterterrorism:

Regional Security: India cooperates with regional partners like the Quad (comprising the U.S., Japan, Australia, and India) to ensure regional stability and maritime security.
Counterterrorism: India emphasizes the need for international cooperation in countering terrorism, citing concerns about state-sponsored terrorism.

Healthcare Diplomacy:
Vaccine Diplomacy: India is emerging as a major provider of COVID-19 vaccines to developing countries, strengthening its global standing through healthcare diplomacy.

Digital and Technology Engagement:
Cybersecurity and Digital Transformation: India focuses on cybersecurity, digital governance, and fostering technology partnerships for innovation and development.

India's foreign policy in the 21st century is characterized by adaptability and pragmatism, responding to a rapidly changing global landscape while safeguarding its strategic interests and promoting peace and development in the region and beyond.

7.	**What are the reasons for lack of 'regionness' in South Asia?**
	South Asia, despite its geographical proximity and shared history, has struggled to achieve a sense of "regionness." Several factors contribute to this lack of regional cohesion and integration:
	Historical Animosities: The region was divided during the British colonial era into separate entities, leading to territorial disputes and historical grievances. The partition of India in 1947 resulted in one of the world's largest migrations and created enduring tensions between India and Pakistan.

Bilateral Conflicts: The ongoing rivalry between India and Pakistan over issues like Kashmir has prevented meaningful regional cooperation. The unresolved border issues between India and China have strained regional relations.

Political Instability: Political instability and frequent changes in leadership in some South Asian countries have hindered long-term regional planning. Economic Disparities: There are significant economic disparities among South Asian countries, leading to concerns about unequal benefits in regional cooperation.

Security Concerns: South Asia faces various security challenges, including terrorism, insurgency, and communal violence, which divert resources away from regional cooperation.

Diverse Cultures and Languages: South Asia is incredibly diverse in terms of cultures, languages, and religions, making it challenging to create a shared regional identity.

Lack of Infrastructure: Insufficient infrastructure and connectivity hinder the movement of people, goods, and services within the region.

Limited Trust: Historical conflicts and unresolved issues have resulted in a lack of trust among South Asian countries.

External Influences: The region has often been influenced by external powers" interests, which can undermine local efforts at cooperation.

Governance Challenges: Some South Asian countries face governance challenges, including corruption and political instability, which impede regional initiatives.

Non-State Actors: Militant and extremist groups operating across borders further complicate regional stability.

Absence of Effective Regional Organizations: The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) has struggled to make significant progress due to bilateral conflicts and mistrust among members.

Competition for Resources: Competition for water resources, such as the Indus and Brahmaputra rivers, has led to tensions between riparian states. Lack of Regional Vision: There is a lack of a common vision for the region, with countries often pursuing their individual interests rather than collective goals.

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	These complex and intertwined factors have contributed to the challenge of fostering a sense of "regionness" in South Asia, making regional cooperation a persistent and intricate issue.
8.	**Why is the compromise reached at WTO regarding the Covid-19 vaccine manufacturing not a Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) waiver?** While the compromise reached at the World Trade Organization (WTO) regarding Covid-19 vaccine manufacturing aims to increase global access to vaccines, it is not a Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) waiver. The reasons are **TRIPS Waiver vs. Compromise Agreement:** The TRIPS waiver proposal, initially put forward by India and South Africa, sought to temporarily suspend certain intellectual property (IP) provisions related to Covid-19 vaccines. In contrast, the compromise is a negotiated agreement with a different scope. The TRIPS waiver aimed to temporarily waive IP rights on Covid-19 vaccines, allowing developing countries to manufacture them without fear of patent violations. The compromise does not suspend IP rights but encourages voluntary licensing and technology transfer. **Voluntary Licensing and Technology Transfer:** The compromise encourages vaccine manufacturers to engage in voluntary licensing agreements with manufacturers in developing countries. It also promotes technology transfer to facilitate local production. Unlike a TRIPS waiver, the compromise does not suspend or alter IP protection. Companies still retain their patents but are encouraged to cooperate in expanding vaccine access. **Support from Vaccine Manufacturers:** Several pharmaceutical companies have expressed willingness to cooperate under the compromise agreement by providing licenses and transferring

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technology. They maintain their IP rights while participating in expanded vaccine production.

This model encourages collaboration between vaccine developers and manufacturers, ensuring quality control and regulatory compliance.

Broader International Support:

The compromise garnered broader international support compared to the TRIPS waiver proposal. It involves negotiations among various stakeholders, including countries, vaccine manufacturers, and organizations like the WHO.

It strikes a balance between protecting IP rights and addressing the urgent need for increased vaccine production, garnering a more diverse group of supporters.

Focus on Supply Chain and Distribution:

In addition to addressing IP issues, the compromise emphasizes supporting the entire vaccine supply chain, including raw materials, equipment, and distribution networks.

It encourages investment in infrastructure and healthcare systems to ensure equitable access to vaccines.

Time-Limited Agreement: The compromise is framed as a time-limited agreement, allowing for periodic reassessment and adjustments based on evolving circumstances.

Variations in Implementation: Countries can implement the agreement in ways that suit their specific situations, providing flexibility in adapting to local needs and conditions.

Ongoing Negotiations: Negotiations at the WTO regarding Covid-19 vaccine access are ongoing, and the compromise is one of the outcomes of these negotiations. The TRIPS waiver proposal remains part of the discussions.

The compromise at the WTO regarding Covid-19 vaccine manufacturing represents a different approach from the TRIPS waiver. While it does not suspend IP rights, it encourages voluntary licensing, technology transfer, and broader cooperation to expand vaccine access. It has garnered more international support and focuses on comprehensive solutions to vaccine production and distribution challenges.

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9.	**Why do ethnic conflicts and insurgencies continue to remain major impediments to regional co-operation in South Asia?**
	Ethnic conflicts and insurgencies continue to pose significant challenges to regional cooperation in South Asia. Here's an analysis of why these issues persist and hinder collaborative efforts in the region:
	Historical Factors: The traumatic partition of British India in 1947, which created India and Pakistan, laid the foundation for ethnic tensions and conflicts. The violent separation left deep scars and unresolved disputes. Territorial Disputes: The ongoing dispute over Kashmir between India and Pakistan remains a flashpoint in the region. Both countries claim the entire territory, leading to armed conflicts and insurgencies in the region.
	Ethnic Diversity: South Asia is incredibly diverse, with numerous ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups. This diversity, while culturally rich, can also lead to tensions and conflicts when these identities are politicized. Political Manipulation: Political leaders sometimes exploit ethnic identities for their own gains, aggravating divisions and conflicts. This manipulation often hinders cooperation among nations.
	Economic Disparities: Economic disparities within South Asian countries can create grievances among marginalized ethnic groups. The perception of inequality can lead to insurgent movements.
	Nationalism and Sovereignty: Many governments in South Asia prioritize state sovereignty over territorial integrity. This approach can lead to confrontations when ethnic groups seek greater autonomy or independence. Geopolitical Rivalries: Geopolitical rivalries between major powers, such as India, China, and the United States, can exacerbate regional conflicts. These countries often support different sides in ethnic disputes.
	Lack of Conflict Resolution Mechanisms: South Asian nations lack robust mechanisms for conflict resolution. Existing frameworks, such as SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation), have often failed to address deep-rooted ethnic conflicts.

Security Concerns: Governments in the region sometimes adopt heavy-handed security approaches to address ethnic insurgencies, leading to human rights abuses and exacerbating tensions.

Socio-Economic Factors: Poverty and underdevelopment in many regions of South Asia create an environment conducive to insurgent movements. Lack of opportunities can drive disenfranchised populations towards insurgency.

