



25, Pusa Road, Karol Bagh, Delhi 110005. ☎ 011 45612719

Always Ahead

## Political Science & International Relations

### Crash Course & Test Series - 2022

#### Test 3

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name ISHITA KISHORE  
Test Date 11 AUG 2021  
Email Address \_\_\_\_\_  
UPSC Roll No 5809986

#### Instructions:

1. There are EIGHT questions divided in TWO SECTIONS and candidate has to attempt five questions in all.
2. Question Nos. 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, any three are to be attempted choosing at least ONE question from each section.
3. Content of the answer is more important than its length.
4. Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the admission Certificate, which must be stated clearly on the cover of the booklet in the space provided.
5. Content of the answer is more important than its length.
6. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the Question-Cum-Answer Booklet must be clearly struck off.
7. All parts of the question should be written at one place itself.
8. Write the test in exam atmosphere.
9. **Filling all the details in BLOCK LETTERS is mandatory.**

S. No..	a	b	c	d	e	Total
1						
2				X	X	
3				X	X	
4				X	X	
5						
6				X	X	
7				X	X	
8				X	X	
<b>Grand Total</b>						

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	Poor	Average	Good	Very Good	Excellent
Understanding of Questions					
Structure & Flow					
(a) Introduction					
(b) Conclusion					
(c) Overall					
Subject Knowledge					
Presentation					
(a) Underline					
(b) Paragraph					
(c) Overall					

Overall Remarks:

Dear Student,

All the best for next test....!!!

Que. 1 (a)

Enumerate the basic principles of Morgenthau's classical realist theory. (10 Marks)

Morgenthau in his theory of International Relations, scientifically analyses the scientific nature of humans & nations.

As a classical realist, he gives the 'actor level' analysis with his six principles.

He calls humans as 'animus dominii' ie power seeking. Further, he disregards the role of ethics or ideology in IR as only ends matter.

The national interest is supreme and the primary aspect for all state actions. Survival, self help and statism form the basis of his approach.



He further holds that national interest must be dynamic and adapt to the changing environment.

Eg The changing stance of India towards Israel after the end of cold war.

However his approach was criticised by other realists like Waltz and Mearsheimer who shift the analysis to the structural level as human behaviour does not have any observable regularities & is thus unscientific.

Moreover the strongest criticism comes from feminists like Ann J. Tickner who focus on 'human security' & 'empowerment'

Yet Morgenthau's contribution remains a significant starting point for successive scholars

ie.1(b)

**Discuss the Causes of disintegration of U.S.S.R (10 Marks)**

The disintegration of USSR was a significant moment in history which ended the ideological divide in the world and paved way for a unipolar world order.

Causes of disintegration include

- i- The policies of Gorbachev, like Glasnost which was the economic openness and Perestroika, which created path for free press. It magnified the structural and economic weaknesses of USSR. As held by Alex de Tocqueville Tyrannies collapse not when they are at their worst but when they are at their best
- ii- Role of Ronald Reagan was pivotal as

he capitalized on USSR's weakness. He kept them engaged in the costly nuclear arms race (Star Wars) as well as in Afghanistan by promoting insurgency. He fuelled public resentment with use of the free press.

-iii - USSR's natural death is another view in IR. It is said that the geopolitical Compulsion drives it to expand & collapse. The lack of East-West navigable rivers or natural borders compel a centralised & inefficient economy. This creates scope for Russia reemerging as a revisionist power. e.g. Annexation of Crimea, Ukraine crisis.

The disintegration of USSR was due to many factors but it cannot be undermined as the 'End of History' as it is a revisionist power  
(F. Fukuyama)

Q.1(c)

National interest is a pseudo theory. Comment. (10 Marks)

National interest is a dynamic concept that evolves with the changing needs of the time. This makes scholars call it a pseudo theory. As per Charles Beard, the notion that makes individuals sacrifice their liberties, soldiers die on borders and countries pursue power - what better name can it have than national interest.

It can include permanent aspects like land, security. VV Dyke lists some variable factors like ideology, objective, peace etc.