Ideological Factors: Some insurgent groups in the region have strong ideological motivations, making negotiations and conflict resolution challenging.

Cross-Border Movements: Insurgent groups often receive support, including safe havens and funding, from neighbouring countries, complicating efforts to control these movements.

Lack of Trust: Deep-rooted mistrust among South Asian nations, stemming from historical conflicts and disputes, hampers diplomatic efforts to resolve ethnic conflicts.

Complex Conflicts: Many ethnic conflicts in South Asia are multi-faceted, involving various actors with divergent goals. Untangling these complexities requires sustained diplomatic efforts.

Ethnic conflicts and insurgencies remain formidable impediments to regional cooperation in South Asia. Addressing these challenges requires a multi-pronged approach, including conflict resolution mechanisms, economic development, and efforts to build trust among nations in the region. Achieving lasting peace and cooperation in South Asia remains a complex and ongoing endeavour.

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10. **Arms trade, economic ties and congruent geo-political interests are no longer the three pillars of India - Russia relationship in the emerging strategic context. Comment.**

The India-Russia relationship has evolved significantly in the emerging strategic context. While arms trade, economic ties, and congruent geopolitical interests were once central, the dynamics have shifted.

Historical Ties:

India and Russia share a long history of friendship dating back to the Soviet era. This historical bond continues to be a foundation of the relationship.

Defense Cooperation:

Defense cooperation remains robust, with India being a significant buyer of Russian military equipment. However, the nature of defense collaboration has evolved, focusing on joint production and technology transfer.

Geopolitical Realities:

The geopolitical context has changed with the rise of new powers and evolving alliances. Russia's pivot towards China and India's closer ties with the United States have altered the traditional strategic dynamics.

Economic Relations:

Economic ties have expanded beyond arms trade. Both countries are working to diversify their economic engagement, focusing on sectors like energy, trade, and investments.

Energy Cooperation:

Energy cooperation has become a crucial aspect of the relationship. India's energy needs align with Russia's vast energy resources, leading to collaborations in the oil and gas sector.

Connectivity and Infrastructure:

India, Russia, and Iran are working on the INSTC project, aiming to enhance connectivity and trade by providing an alternative route between Asia and Europe.

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Multilateral Engagements:
Both countries are members of BRICS and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), where they collaborate on regional and global issues, including counterterrorism and economic cooperation.

Diplomatic Coordination:
India and Russia often coordinate their positions on international issues, particularly within the United Nations, to uphold shared interests and principles.

People-to-People Ties:
Cultural and educational exchanges continue to strengthen the bond between the two nations, fostering people-to-people ties.

Emerging Challenges:
Emerging challenges, such as cybersecurity threats and non-traditional security concerns, have also brought India and Russia closer in terms of strategic coordination.

Adaptability:
Both countries have shown adaptability in navigating the changing global order, seeking ways to maintain a balanced and mutually beneficial relationship.

While arms trade, economic ties, and congruent geopolitical interests remain significant aspects of the India-Russia relationship, the evolving strategic context has led to a broader and more diversified partnership. Both nations recognize the need to adapt to new geopolitical realities while preserving the historical bond that underpins their strategic cooperation.

| 11. | **Discuss the importance of India's role in UN peacekeeping operations as a ground for its claim to a permanent seat in the UN Security Council.**

India's active participation in UN peacekeeping operations serves as a compelling ground for its claim to a permanent seat in the UN Security Council. |

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Contributions to Global Peace: India has consistently been one of the largest contributors to UN peacekeeping missions. This active involvement underscores India's commitment to maintaining global peace and stability. Legacy of Peacekeeping: India's involvement in peacekeeping dates back to the 1950s, illustrating its sustained dedication to conflict resolution and peace.

Experience and Expertise: Indian troops have gained extensive experience and expertise in diverse conflict zones worldwide, making them highly valued assets in peacekeeping missions.

Humanitarian Assistance: Indian peacekeepers often engage in humanitarian activities, including medical assistance, disaster relief, and community development, which align with the UN''s broader objectives. Non-Partisanship: India's peacekeepers are known for their impartiality and neutrality, earning the trust of conflicting parties, and enhancing the effectiveness of UN missions.

Commitment to UN Charter: India's dedication to the principles enshrined in the UN Charter, such as collective security and conflict resolution, mirrors its commitment to the organization's values.

Regional Representation: As a major South Asian country, India's involvement in peacekeeping missions also brings regional perspectives and solutions to global conflicts.

Broader Multilateral Engagement: India's active role in UN peacekeeping is a testament to its commitment to multilateral approaches to global issues.

Reform Advocacy: India's demand for reform in the UN Security Council, including its own inclusion as a permanent member, reflects its aspiration to enhance the effectiveness and representation of the UN.

Regional and Global Stature: India's rising global stature and influence highlight the importance of its presence in the Security Council to reflect the current geopolitical realities.

	Acknowledgment by Global Community: India's peacekeeping efforts have garnered recognition and praise from various countries and organizations, emphasizing its credentials for a permanent seat. **Advocating for a Just World Order**: India's pursuit of a permanent seat aligns with its vision of a just world order that reflects the diversity of nations and ensures equitable global governance. India's extensive and commendable role in UN peacekeeping operations not only highlights its commitment to global peace and stability but also provides compelling grounds for its claim to a permanent seat in the UN Security Council. This active participation showcases India as a responsible and capable global player ready to contribute significantly to international peace and security.
12.	**Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QUAD) performs an important role in India's strategic balancing act to withstand the dominance of China in Asia. Discuss.** Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QUAD) has emerged as a significant element in India's strategic approach to counterbalance China's influence in Asia. **Formation of QUAD**: The Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QUAD) consists of the United States, Japan, India, and Australia. It was initially initiated in 2007 but gained prominence in recent years as a platform for regional cooperation and maintaining the balance of power in Asia. **Countering China's Dominance:** China's assertive behavior in the Indo-Pacific region has raised concerns among QUAD members about maintaining regional stability and ensuring the rule of law. **Hedging Strategy:** India's participation in QUAD represents a hedging strategy to diversify its strategic alliances and reduce dependence on any single power.

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Key Aspects of India's Strategy:
India's participation in QUAD allows it to assert its strategic autonomy while engaging with multiple powers simultaneously.
It enables India to strike a balance between its economic interdependence with China and its security concerns in the region.

Strengthening Defense and Security:
QUAD countries engage in joint military exercises and enhance defense collaboration to ensure collective security.

Economic and Technological Cooperation:
Beyond security, QUAD members explore economic initiatives to provide alternatives to China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI).
They also collaborate in the development of critical technologies to counter China's advancements in areas like 5G and AI.

Challenges:
QUAD countries need to align their interests while addressing individual concerns, given their diverse geopolitical priorities.
China views QUAD as an attempt to contain its influence and has raised objections against it.

Geopolitical Significance:
QUAD aims to promote regional stability, uphold the international rules-based order, and ensure freedom of navigation in the Indo-Pacific.
India's participation in QUAD provides it with greater strategic leverage in the region and allows it to participate in shaping regional security policies.

Future Prospects:
QUAD may consider expanding its membership to include other like-minded countries, further enhancing its influence.
As the geopolitical landscape evolves, QUAD''s strategies and goals may adapt to address emerging challenges.
 The Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QUAD) plays a pivotal role in India's strategy to maintain a strategic balance in Asia, particularly in response to China's growing dominance. By participating in QUAD, India aims to

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safeguard its national interests, diversify its alliances, and contribute to regional peace and stability in the Indo-Pacific.

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13. **"India's Nuclear policy is deeply influenced by its cultural beliefs and the pragmatic approach of its foreign policy."**

India's nuclear policy is a complex interplay of cultural beliefs and pragmatic foreign policy considerations.

Cultural Heritage: India's rich cultural heritage has played a significant role in shaping its perspective on nuclear weapons. Concepts like "Ahimsa" (non-violence) from ancient Indian philosophy continue to influence its nuclear stance. The principles of Ahimsa and Dharma, which emphasize non-violence and moral duty, have deep roots in Indian culture. These principles often resonate in India's nuclear disarmament advocacy.

Pragmatic Considerations: India's pragmatic approach to nuclear weapons is primarily driven by security concerns. It lives in a volatile neighbourhood with nuclear-armed adversaries, making it imperative to ensure its national security.

Deterrence: India views nuclear weapons as a means of deterrence against potential threats, deterring adversaries from engaging in aggressive actions.

Historical Perspective:
India's nuclear tests in 1998 marked a pivotal moment in its nuclear policy. They were driven by a combination of security concerns and the need to assert its position in global geopolitics.

Foreign Policy Considerations:
India's non-aligned foreign policy further underscores its commitment to peaceful coexistence and nuclear disarmament, reflecting its cultural inclination towards diplomacy and dialogue.
India seeks to be a responsible global leader and advocate for nuclear disarmament, emphasizing the need for the elimination of nuclear weapons.

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Significance on the Global Stage:
India's cultural beliefs and pragmatic foreign policy approach have influenced its bid to join the NSG, highlighting its commitment to peaceful nuclear cooperation.

Challenges:
India faces complex security challenges, including border disputes and terrorism, which continue to influence its nuclear policies.
Evolving global dynamics, including the arms race among major powers, also impact India's nuclear stance.

Contemporary Examples:
India's No First Use (NFU) policy and commitment to credible minimum deterrence reflect its cultural aversion to nuclear aggression.
The U.S.-India Civil Nuclear Agreement of 2008 showcases India's efforts to harmonize its cultural beliefs with its quest for energy security.

India's nuclear policy is a unique blend of cultural values deeply rooted in its history and the pragmatic demands of its national security and foreign policy. These elements have shaped India's responsible and cautious approach to nuclear weapons while advocating for a world free from the threat of nuclear conflict.

14.	**What steps has India taken to regain its foothold in Afghanistan since the Taliban has taken over the country in August 2021?**
	In the wake of the Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan in August 2021, India has recalibrated its approach to maintain its influence in the region.
	Diplomatic Engagement:
	Continued Diplomatic Presence: India decided to maintain its embassy in Kabul, ensuring direct communication with Afghan authorities and serving as a symbol of India's commitment.
	Regional Diplomacy: India actively engaged in regional diplomatic efforts, including meetings with Russia, Iran, and Central Asian nations to coordinate strategies for regional stability.

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Humanitarian Assistance: India sent humanitarian aid, including food and medical supplies, to Afghanistan through various channels, emphasizing its commitment to the Afghan people.

Security Cooperation: India is closely monitoring the security situation in Afghanistan and its potential impact on regional stability, particularly on its interests in Jammu and Kashmir. India is working with regional partners to address potential threats emanating from Afghanistan, emphasizing the need for coordinated counterterrorism efforts.

Economic and Development Initiatives:
Chabahar Port: India continues to invest in the development of the Chabahar Port in Iran, which provides an alternative trade route to Afghanistan bypassing Pakistan.
Infrastructure Projects: India is exploring opportunities to continue its ongoing infrastructure and development projects in Afghanistan.
Evacuation of Citizens: India undertook evacuation operations to bring back its citizens, including embassy staff, from Afghanistan, ensuring their safety.

Recognition of the New Regime: While not officially recognizing the Taliban regime, India has adopted a pragmatic approach, engaging in limited dialogue to protect its interests and ensure the safety of its citizens.
Engaging International Partners: India is engaging with international partners, including the Quad nations and the United Nations, to collectively address the evolving situation in Afghanistan.
Support for Inclusive Government: India has consistently called for an inclusive government in Afghanistan that represents all ethnic and political groups, reflecting its commitment to Afghan democracy.
Cultural and Educational Ties: India has continued to offer scholarships to Afghan students to study in Indian universities, fostering people-to-people ties and capacity-building.

Future Prospects

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	India's strategy in Afghanistan is adaptive and pragmatic, focusing on safeguarding its interests while navigating the complex and evolving political landscape.
	India seeks to strike a balance between engaging with the new authorities in Afghanistan and advocating for the rights of all Afghan citizens, including women and minorities.
	India's efforts are also aimed at maintaining regional stability, countering terrorism, and promoting economic connectivity in the region.
	In this dynamic and challenging environment, India's approach to Afghanistan remains nuanced, reflecting its commitment to regional peace and stability while safeguarding its strategic interests.
15.	**What are the challenges and limitations in India - Iran relations?** There are several challenges and limitations in their bilateral relationship despite the fact that India and Iran share historical and cultural ties. **International Sanctions**: Iran has faced extensive international sanctions, limiting its trade and economic interactions, including with India. These sanctions hinder India's energy imports and infrastructure projects in Iran. Energy Dependence: India is heavily dependent on Iranian oil. The fluctuation in global oil prices and the Iranian sanctions can disrupt India's energy security. **Competition in the Region**: Both India and Iran are major players in the region, and their interests often diverge. India's relations with Iran have been influenced by its ties with other regional actors, such as Saudi Arabia and Israel. **Chabahar Port**: Despite strategic significance, the development of the Chabahar Port has faced delays, limiting its potential as an alternative trade route to Afghanistan and Central Asia. **Balancing Act**: India has faced pressure from the United States to reduce its economic ties with Iran. This has forced India to navigate a delicate balance between its relations with Iran and its strategic partnership with the U.S.

Security Concerns: Both India and Iran are concerned about the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for regional security. Their interests may not always align on how to address this challenge.

Religious and Cultural Differences: India has a predominantly Sunni Muslim population, while Iran is a Shia-majority country. The religious and cultural differences can sometimes strain bilateral relations.

Economic Constraints: India's economic limitations can impede its ability to invest significantly in Iran or provide substantial financial assistance. Competition for Influence: India and Iran often compete for influence in countries like Afghanistan, which can strain their relations.

Geopolitical Tensions: Geopolitical tensions involving Iran, such as its nuclear program, can spill over into India's relations with the country.

Limited People-to-People Ties: Compared to India's relations with some other countries, cultural and people-to-people ties with Iran are relatively limited.

Border Security Issues: Iran has expressed concerns about Baloch separatist groups operating from Pakistani territory, which could affect bilateral security cooperation.

Despite these challenges and limitations, both India and Iran have maintained diplomatic ties and are keen on expanding their cooperation in various fields, such as trade, energy, and regional stability. Their relationship remains dynamic and influenced by evolving regional and global dynamics.

16.	**What are the external determinants of the Foreign Policy of a State?** Foreign policy of a state is influenced by various external determinants that shape its strategic decisions and international relations.

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Global Power Dynamics: The behavior and policies of major global powers, such as the United States, China, and Russia, significantly impact a state's foreign policy choices.

International Institutions: The role of a state in international organizations like the UN can influence its foreign policy decisions. Membership in international institutions may lead to compliance with international norms and agreements.

Regional Dynamics: States located near conflict-prone regions often have foreign policies shaped by the security challenges emanating from those areas.

Economic Interests: A state's foreign policy may be influenced by its economic relationships, including trade dependencies and the pursuit of new markets.

Security Concerns: Perceived security threats, whether from neighbouring states or non-state actors, can drive a state's foreign policy decisions.
Alliances and Partnerships: Membership in regional or international military alliances, like NATO or ASEAN, can constrain or guide a state's foreign policy.