However, these aspects are subject

to frequent revisions and creates scope for Opportunism and selfishness.

Realists consider national interest to be a fundamental determinant in international politics. But the subaltern school raise the pertinent question of 'Whose national interest - elites or masses?'

Liberals call it a pseudo theory because the lack of a universal definition creates room for manoeuvring.

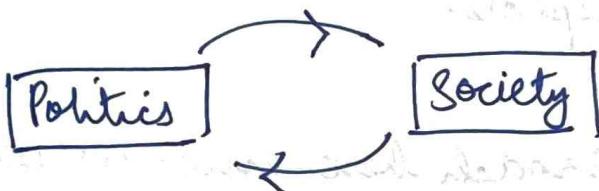
India's civilisational ideals like 'Vasudeva Kutumbakam' show that national interest is not necessarily dichotomous. Its relevance gains significance in a post pandemic world.



2.1(d)

What are the limitations of political economy approach. (10 Marks)

Political economy is an interdisciplinary approach of comparative politics that attempts to analyse aspects at the interface of



It emphasises on the economic aspects of political decisions. Historically it was emphasised by Kautilya in East & Adam Smith in West.

However the approach has limitations

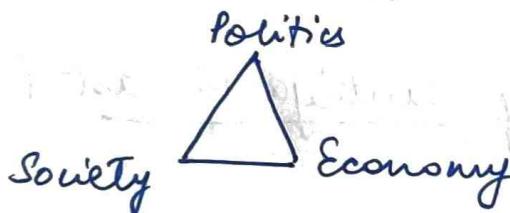
- i- It is not an evergreen approach & requires constant evolution. Eg Keynesian economics in response to classical liberalism during Great Depression
- ii- Further, neoliberals & their market fundamentalism had grave political

consequences ie unequal distribution of resources & rampant inequality

- iii- Criticised as economic reductionism as it focuses too much on the economic aspects.

The approach best emerges when used in combination. For eg :

Gender budgeting lies at the trifecta of



This can prevent the decline of the approach as mere data gathering and prevent its divorce from normativism.

Ques. 1(e)

Discuss the changing nature of pressure group politics in developing countries. (10 Marks)

Pressure groups are known as the 'invisible empires' (S. Fine).

Their role is significant in developing countries as elections as a procedure are not sufficient to make the voice of all heard.

Their nature is changing significantly.

Firstly, they no longer focus on bread and butter issues but strive for better quality of life. Eg Coalition for Clean Air pressurises government for better air pollution regulation.

Second, they are better organised to place their demands. Eg FICCI and CII use constitutional methods via organisations rather than protest or strike.

Third, they strive for better governance to counter notions of 'soft state' or 'overdeveloped state': Eg India Against Corruption's demand for Lokpal.

However, with the rise of transnational actors, there is a fear that pressure groups are funded by vested interests abroad.

Nevertheless, pressure groups remain central in achieving JS Mill's 'Freedom of Speech' as they can prevent minority resentment from snowballing. Eg Shaheen Bagh Protests.



e.2(a)

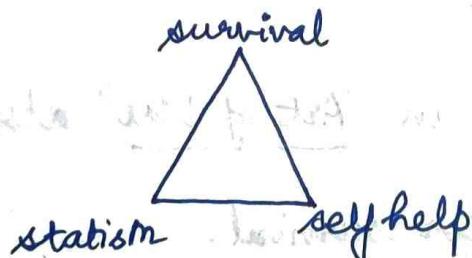
In the discipline of International Relations, Realism is a school of thought that emphasizes the competitive and conflictual side of international relations. Discuss (20 Marks)

The realist school of International Relations is (IR)  
the most dominant school of IR. It is said  
that all other schools are simply footnotes to  
it.

It began with EH Carr who introduced  
Machiavellianism in IR. There is no room  
for ethics, as nations are judged not by the  
means they apply, but the ends they achieve.

This makes IR both competitive and  
conflictual as realist school is based on

3 S :-





It holds that states are the primary actors, in contrast to liberals who emphasised on international institutionalism, treaties, laws etc.