Ideological and Cultural Factors: Common values, ideologies, and cultural ties with other states may shape a nation's foreign policy alignments and alliances.

International Law and Norms: International laws and norms, such as human rights conventions or disarmament treaties, can constrain or guide a state's foreign policy choices.

Global Issues: Issues like climate change, pandemics, and terrorism often require cooperative foreign policy approaches in the international arena.

Economic Assistance and Aid: States may align their foreign policy with donors" expectations to secure economic assistance and development aid.

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Public Opinion and Media: Public sentiment and media coverage can influence foreign policy decisions by governments, as they consider domestic political implications.

Colonial Legacy: Historical colonial relationships can continue to affect foreign policy, especially in former colonies.

Geopolitical Considerations: A state's geographic location, such as being landlocked or having access to vital sea routes, can influence its foreign policy.

Energy and Natural Resources: States with abundant natural resources may shape their foreign policies around resource exploitation and energy security.

Technological Advancements: A state's technological advancements and capabilities can affect its role in the global arena, especially in areas like cybersecurity and space exploration.

These external determinants interact with a state's internal factors, including its political system, leadership, and public opinion, to shape its foreign policy. The relative importance of these determinants can vary from one state to another and evolve over time.

17.	**Discuss the significance of "West Asia Quad" in the light of India's 'Look West' policy.**
	India's "Look West" policy, aimed at enhancing its engagement with the West Asian region, has gained momentum in recent years. A significant aspect of this policy is the emerging concept of a "West Asia Quad," comprising India, Israel, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), and Saudi Arabia. This informal grouping holds substantial significance in India's foreign policy objectives in West Asia.
	Geopolitical Alignment: The "West Asia Quad" represents a geopolitical alignment of like-minded nations in a turbulent region. It allows India to

collaborate with key players in West Asia who share its concerns about regional stability and security.

Counterterrorism Cooperation: All four nations in the Quad have faced threats from terrorism and extremism. Enhanced cooperation can help counteract these threats through intelligence sharing and joint counterterrorism efforts.

Economic Opportunities: West Asia is a significant economic partner for India, particularly in terms of energy resources and remittances from Indian expatriates. The Quad can provide a platform for deeper economic engagement and investments.

Defense and Security Collaboration: Strengthening defense and security ties with Israel, the UAE, and Saudi Arabia can bolster India's strategic capabilities in the region. This collaboration can include joint military exercises and defense technology transfers.

Regional Stability: The Quad can play a constructive role in promoting regional stability by advocating for peaceful resolutions to conflicts in West Asia, such as the Yemen crisis and the Israel-Palestine issue.

Balancing Regional Influence: In a region marked by diverse and sometimes conflicting interests, the Quad allows India to balance its relationships and influence. It helps India avoid being overly dependent on any single nation.

Energy Security: Cooperation with energy-rich nations like Saudi Arabia and the UAE can strengthen India's energy security. Ensuring a stable energy supply is crucial for India's economic growth.

Diaspora and Cultural Ties: The Quad nations host significant Indian diasporas. Closer ties can enhance cultural exchanges, protect the interests of Indian expatriates, and strengthen people-to-people connections.

	Challenges and Considerations: 1. India must delicately balance its relations with the Quad members to ensure it does not alienate other countries in West Asia. 2. The Quad should tread carefully when it comes to regional conflicts like the Iran-Saudi Arabia rivalry, as these can impact India's interests. 3. Managing the diverse interests and expectations of the Quad members can be complex, requiring deft diplomacy. The "West Asia Quad" holds significant promise for India's ''Look West'' policy. It provides a platform for India to deepen its engagement in West Asia, enhance regional stability, and advance its economic and security interests in a rapidly evolving geopolitical landscape. However, India must navigate this partnership with sensitivity to regional dynamics and maintain a flexible approach to adapt to changing circumstances.
18.	**Discuss the major drivers of India's interests in Africa.** For a long time, the Indian government was criticised for not having a dedicated strategy/policy for its engagement with the African continent. The frequency of two-way high-level ministerial visits was also limited. Prime Minister Narendra Modi enunciated India's policy towards Africa in July 2018 during his address to the Ugandan Parliament. The vision he outlined contained ten guiding principles, also known as 'Kampala Principles', which represent both a continuity in policies that have historically defined the India-Africa partnership and reflect a change in the nuances and priorities in Indian engagement. India has an intrinsic interest in helping Africa progress. External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar has reiterated that for India, Africa's development is fundamental to its foreign policy goals and is a prerequisite if the world is to truly become multipolar. With the rise in global profile of India and African countries, ideological and political issues which guided the relationship during Cold War era have taken a backseat. In contemporary times, economic development and security issues dominate India-Africa relationship.

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There are two broad drivers of India's Africa policy. The first is India's quest for ensuring resource and energy security. Since India is an energy-dependent country and one of the largest importers of oil, African countries are in a primary position to meet India's growing demand for energy resources. India is also looking to diversify its import basket for sourcing of crude oil and LNG and reduce its reliance on the Middle East.

The second driver is working to get African countries' support for India's candidature to the UNSC's permanent seat and to restructure global multilateral and financial institutions, achieve greater autonomy, and ensure that the agenda of the 'Global South' is prioritised. The inclusion of the African Union as a permanent member in the G20 under Indian G20 Presidency is a testament to the importance India attaches to its relations with the continent.

India and African countries have travelled a long way from the days of common struggle against colonialism to an evolving and multifaceted 21st century partnership within the ambit of South-South cooperation framework. India-Africa relations are s slowly beginning to occupy greater mind space in our national discourse.

Africa today has a basket of international partners to choose from. In order for India to truly distinguish itself as Africa's partner of choice, India will need to continue regular consultations with African partners and double-down on its relations with some major African countries, most notably South Africa, Egypt, Morocco, Nigeria, Kenya, Tanzania, Mozambique, Mauritius, and Seychelles.

| 19. | **Idea of Natural Rights. Comment.** |

Natural rights are rights conferred on all people by nature or God, which no government or individual can deny or limit. 'Natural law' is frequently used to describe how natural rights are conferred on people.

Natural rights are those that are not dependent on the laws or customs of any particular culture or government, and so are universal and inalienable (they cannot be repealed by human laws, though one can forfeit their

enforcement through one's actions, such as by violating someone else's rights).

The concept of natural law is related to the concept of natural rights. Natural law first appeared in ancient Greek philosophy and was referred to by Roman philosopher Cicero. The idea of human rights is also closely related to that of natural rights: some acknowledge no difference between the two, regarding them as synonymous, while others choose to keep the terms separate to eliminate association with some features traditionally associated with natural rights.

Natural rights, in particular, are considered beyond the authority of any government or international body to dismiss. The 1948 United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights is an important legal instrument enshrining one conception of natural rights into international soft law. Natural rights were traditionally viewed as exclusively negative rights, whereas human rights also comprise positive rights. Even on a natural rights conception of human rights, the two terms may not be synonymous. Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau developed the Natural Rights idea during the 18th century's 'Age of Enlightenment.'

John Locke was the first significant proponent of natural rights. He famously asserted that everyone has the right to life, liberty, and property. Furthermore, no sovereign has the authority to infringe on another sovereign's rights. One of the motivating reasons for engaging in the social contract, according to Locke, is to protect individual rights. According to social contract theorists, respecting the law is justified and motivated by a collective agreement among society's members.