Such an anarchical situation makes self help the only recourse for survival of states. Ancient intellectual precursors also held similar views.

- i- Kautilya in 'Arthashastra' called states an organism that has to grow. This creates competition & conflict & is the basis of his 'Mandal Siddhant'.
- ii- Sam Tsu in 'Art of War' also gives tactics for survival.



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In modern times, classical realist Morgenthau also holds that nations are power maximizers. Power is not just a means but an end in itself. This makes IR a continuous struggle.

While structural realist Kenneth Waltz emphasised on security maximization, post cold war, Mearsheimer held that 'offence is the best defence'.

Realism is thus an endeavour of expansion of power, influence & security of nations. Competition and conflict prevail because 'State of Nature' is like Hobbesian.

where each is capable of overpowering the other, either with individual physical capacity or in connivance with others.

However, this can be converted to cooperation and collaboration. As held by social constructivists

'Anarchy is what the states make of it'

- Alexander Wendt.

To attain ideals like 'Vasudeva Kutumbakam', both the actors (foreign policies) and the structure (international) require positive & substantive norms and values.

2(b)

The feminist contribution to the theory of International relations can be understood through their deconstruction of gender both as a socially constructed identities and as a powerful organising logic.

Comment. (15 Marks)

International Relations (IR) is said to be one of the most masculinist disciplines. Feminists hold that the negligence of women in theory has led to their subjugation in practice.

A pertinent question often raised is

'Where are the women?'

Cynthia Enloe in her book 'Bananas, Beaches and Bases' shows how women in IR are limited to

- i- Banana Plantations of MNCs as they are easy to exploit
- ii- As wives of diplomats
- iii- As sex workers on military bases

Their 'gender' is exploited to the extent that some nations capitalize on their exploitation eg Sex tourism in South East Asia to earn foreign exchange.

These socially constructed identities are perpetuated. for Ann J. Tickner in her 'Feminist Perspective of IR' refutes Morgenthau's six scientific principles.

She holds that his description is cultural & historical (power seeking). Further, he ignores human security in national security. This narrow view of power overlooks empowerment aspects.



The powerful organising logic is referred to by Tickner as a 'Security Paradox'

Men fight wars to protect women but sexual exploitation is a systematic & organised method of war crimes.

Moreover, feminine qualities are used to demean and insult rivals. Acquisition of missiles makes them feel masculine & powerful.

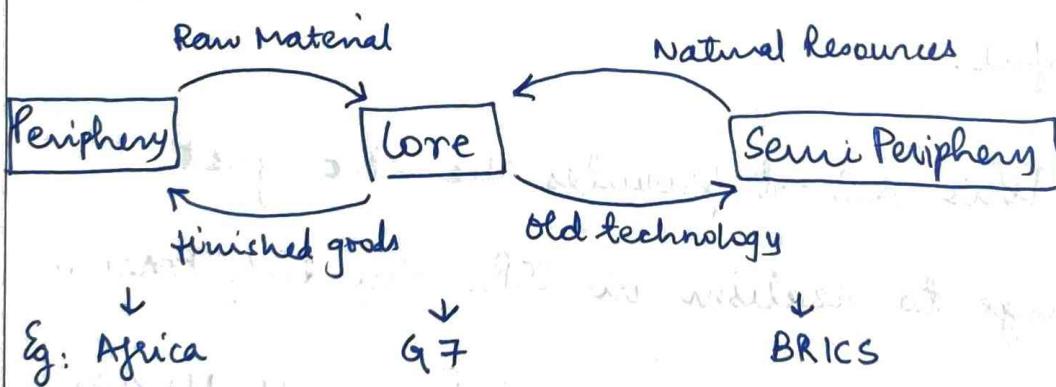
This school provides the strongest challenge to realism in IR. Swedish Foreign Minister's Feminist Foreign Policy is gender inclusive & power neutral. Peace is the eternal quest of feminists hold that 'The men have failed. Let the others take over'

Que.2(c)

Elucidate Immanuel Wallerstein's theory of world system and its limitations. (15 Marks)

Marxist school of IR analyses the international political economy to understand the relations between capital and labour.

I. Wallerstein's World System Theory highlights the global distribution of supply chains :-



A scholar of Neo Marxist school, he holds that the 'Drain of Wealth' is



continuing from the peripheries to the core.

Eg Debt trap diplomacy of China in Africa and Latin America.

Contemporary leader Kwame Nkrumah has called this as 'Neocolonialism'.

Moreover, the polluting technology has been transferred to semi peripheries which have some industrial base. The labour and environment norms are very strict in core so carbon emissions are exported.

This perpetuates the development of underdevelopment (Samia Amin).

Eg As held by Oxfam Time to Care Report, 1% owns 40% wealth.



However the theory suffers from the limitations of economic reductionism. It ignores the philanthropic initiatives like GAVI, special & differentiated treatment in WTO, historical and differentiated responsibility in UNFCCC.

Globalisation has democratised growth.  
eg. High rates of growth in semi peripheries and emerging markets. (Eg India, Brazil)

Yet the theory remains relevant in making capitalism more humane & inclusive, especially in a post pandemic world.

2.3(a)

Explain the idea of hegemony in the theory of international relations. How far do you think the idea of hegemony is helpful in understanding the dynamics of international relations? (20 Marks)

Hegemony is the soft power or power of attraction. It belongs to the Gramscian tradition which focuses on cultural and ideological power.

In theory of IR, hegemony plays a crucial role. As held by Robert Cox, material and military power do not suffice. Coercion is not sustainable and consent is imperative.

Joseph Nye calls this as 'soft power' where those on whom power is exercised believe that it is in their benefit.

However as per realists, soft power is meaningless if not backed by hard power.

As per the Hegemonic Stability Theory,

the hegemon must have capacity & willingness to exercise both hard & soft power. Eg:

- i- Pax Britannica: British were militarily stronger than India. Moderates had faith in the 'British sense of Justice'
- ii- Pax Americana: Militarily strong and sells the 'American Dream', founder of international institutions

It is helpful in understanding IR ~~area~~ & its dynamics. In contemporary era, the fast rise of China and predictions of a 'Pax Sinica' order can

be understood with hegemony.

First, China is displacing the dollar hegemony with its financial architecture

e.g. AIB, NDB. Second, China's BRI project

is creating a sphere of economic influence.

Third, Chinese Military and Naval power is gigantically rising across military bases.

e.g. String of Pearls in Indian Ocean Region.

Fourth, its soft power is propelled via programs like Dialogue of Civilizations at Baoa Forum or its Confucianism Institutes.

The above shows a combination of methods that establish Chinese hegemony.

This 'smart power' is both ideological & material  
(J. Nye)



However, China is also being labelled as a 'Predatory hegemon'. The idea of hegemony in IR helps us understand coercive tactics like debt trap diplomacy or gunboat diplomacy.

The world order is deconstructed if we try to see through the hegemonic methods of superpowers. This can enable any nation to navigate through the choppy waters of IR.

C Rajanathan's strategy of deft handling and nimble diplomacy is a key way for countries like India.

3(b)

Do you agree that the world is fast emerging as a multipolar world? Give suitable examples and arguments to support your point of view. (15 Marks)

As held by Fareed Zakaria, 21<sup>st</sup> century depicts,

'Decline of the West & Rise of the Rest'

It signifies the end of the unipolar world order as well as the American century.

A multipolar world order is said to be emerging. The primary reason is the complex interdependence (Robert Keohane, J. Nye) between nations. No one actor can dictate the rules. This is true especially in economic sense as

- i- Rise of plurilateral economic arrangements like RCEP
- ii- Rise of emerging market economies like India

-iii- Cobweb Model of John Bownes can help us understand how global powers are intertwined with China [largest trade partner of EU, USA]

-iv- Global supply chain shock post COVID.