The natural rights doctrine of John Locke had a huge impact. His philosophy, for example, was influential in the creation of the United States Declaration of Independence, which highlighted the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

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20.	**Aristotle's conception of Equality. Comment.**
	In his Politics, Aristotle considers political justice and its relation to equality. For Aristotle, justice involves equality "not for everyone, only for equals." He agrees with Plato that political democracy is essentially unjust, because, by its very nature, it tries to treat unequals as if they were equals. Justice rather requires 'inequality' for people who are 'unequal'. But, then, oligarchy is also intrinsically unjust in so far as it involves treating equals as unequal because of some contingent disparity of birth and wealth. Rather, those in a just political society who contribute the most to the common good will obtain a larger share, because they thus exhibit more political virtue, than those who are inferior in that respect; it would be simply wrong, from the perspective of political justice, for them to receive equal shares. Therefore, political justice must be viewed as a function of the common good of a community.
	Aristotle acknowledges that it is the attempt to specify the equality or inequality among people that constitutes a key 'problem' of 'political philosophy.' He considers, we can all readily agree, that political justice requires 'proportional' rather than numerical equality. But inferiors have a vested interest in thinking that those who are equal in some respect should be equal in all respects, while superiors are biased, in the opposite direction, to imagine that those who are unequal in some way should be unequal in all ways. Thus, for instance, those who are equally citizens are not necessarily equal in political virtue, and those who are financially richer are not necessarily morally or mentally superior. What is relevant here is "equality according to merit," though Aristotle cannot precisely specify what, exactly, counts as merit, for how much it must count, who is to measure it, and by what standard. All he can suggest, for example in some of his comments on the desirable aristocratic government, is that it must involve moral and intellectual virtue.
	While Plato accepted slavery as a legitimate social institution but argued for equal opportunity for women, in his Politics, Aristotle accepts sexual inequality while actively defending slavery. Anyone who is inferior intellectually and morally is also socially and politically inferior in a well-ordered polis. A human being can be naturally autonomous or not, 'a natural

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slave' being flawed in rationality and morality, and thus naturally fit to belong to a superior; such a human can rightly be regarded as 'a piece of property,' or another person's 'tool for action.' Given natural human inequality, it is supposedly unfitting that all should rule or share in ruling. Aristotle holds that some are marked as superior and fit to rule from birth, while others are inferior and marked from birth to be ruled by others. This hypothetically applies not only to ethnic groups, but also to the genders and he unequivocally asserts that males are "naturally superior" and females "naturally inferior," the former being fit to rule and the latter to be ruled. The claim is that it is naturally better for women themselves that they be ruled by men, as it is better for "natural slaves" that they should be ruled by those who are "naturally free."

Aristotle does argue only for natural slavery. He opposes custom slavery wherein in ancient period conquered enemies were made prisoners of war and slaves. Aristotle (like Plato) believes that Greeks are born for free and rational self-rule, unlike non-Greeks ("barbarians"), who are naturally inferior and incapable of it. So, the fact that a human being is defeated or captured is no assurance that he is fit for slavery, as an unjust war may have been imposed on a nobler society by a more primitive one. While granting that Greeks and non-Greeks, as well as men and women, are all truly human, Aristotle justifies the alleged inequality among them based on what he calls the 'deliberative' capacity of their rational souls. The natural slave's rational soul supposedly lacks this, a woman has it but it lacks the authority for her to be autonomous, a (free male) child has it in some developmental stage, and a naturally superior free male has it developed and available for governance.

| 21. | **'Difference Principe' in Rawls' Theory of Justice. Comment.**
In A Theory of Justice John Rawls provides a theory of social distribution based on two principles.

1) Principle of Equal Liberty: Each person has an equal right to the most extensive liberties compatible with similar liberties for all. (Egalitarian.) |

2) Difference Principle: Social and economic inequalities should be arranged so that they are both (a) to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged persons, and (b) attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of equality of opportunity.

(1) is egalitarian, since it distributes extensive liberties equally to all persons.

(2b) is also quite egalitarian, since it distributes opportunities to be considered for offices and positions in an equal manner.

(2a) is not egalitarian but makes benefit for some (those with greater talents, training, etc.) proportionate to their contribution toward benefiting the least advantaged persons.

(1) obviously echoes, without exactly duplicating, libertarianism in its commitment to extensive liberties.

Difference Principle means that society may undertake projects that require giving some persons more power, income, status, etc. than others, e.g., paying accountants and upper-level managers more than assembly-line operatives, provided that the following conditions are met:

(a) the project will make life better off for the people who are now worst off, for example, by raising the living standards of everyone in the community and empowering the least advantaged persons to the extent consistent with their well-being,

and (b) access to the privileged positions is not blocked by discrimination according to irrelevant criteria.

The Difference Principle has elements of other familiar ethical theories. The "socialist" idea (see Distributive Justice) that responsibilities or burdens should be distributed according to ability and benefits according to need is partly contained within the Difference Principle. We may reasonably assume that the "least advantaged" have the greatest needs and that those who receive special powers (hinted at under "social inequalities") also have

	special responsibilities or burdens. However, the merit principle that the use of special skills should be rewarded is also included in the Difference Principle.
	What (2a) does not permit is a change in social and economic institutions that makes life better for those who are already well off but does nothing for those who are already disadvantaged, or makes their life worse.
	Example: policies that permit nuclear power plants which degrade the environment for nearby family farmers but provide jobs for already well-paid professionals who come in from the big cities.
	Rawls argues that given a situation in which one could not choose one's status beforehand, people would choose a system of social justice according to the Difference Principle.
22.	**Difference between Participatory and deliberative Democracy.** Both the terms participatory and deliberative democracy refer to the direct involvement of citizens in political decision making, beyond choosing representatives through elections. In both systems, citizens are empowered to let their voices be heard and weigh in on the way their community is governed. Still, participation and deliberation are not the same. While participation focuses on empowering citizens to take action, deliberation focuses on discussion and debate between citizens and other stakeholders. While participation focuses on the actions themselves, deliberation focuses on the decision-making process that precedes policy-making. Examples of participation include polling, idea collection, surveys, and participatory budgeting. A famous example of deliberation is Indian Parliament, a group of citizens that is called upon to deliberate on a course of action and formulate policy recommendations.

The main differences concern: (a) the numbers of participants; (b) the type of participation; and (c) how participants are selected.

Numbers of participants

Advocates of participatory democracy usually want to involve large numbers of people in political processes, ideally the entire citizenry, and its practitioners are ecumenical in their approach. The aim for them is to achieve breadth, with many participants - ideally, everyone affected by a particular decision, or all citizens (or residents) in a particular jurisdiction. Many advocates of deliberative democracy want to involve relatively small (but representative) groups of people, because it is very difficult to have deep deliberation among large numbers of people. Practitioners in this space are wrestling with the challenge of situating deliberation within a wider, deliberative system.

Type of participation

Participatory democrats want more participation, in all aspects of politics (and sometimes in spaces beyond the political sphere, such as workplaces and universities), from all citizens who choose to be involved. They believe this is the essence of democracy—the only way to ensure that the 'people rule' is for them to be involved in making the decisions that affect them. Instead of specifying a preferred type of political participation, they embrace and encourage a diversity of opportunities for political engagement.

In contrast, deliberative democrats have a specific view on the type of political participation they want citizens to be involved in: deliberation. Deliberation requires that participants: (a) become well informed about the topic, (b) consider different perspectives, in order to (c) arrive at a public judgement (not opinion) about "what can we strongly agree on?" They consider this to be a superior form of political participation as it leads to more informed and rounded public opinion, and, arguably, better decisions. Participatory and deliberative democrats therefore also favour different types of institutions and practices to promote these alternative approaches to political participation. For example, many participatory democrats see value in instruments of direct democracy which is exemplified by referenda or

citizens' initiatives [Swiss model]. It can be further exemplified by participatory budgeting which spread throughout South America, starting with Brazil in 1988 and is now spreading worldwide. Participatory budgets were designed to widen participation for lower socio-economic groups, by allowing them an opportunity to make decisions about a small proportion of a city's spending.