Militarily also multipolarity can be observed with emergence of groupings like QUAD for Indo Pacific, SCO to counter extremism, AUKUS etc. Hard power is no longer concentrated rendering 'bandwagoning' with superpowers obsolete.

Horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons also showcases multipolarity. As per the Polarity of Power thesis, this is most unstable as there are too many fingers in the trigger.

The  
With emergence of Non State Actors

like 'Big Tech' (whose revenues are greater than GDP of many countries) is a new pole in the world order. This is impacting political processes of superpowers. Eg Meddling in US elections in Cambridge Analytica.

However, as per Yogesh Joshi, multipolarity is only transitional when power shifts occur. Presently the Cold War 2.0 is said to be b/w US and China. But the Ukraine crisis shows the resurgence of a revisionist Russia.

History is being written and meanwhile as per C Rajamohan: India has long waited for the multipolar order to arrive & must make most of it now that its here.



Que.3(c)

What do you understand by Euro-centrism? What challenges does it pose to the study of comparative politics? (15 Marks)

Eurocentrism is the use of preexisting and preconceived notions of western scholars based on their history, culture, ideologies to analyse the realities of other geocultural entities.

It has been widely pointed out in different works of oriental scholars. Eg:

- i- Bhikhu Parekh's 'Rethinking Multiculturalism' holds that West cannot claim monopoly over toleration & inclusion
- ii- Confucian 'discipline & order' is seen in negative lens by eurocentric scholars
- iii- John Stratheby, Seeley refuted that there was any India or will ever be.



This is very detrimental to the study of Comparative Politics as it attempts an interdisciplinary analysis of political & socio economic conditions.

It reduces the scope of the discipline as the practices are reduced to the limited understanding of West.

Takashi Shogomori calls this as Intellectual reductionism. The Occidental studies like Indian Political Thought, Chinese Political Thought are disregarded, even though they gave important scholastic precursors like Kautilya, Sun Tzu.

Despite globalisation, we see a cultural bias in Oriental contributions

No culture has grown in isolation since the dawn of humankind & must not be seen in binaries as per Nomi J. Bhambhani.

Edward Said's works also highlight the challenges of eurocentric interpretations in the progress of the discipline.

For concrete analysis, scholars & thinkers must go into the 'Veil of Ignorance' of Rawls to establish unbiased and value free deductions. This can enhance the credibility of Comparative Politics.

Eg. Beyond Aristotle's 158 constitutions, ancient Indian Village Republics like Vajji offer a great insight into democratic trends like Sabha & Samiti.



Que.5(a)

Limitations of traditional approach to comparative politics. (10 Marks)

Comparative Politics attempts at the interdisciplinary analysis of institutions and processes.

Aristotle compared 158 constitutions and pioneered the traditional approach. This approach remained central till the World War II.

However it has various limitations. It is criticised as a legal institutional approach. This remained relevant for comparison within Western countries as they were at similar levels of development. But it loses significance in context of the developing world.

It fails to account for the difference in the theory and context in the newly created states [decolonisation]. Its utility is thus limited for prismatic (CFW Rights) societies' at the crossroads of transition, and 'soft states' which are unable to enforce laws (G Myrdal).

It was however a pioneering approach for IR and formed the bases for further analysis by the Modern approach, eg systems theory.

Que.5(b)

"Realisation of common standards of human rights is still a challenging task. (10 Marks)

Human Rights trace their roots to the Lockean tradition of Right to life, liberty and property. Today, they are codified by the UDHR, ICCPR, ICSER.

The realisation of common standards is however still a challenging task. The primary question is 'Who is a human?'. This debate forms the basis of the recent Roe v. Wade controversy as well ie does a foetus qualify as human.

Further it is expanded to modern 'Problems w/o Passports' (Kofi Annan) ie whether a terrorist would be given the same rights.

Eg Capital punishment to Kasab by India  
was globally frowned upon.

Further there is no consensus on which rights. The imposition of Western values in the name of human rights is a key concern for orientalists.

Eg Right to wear Hijab

The need of the hour is solidarity & communication (social constructivists).