Selection method

Participatory democrats usually favour self-selected participation, in order to enable as many people as possible to share the experience. This enables easy recruitment, can be less expensive, and is seen as equitable. Deliberative democrats tend to favour random selection, in order to assemble a public body that is: representative of the public; able to consider perspectives; and not be vulnerable to being stacked by representatives of powerful interest groups.

Many deliberative democrats believe that there is a trade-off between large numbers of participants and the quality of deliberation. Consequently, a strand of deliberative democracy wants to involve relatively small (but representative) groups of people in considerable depth.

The 3 desirable criteria of direct democracy (participation, deliberation, and equality) are all different vertices of the same triangle. Because deliberation requires more organisation, it is also harder to scale. That's why it works best with small, representative samples of the population. Then again, as mentioned above, participation on its own doesn't always guarantee deep or long-term engagement.

Participation used together with deliberation ensures meaningful engagement on a large scale, therefore giving a central place to citizens in the decision-making process.

| 23. | **Gandhi's views on state.** |
| | The state, for Gandhi, represents violence in its concentrated form but is necessary since human beings are social by nature and as such morally incapable of acting in a socially responsible manner. He desires a state that would employ as little violence and coercion as possible and wanted |

individual actions to be regulated by voluntary efforts as far as possible. Distinguishing between state and society he opposes the notion of absolute state sovereignty in the Austinian sense. He advocates limited state sovereignty for there is an obligation higher than mere politics.

He desires the establishment of a society in which the state exists outside the daily life of the common man. The ideal society would be a decentralised one giving ample scope for self-development. It is akin to the actual reality of British society of the nineteenth century, which he saw and admired.

Gandhi's belief in the primacy of the individual led him to conceptualise a truly non-violent state composed of self-governing and self-sufficient village communities based on majority rule. It would elect district representatives who, in turn, elect provincial and national representatives. Majority rule would be subject to two constraints:

first, the majority could not run roughshod on an issue on which the minority harbours strong views.

second, a human being should not act contrary to the dictates of his conscience since he is essentially a moral person.

Therefore, everyone has the right to engage in acts of civil disobedience against policies that are contrary to what one considers to be morally right. Political power, for Gandhi, is "the capacity to regulate material life through national representatives. If national life becomes so perfect as to become self-regulated, no representation becomes necessary. There is then a state of enlightened anarchy. In such a state everyone is his own ruler. He rules himself in such manner that he is never a hindrance to his neighbour. In the ideal state, therefore, there is no political power because there is no state".

A non-violent state must aim at the welfare and upliftment of its citizens. In such a state, the police would be social workers ready to use moral persuasion and public opinion to deal with anti-social elements. Crime would be treated as a disease that required understanding and help and not punishment. It would be a state free of exploitation and conflicts between the labour and capital in industry, between the tenant and landlord in agriculture and between the city and village. These conflicts would be resolved through passive resistance and trusteeship. In such a state,

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	property would also be regarded as evil, for excess of it encourages evils like exploitation, sensual indulgence and contempt for one's fellow beings. However, he does not subscribe to forcible appropriation of individual property and proposes a system of Trusteeship. He supports a greater role of the state in economic affairs, which contradicts his otherwise, minimalist views on the state. He defends limitations on the right of inheritance, state ownership of land and heavy industries, nationalisation without compensation and heavy taxes.
24.	**Examine the challenges to sovereignty of the state in the contemporary world.** Sovereignty is the central organizing principle of the system of states. At its core, sovereignty is typically taken to mean the possession of absolute authority within a bounded territorial space. There is essentially an internal and external dimension of sovereignty. Internally, a sovereign government is a fixed authority with a settled population that possesses a monopoly on the use of force. It is the supreme authority within its territory. Externally, sovereignty is the entry ticket into the society of states. Recognition on the part of other states helps to ensure territorial integrity and is the entree into participating in diplomacy and international organizations on an equal footing with other states. Threats to state sovereignty from a wide variety of sources, can be grouped in three broad areas: the rise of human rights, economic globalization, and the growth of supranational institutions, the latter being partially driven by economic integration and the cause of human rights. The emergence of human rights as a subject of concern in international law effects sovereignty because these agreed upon principles place clear limits on the authority of governments to act within their borders. As a result of the growth of multinational corporations and the free flow of capital, internal policymaking, investment, employment and revenue within a state is often affected by the activities of MNCs and changes in the world economy. Keynesian-based welfare policies, and import or tariff barriers by governments (state interventionism) which were used by governments to protect home industry in an era of "embedded liberalism" are now much

harder to implement. This is because state economies are no longer "managed" by state governments but are subject to external forces, such as recession, inflation and trade agreements, due to the interconnectedness of the world economy. However, it must be underlined that some states can manage better in this situation, and are able to "restore boundaries" and take advantage also of the regionalisation of the world economy, for example the USA or the European Union, respectively. Thus, the trends within the world system are not uniform in their impact upon individual states, but there is a definite disjuncture between the idea of a sovereign state determining its own future and modern economies, which are intersected by international economic forces.

With the increase in global connectedness, the number of political instruments available to governments and the effectiveness of particular instruments has shown a marked decline; border controls have lessened; and flow of goods and services, ideas and cultures has increased. Due to globalization, highly interconnected global order, many of the traditional domains of state activity such as defence, communication, cannot be fulfilled without resorting to international forms of collaboration. As the demands on the state have increased in the postwar years, the cooperation of other states has become necessary. Accordingly, states have had to increase the level of their political integration with other states so as to control the destabilising effects that accompany global interconnectedness. They have to strengthen by forming some blocks like the NATO, the CENTO, the OAS, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organisation (WTO). With the growth of a vast number of institutions and organisations, independent sovereignty of a state diminishes. The international organisations are setting up international standards to be followed by the individual states. There are many controversial organisations like the IMF, UNCTAD and WTO which are non-state actors and have usurped the functions of state. They even take up a supranational role in certain areas. The European Union (EU) provides a bigger threat to the sovereignty of the states. Members of the EU have delegated their sovereignty in certain matters to the Union. The EU has become, more or less, a supranational agency, for within it, the Council has the power to make or enact policies.

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25.	**Discuss the key features of pre Marxist socialist theory.**
	Socialism is considered to be an ideology of the poor and is considered to be a hat that has lost its shape due to the numerous types of socialism. The origin of socialist ideas is in French revolution, which called for equality and fraternity. There were socialists during the time of French revolution calling for revolutionary activities like Louis Blanc, Blanqui. Blanc called for workers controlled economic system and Blanqui advised conquest of state by force. However, revolutionaries failed to bring socialism.
	Later on, another form of peaceful, evolutionary form of socialism emerged in various parts of Europe. Prominent early socialists include saint Simon, Charles Fourier, Robert Owen. They were called as Utopian Socialists. They regarded poverty as the principal source of ills of society and private property as the chief cause of poverty. They stood for renovation of society and the amelioration of the existing inequalities. They believed that changes they desired could be achieved through appeals to the reason and sense of justice of influential members of the community. They did not look at all to revolutionary action, nor primarily to political action, for bringing about the changes.
	Utopian socialism is a type of ethical socialism which requires a certain ethics of those living in the community. Utopian socialism is a challenge to the conventional economic model of rational choice – the idea that individuals seek to maximise their individual utility. Under utopian socialism, it assumes that individuals will be able to put selfish ends to one side to consider the common good. Some aspects of Utopian-socialism are (a) No state ownership of means of production (b) Advocates co-operation between owners and workers – rather than adversarial workers vs capitalist /trade unions (c) Local decentralisation of decision-making process and (d) Market forces harnessed but emphasis on considering common good rather than selfish ends.
	However, efforts of early socialists failed to make an impact. Such ideas were criticized by Marx for being utopian and not scientific. Marx considered such early socialists as idealists and lacking in true understanding of capitalism.