Js mill's 'Harm Principle' can be used to establish rights acceptable to all.

Inventors invent new privileges & disadvantages and new territorial disputes like that



Que.5(c)

### New International Economic Order. (10 Marks)

The New International Economic Order (NIEO) was proposed by India at the NAM summit in Algiers in 1973.

This was in response to the Liberal International Economic Order

proposed by US and the creation of G7 to preserve it.

These NAM countries advocated for socialistic principles that could contain the exploitative tendencies of Capitalism.

They wanted West to take historical responsibility for their colonial and imperial practices that were the

root cause of present day deprivation  
and poverty.

1970s also marked the emergence  
of neoliberal tendencies (Reaganism).

The market fundamentalism of MNCs  
was most detrimental to the cause  
of NAM.

Though the idea did not take off,  
it ignited many significant debates.

The third world solidarity was temporarily  
lost but reemerged in 2001 at Doha  
Round of WTO.

Thus NIEO has been the glue that  
has solidified the peripheries.



Que.5(d)

### UN peacekeeping and peacebuilding. (10 Marks)

United Nations embarked on a mission of 'Peace' in 1945 after humankind's two most ravaging world wars.

To realise its ideals of collective security, UN peacekeeping missions were initiated. They gained success in conflicts but gave primacy to both sides consenting to their interference.

India has been a significant contributor. An all women force was sent for peacekeeping in Liberia. Other developing countries like Nepal and Bangladesh are also major contributors. However, they are denied a voice in



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decisions of ~~UNSC~~ which are still limited to those who provide funds.

The entire budget falls short of its mission of powers around 0.5% of global GDP.

Further with rise of ethnic clashes (SP Huntington) and insecurity dilemmas (Mohd Ayub), there is a need to move towards 'Peace Building'.

A constructive approach to proactively reduce communication gap can help UN in achieving its ideals. Indian values of 'Panchsheel' and 'Vasudeva Kutumbakam' must form the ethical impulse in the way forward.

Que.5(e)

Future of WTO. (10 Marks)

The establishment of WTO in 1995 after the Uruguay Round of Negotiations represents the peak of the liberal world order.

However, the present day status of WTO is in doubt. With US blocking appointments to the key Dispute Resolution Body, the efficacy of WTO is undermined. It has no teeth to ensure a rules based order.

To safeguard its future, significant reforms are required. Joseph Stiglitz suggests addressing the democratic deficit.

Eg Dispute resolution is expensive and western



lawyer's paradise.

India recommends abolishing the politics of boxes as it puts the developing countries at a significant disadvantage.

The total subsidy must be considered.

The pandemic showed the insensitivity of IPR norms when patent waivers for vaccine were refused.

The Ottawa Communiqué recommendations of qualified majority and plurilateral agreements must be considered.

Reforms via inclusion and participation can prevent the death of WTO in a world that is favouring gated globalisation & regionalism.



Que.6(a)

Has economic globalization changed international politics? Discuss how increased economic integration influences foreign policies of the states? (20 Marks)

Economic globalisation is the inevitable integration of global markets, capital, goods and people at at a pace never witnessed before [as per Thomas Friedman in The Lexus and the Olive] (J. Nye)

The world is closer than ever and has turned into a 'Global Village' (Marshall McLuhan). This has significant impact on international politics.

First it creates complex interdependence b/w nations. Eg Germany reliant on Nord Stream of Russia despite Ukraine crisis

Second, it has given rise to international economic institutions

that influence the global monetary/financial and trade order. Eg IMF, World Bank, WTO. in line with liberal institutionalism for a rules based order

Thirdly, as per NeoMarxists, it has perpetuated the drain of wealth from the peripheries to the core (Wallerstein). This has perpetuated development of underdevelopment in international politics.

(B. Amin)

Fourthly, as people migrate for economic opportunities, a new diaspora diplomacy is emerging. Eg Lobbying in USA to lift trade ban for India during COVID.

The face of international politics

has changed. This creates implications for the foreign policy makers.