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26.	**Compare and contrast the views of Kautilya and Machiavelli on Statecraft.** There have been numerous works on political systems and statecraft but most of them bordered on idealism and how an idealist state should look like. Here in, differed Machiavelli and Kautilya from other political thinkers, bringing in a sense of realism in diplomatic manoeuvring despite existing centuries apart. A direct comparison between Kautilya and Machiavelli is not feasible due to differing domestic political conditions influenced by religion and social systems in ancient India and 15th century Italy. Nonetheless, they were quite similar in their philosophies and approach to statecraft. **Converging** Both of them made distinction between ethics and political science or statecraft. Their focus was on 'how one rules' rather than 'who rules'. Their focus was not on utmost moral development of man – ruler or citizen or on achieving an ideal state. Instead, they emphasised more, on how a nation is to be ruled or what threatens the security of the state. Kautilya and Machiavelli consider usage of force as dominant method for societal order. One called it Dandaneethi (science of the stick) and the other believed in that the ruler/ Prince should choose reputation based on fear over love and respect. But the point to be noted is that both advocated against excessive force. For Kautilya, it violated Rajdharma and could possibly lead to social instability and hatred towards the ruler. He has clearly stated that, "In the happiness of his subjects lies his happiness; in their welfare his welfare. He shall not consider as good only that which pleases him but treat as beneficial to him whatever pleases his subjects". For Machiavelli, excessive usage of force destabilises state , which goes against Virtu. At times morality has been ignored in larger context when he has said, " Do all the harm you must at one and the same time, that way the

full extent of it will not be noticed, and it will give least offense, one should do good, on the other hand, little by little, so people can fully appreciate it."

Both Kautilya and Machiavelli believed in one strong state and endorsed imperialism. They longed for a world order where at the centre was 'state' and had peace, social and economic justice.

But highlighting only similarities between Kautilya and Machiavelli and also terming Kautilya as 'Machiavelli of India' is largely oversimplification of the philosophy they propounded. The Nobel laureate Amartya Sen in his book 'The Idea of Justice' , has mentioned it to be amusing that an ancient Indian political analyst of pre- Christian era should be presented as a local version of an 15th century European writer. The similarities have been derived from few selective readings of Arthashastra quoting sections on spies and internal/ external security.

Divergence

There are major dissimilarities between Kautilya and Machiavelli. Kautilya's approach was mainly people-centric whereas Machiavelli's approach was king-centric. Kautilya has mentioned many times in Arthashastra that the main objective of his work, is the 'yogakshema' and 'rakshana' of the subjects, that is, the welfare, protection, and administration of the citizens. He does not glorify the king as in contrast to Machiavelli. Machiavelli's work had the primary objective to maintain the rule of the king using principles like 'one need not be ethical but appear ethical' and use of the maxim 'ends justify the means'. Machiavelli has been famously quoted, "For although the act condemns the doer, the end may justify him."

The dominant theme in The Prince is how to attain and maintain power. It has been written for the purposes of self-preservation of a ruler. It also talks about how to achieve 'la gloria del mondo' i.e. worldly glory. The Arthashastra on the other hand, has kept economics as a stable foundation for prosperous and progressive society and state, hence terming Kautilya as political economist would be in better sense.

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The Arthashastra literally means 'The Treatise on Wealth' and the book has sections based on branches of knowledge: Varta (economic policy), Dandaneethi (law and enforcement), Anvikshiki (philosophical and ethical framework) and Trayi (cultural context). For Kautilya, focus was on success of the state and thus, using statecraft for greatness of state.

In this respect, Kautilya's Arthashastra finds more resonance with Adam Smith's idea of invisible hand and importance of mutual sympathy i.e. trust in society. Nevertheless, both Kautilya and Machiavelli have been criticised as 'soulless materialist' and also enlightened pragmatists. For them, sometimes to achieve noble ends , one has to engage in distasteful acts.

Their writings have led us to a moral dilemma: Can a positive result be regarded as objectively good if it is attained by negative means? Also, are their philosophies applicable for democracies or just monarchies? Are they still relevant in contemporary world? Indian Foreign policy experts have hinted towards application of Kautilya's principles time and again by Indian political leaders. But Machiavelli's work, The Prince has mostly been a bedtime read of President like Nixon and his Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

However, the major takeaway is that both Kautilya and Machiavelli emphasised on importance of knowing statecraft as can be understood by Kautilya's quote, "A wise king trained in politics, will, even if he possesses a small territory, conquer the whole earth with the help of the best fitted elements of his sovereignty and will never be defeated." Complementing Kautilya, Machiavelli's saying could defend both him and Kautilya for their beliefs, when he says , "my profession is to govern my subjects, and defend them, and in order to defend them, I must love peace but know how to make war."

| 27. | **"Plato was an enemy of the open society" (Popper) comment.**
Open Society denotes a democratic society marked by fundamental rights. Karl Popper in his book 'Open Society and its Enemies.' (1945) calls Plato, Hegel and Karl Marx as enemies of open society. He suggests that the theories of Plato have a dangerous tendency towards totalitarianism. He |

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believes that Plato's readers have been under the 'spell of Plato', which obstructs their judgement. He calls Plato "an enemy of open society" on the basis of following arguments.

Essentialism: It is linked to Plato's 'theory of form'. Plato suggests that the idea(essence) forms the absolute reality. He makes us believe that essence is supreme knowledge and disregards the reality of this world. Plato divorces us from reality and forces us to think about some reality, which is beyond the understanding of the common man.

Holism: Plato does not give importance to the individual and sacrifices the individual in the name of collectively.

Historicism: Historicism means the ideological use of history. Presenting history in a manner that serves political purpose. Plato has given the life cycle of an ideal state. The ideal state will decay into the rule of the soldier class. (timocracy) which will decay into the rule of the rich. (Aristocracy). Thus, Plato suggests that to prevent decay, there is a necessity for the rigid and strong control of the philosopher king.

Popper suggests that all the totalitarian leaders reflect the above ideas. e.g. they establish the primacy of state/nation/race over the individual. To justify their rule, they rely on the creation of myths, presenting myths as the ultimate reality. They give the law of decay and suggest that if people do not want decay or postpone it, they will have to make sacrifices.

Popper believed that Plato's emphasis on a rigid class structure, strict censorship, and the rule of a philosopher-king who had absolute power over the lives of citizens, resembled the features of a totalitarian regime. Popper contended that Plato's vision of the state did not allow for individual freedom, diversity of opinion, or the possibility of progress through open debate and criticism. In contrast, Popper advocated for an "open society" where individuals have the freedom to express themselves, participate in decision-making, and challenge existing ideas through rational discourse. Popper's critique of Plato's political philosophy reflects his commitment to defending liberal democracy and the values of individual liberty and critical thinking.

28.	**Distinguish between Power and Authority.**

Authority refers to the legitimate power or right granted to an individual, position, or entity to exercise control, make decisions, and enforce compliance within a specific domain or scope. It is typically associated with formal positions within organizational structures or established systems of governance. Authority is derived from recognized rules, laws, or social norms that confer specific rights and responsibilities to individuals occupying certain positions. It represents the official capacity to give directives, make decisions, and enforce them within the framework of established rules and regulations. Authority provides individuals with the ability to guide, direct, and influence others within their designated areas of responsibility, and it is often supported by institutional legitimacy and the recognition of those who are subject to authority.

Power refers to the capacity of managers or leaders to exert influence, make decisions, and achieve desired outcomes within an organization. It encompasses various forms and sources and plays a pivotal role in shaping relationships, driving performance, and attaining organizational objectives. Power in management can stem from different avenues, including legitimate authority granted by formal positions, the ability to provide rewards or incentives, the capacity to enforce compliance through coercion, expertise, and knowledge in a specific domain, or personal charisma and the ability to build strong connections. Successful managers recognize the different types of power and understand how to employ them effectively in different situations, ensuring ethical and responsible use of power to foster positive working environments and contribute to the overall success of the organization.

Authority	Power
Authority is derived from formal positions within the organizational hierarchy. It is granted by the organization based on the role and responsibilities assigned to individuals	Power can stem from personal qualities, expertise, relationships, or control over resources.

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Authority is considered legitimate within the organizational structure and is supported by formal rules and policies. It is recognized as the rightful exercise of control and decision-making.	Power may or may not have inherent legitimacy and can be based on personal influence or informal networks.
Authority grants individuals the right to make decisions within their defined areas of responsibility. It provides a formal framework for decision-making in line with organizational objectives and policies.	Power can enable individuals to influence decisions even if they do not have formal authority. They may use their personal influence or persuasive skills to shape outcomes.
Authority typically operates within a specific scope and is limited to the responsibilities associated with the formal position.	Power can extend beyond formal boundaries and impact areas beyond the designated scope of authority. Individuals with power can influence decisions, actions, and behaviours of others in various ways.
Authority has the inherent ability to enforce compliance and direct the actions of subordinates. It is backed by the formal power to assign tasks, give directives, and enforce organizational policies.	Power may rely more on influence, persuasion, and personal relationships to gain compliance from others.
Authority tends to be more stable and enduring over time, as it is established within the formal structure of the organization. It remains consistent unless there are changes in organizational roles or hierarchies.	Power can be more dynamic and can change based on personal relationships, shifting alliances, or changes in organizational dynamics.
Authority establishes a formal relationship between superiors and subordinates, defining roles, responsibilities, and reporting lines.	Power can influence relationships beyond formal reporting lines. Individuals with power can have an impact on the attitudes, behaviours,

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It provides a clear framework for accountability.	and motivations of others, regardless of their formal position in the hierarchy.

Power can be derived from a constellation of interests that develop in a formally free market situation. Power can again be derived from an established system of authority that allocates the right to command and duty to obey.

29.	**Discuss the 'crisis of legitimacy' in capitalist societies. (Habermas)** In his work, Legitimation Crisis (1973), Habermas identified the difficulties called 'crisis tendencies' within capitalist societies. These crisis tendencies emerged as a result of a fundamental contradiction between the logic of capitalist accumulation and popular pressures unleashed by democratic politics. Capitalist societies, based on the pursuit of profit and producing class inequalities, have to sustain political stability by invoking a normal claim to rule. In such a system, legitimacy is secured by democratic processes, which lead to further demands for social welfare provisions, increased popular participation and social equality. This in turn puts pressures on the state to expand its social responsibilities, and raises demands for state intervention for removing inequalities, forcing it to increase expenditure on welfare (non-profit) measures. These pressures lead to increase in taxation and public spending, and constrain capitalist accumulation by restricting profit levels and discouraging enterprise. Forced either to resist popular pressures or risk economic collapse, such societies find it increasingly difficult and eventually impossible, to maintain legitimacy. Thus, a capitalist society is constantly in the grip of crisis tendencies, which test its ability to sustain itself through the legitimacy that it can elicit through various democratic institutions. While investing in such legitimation measures, the capitalist system has to be also on a constant alert to see that these processes are not stretched to the limit where they dismantle the defining principles of the capitalist system i.e. a class exploitative system geared to the extraction of profit or capital accumulation.

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According to Habermas, capitalist democracies cannot permanently satisfy both popular demands for social equality and welfare rights and requirements of a market economy based on private profit. The implication of such 'crises' involves a disturbance of integration or cohesion of society and the regulatory structures of the capitalist system.

In such scenarios of legitimation crisis, the modern state, according to Habermas, takes recourse simultaneously to 'system steering' and ideological measures to legitimize and stabilize the existing structures. This involves an 'uncoupling' or dissociation of the economic (wage labour and capital relations) and the political spheres (institutions of governance). This means that the exploitative relationship between wage labour and capital is no longer part of the political sphere. The political sphere in turn becomes less participatory and more impersonal, bureaucratised, and distanced from the ruled. Such a system would, however, be held together ideologically by legitimizing 'universalist' discourses of rights, justice and citizenship which give the rulers the moral claim to rule.

30.	**Discuss Gramsci's notion of 'organic intellectuals'.**
	Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci introduced the concept of the "organic intellectual" in his Prison Notebooks, highlighting their significance in understanding his philosophy of praxis. Gramsci emphasised the complex relationship between class power, ideology, organic intellectuals, hegemony, and the state in capitalist society.
	Gramsci's philosophy of praxis is a way of thinking about Marxism that focuses on the importance of culture, ideas, and people's choices in bringing about historical change.
	Instead of seeing economic factors as the only driving force behind history, Gramsci believed that individuals are active participants in shaping their own destiny, rather than just passive victims of their circumstances.
	According to Gramsci, in modern capitalist societies, there are different social groups with varying interests and levels of awareness.

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The dominant class holds power not only through economic means but also by influencing culture and morals.

Gramsci's philosophy of praxis seeks to understand how the ruling class maintains its control over the lower classes through cultural and moral leadership.

It also aims to understand how the dominant class maintains its hegemony, or cultural and moral leadership, over the subordinate classes and how the latter can develop a counter-hegemony that challenges the existing order.

Organic Intellectuals

According to Gramsci, intellectuals are not a separate category of people who possess a special quality of mind or a superior level of education. Rather, intellectuals are defined by their function and role in society.

Gramsci distinguishes between two types of intellectuals: traditional and organic.

Traditional intellectuals are those who claim to be independent and autonomous from any class or social group.

They present themselves as the bearers of universal values and knowledge, such as priests, teachers, artists, scientists, etc.

However, Gramsci argued that traditional intellectuals are actually aligned with the dominant class and serve its interests by legitimising its worldview and values.

Organic intellectuals are those who emerge from within a specific class or social group and articulate its interests and aspirations.

They are organically linked to the masses and mediate between their common sense and the ruling ideology. They also help to organise and mobilise their class or group for political action.

Gramsci argued that every class or social group produces its own organic intellectuals, but not all of them are equally developed or effective.

He pays special attention to the role of organic intellectuals in challenging capitalist hegemony and building a counter-hegemonic bloc.

Organic Intellectuals Challenge Capitalist Hegemony

Capitalist hegemony is not only based on coercion and violence, but also on consent and persuasion.

The dominant class uses various institutions and practices, such as education, media, religion, culture, etc., to spread its ideology and values among the subordinate classes and to incorporate them into its worldview.

However, hegemony is never complete or stable. It is always contested and resisted by alternative forms of consciousness and culture that express the needs and demands of the oppressed classes and groups.

This is where organic intellectuals play a crucial role. They help to articulate these alternative forms of consciousness and culture into a coherent and comprehensive worldview that challenges the dominant one.

They also help to connect different classes and groups that share common interests and goals into a historical bloc that can act as a collective agent of historical change.

Organic intellectuals do not impose their ideas on the masses, but rather engage in a dialogical process with them.

They respect their common sense, but also critique its limitations and contradictions. They educate them, but also learn from them. They inspire them, but also follow them.