There is a rise in importance of Track II diplomacy. Eg Business groups like FICCI and CII now accompany foreign delegations.

The economic interdependence creates geoeconomic power. Eg Taiwan holds 80% supply of specialized semiconductors. This gives it leverage in negotiations.

The emergence of trading states like Germany, Japan or autonomous regions like Hong Kong, Singapore showcase that military power in foreign policy calculus is limited and expensive.

The global supply chain shocks in the post pandemic era has given rise to foreign policy negotiations ~~side~~ which diversify import basket & increase self reliance. Eg India's Atmanirbhar Bharat.

The impact of economic globalisation on the politics and foreign policy shows that Marx was right in calling the 'Economic structure as the basic structure'.

However many eternal elements of international politics remain

Eg struggle for power in Ukraine or South China sea.

Yet economy is now a strong pillar that determines global relations especially with emergence of MNCs, Big Tech.

Que.6(b)

The Security Council's objective was to stop a conflict by addressing its cause. But, for years now, it has taken on the subsidiary pursuit of being a humanitarian council. Substantiate? (15 Marks)

The UN Security Council comprises of five permanent and ten non permanent members. It has the mandate of preventing conflict and propelling peace in global affairs.

However the body has been less than effective in addressing the cause of conflicts. S. Taishankar calls it a 'jammed vehicle'.

This is due to the power politics of the 15, being divided into West & East until end of Cold war and now using a 'joker card' to disrupt solutions in

their quasi negotiations (Joseph Nogee)

The continuations of eternal disputes like Israel - Palestine, India - Pakistan, North & South Korea shows ineffectiveness. Further the unilateral war on Iraq and the powerlessness in Ukraine crisis shows failure to stop conflicts.

Without addressing great power politics and their proxy wars, UNSC has only taken on the subsidiary pursuit of humanitarianism on issues of Afghanistan, Syria, Yemen, Nagorno Karabakh etc. (Mouthi)

Its sanctions for human rights violations in areas like Xinjiang, Chenchnya etc are also criticised as

biased. The blocking of global terrorist Masr Saeed by China shows how regional issues dominate global decisions.

However, the limited success of UNSC makes it an institution worth investing in as per Shashi Tharoor.

Former Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld held that

'UN was created not to establish heaven on Earth but to prevent it from becoming hell'

As the only global institution with teeth, it must be made representative & inclusive by addressing the democratic deficit (J. Stiglitz)

e.6(c)

Despite the many advances that human civilization has achieved, it continues to face multiples risks and threats to human security, transnational terrorism is one of the most significant security challenge. Elaborate. (15 Marks)

21<sup>st</sup> century is fast being described as an era of 'Problems without Passports'

(Kofi Annan)

Despite its unparalleled progress, human civilization faces multiple threats, and some of these may be the product of this progress.

Recently, US Army listed climate change as a global security threat. It is a defining problem of our generation that is ravaging homes & creating a new class of 'climate refugees'. It is impacting the

poor nations disproportionately.

Eg Indonesia's change of capital -

Rise in sea level in Oceania's islands.

Another pertinent risk to humans is their Health security. 2020 showed

how a tiny virus can trigger global lockdown.

There was loss of life, liberty, livelihood.

Transnational terrorism is one of the biggest challenges. It can be traced to

SP Huntington's clash of civilisations. The

opposing forces of modernity and tradition

are sparking fundamentalism & polarisation

Eg terrorism in the name of religion: <sup>Nagorno</sup> Karabkh, <sup>ISIS, Houthi rebels</sup>

Further, the geopolitical rivalries since historical times are giving rise to



proxy actors like terrorists as per realists

Globalisation has enhanced the movement of persons across borders creating threats of terror. Organised crime, money laundering and human trafficking have become significant challenges. There is also the risk of nuclear theft which raises concern for accidental war.

The many challenges faced by humanity require solidarity. As held by Kishore Mahbubani, it doesn't matter which country wins but whether humanity wins.

We must use the approach of social constructivists to overcome these peculiar concerns.