

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Time Allowed: 3 hr.

Max. Marks: 250

Instructions to Candidate

- There are EIGHT questions. Candidate has to attempt FIVE questions in all.
- Question no. 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, THREE are to be attempted.
- Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the Admission certificate which must be stated clearly on the cover of this Question-cum-Answer (QCA) booklet in the space provided. No marks will be given for answers written in medium other than the authorized one.
- Word limit in questions, wherever specified, should be adhered to.
- Attempts of questions shall be counted in chronological order. Unless struck off, attempt of a question shall be counted even if attempted partly. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the answer book must be clearly struck off.

Name Kumari Sunita

Mobile No.

Date 05 Aug 2017

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2. Invigilator Signature _____

REMARKS**GS SCORE**

SECTION A

1. Answer the following questions: (150 Words Each) (10 × 5 = 50)
- (a) Political Sociology approach of international relations
 - (b) National interest is contested but widely accepted concept
 - (c) Features of political parties of third world countries
 - (d) Peripheral Realism
 - (e) Similarities and differences between Neo Realism and Neo liberalism.

(a) Political sociology approach of IR views international relations as a result of sociological, cultural, political interaction between the actors. It's not just

→ Political sociology views IR as a product of relations between various societies. They get shaped by their environment. They see states as systems and as function of inputs and outputs.

→ Easton and Gabriel Almond have given the theory of political systems as socio-legal institutions involving inputs and making policies as outputs with feedback mechanism

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from the environment.

→ The cybernetics model → communication theory of Karl Deutsch also shows how communication between various actors of International arena shapes policies.

→ The sociology model is also influenced by consideration of role of civil society, pressure groups, political parties, interest groups in shaping the International relations.

→ Gabriel Almond says there were four components of such a system -

- ① Political sociology ② Interest articulation
- ③ Interest aggregation ④ Political communication

Thus, political sociology approach takes into consideration the socio-legal apparatus. Though it has been criticised on grounds of conceptual clarity, operational efficiency & ideological neutrality.

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(b) National Interest is the collective interest of a ~~law~~ nation or we can say the socio-legal claim a state can make.

It has been defined in various ways throughout history by different schools of thinkers.

① Realists → Classical Realists as Hans Morgenthau believe national interest is defined in terms of Power. A state is in order to secure its national interest which is security strives for military power.

② Liberalists → They believe it's basically the interest of society as a whole, their interest of security, education, health etc. So, national interest is defined in terms of the people of nation.

③ Marxists → Marxists as Lenin, Stalin, François, Wallerstein believe

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National interest is the interest of capitalist or bourgeoisie class. They never consider the interest of other classes.

(iv) Post-Modernist → They have come to belief national interest in wider terms of human security, environment etc.

Thus, though various schools have their definition of national interest they all agree, there is some or other form of national interest for which all nations strove for. It can be military, economic or social, environment, human etc.

(v) Political parties are defined as groups of individuals adhering to a common ideology, participating in the politics of a nation. The third world countries was freed

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after 2nd World War were nascent democracies like India or caught in turmoil like African countries of Nigeria, Congo etc.

- The political parties in these countries like the developed countries do not always adhere to a strict political ideology. Like in U.S we have the Republican or Conservative Parties with clear cut ideology. In India we have parties like Congress with no affiliation. It's mostly centrist.
- Castes, Religion, ethnicity has a role to play as in formation of parties in Third world countries but in advanced countries, it's not so. Akali Dal in Punjab etc.
- Political Parties in Third world many a times represent narrow interest of a region, caste etc. They don't look for the bigger picture as whole.

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Thus, political parties in third world countries didn't get shaped with maturity of social forces but by exigencies of time and situations.

(d) Peripheral Realism.

Realism was the oldest tradition in study of International Relations. They believe in power 3 S - Statis, Security and Survival.

The classical Realists as Hans J. Morgenthau believed in accumulation of power to ensure survival in the international anarchical system.

Peripheries are the third world countries which get exploited by core countries.

(Q) Neo-Realism and Neo-liberalism are the continuation of traditional theories of Realism and Liberalism

→ Both the theories believe that the international system is anarchical.

Neo-Realists view anarchy as a constraint to foreign policy and Neo-liberalists minimize the importance of state survival.

→ Both believe that states can cooperate. but neo-realists say that it's difficult to identify the areas of cooperation, hard to maintain it. Neo-liberalists on the other hand believe areas of mutual interests can be identified easily and states can cooperate.

→ Neo-Realists like Greco gave the concept of absolute and relative gains. Both the schools believe states strive for gain. Neo-Realists

- Remarks

believe it's absolute gain (zero-sum game) they try to achieve whereas Neo-liberalists believe they want relative gains, they are not bothered about other players.

→ Neo-Realists believe it's the capability of states which make them act not intentions but Neo-liberalists believe it's their intentions.

So, both the neo-schools had certain similarities and differences. Neo-liberalists believe in importance of institutions in securing world peace and mutual cooperation. But neo-realists minimize this one.

2. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Is it correct to say National interest is closely associated with National Security? Discuss changing Notion of National Security? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Political economy approach has upper hand to traditional approach in comparative politics? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Discuss intricacies of Globalisation and Human Rights? (250 Words) (20 Marks)

(a) National interest can be redefined as collective interest of a nation or a legal claim which a state seems to have. Different schools of thoughts have believed in different notions of national interest.

→ National security very much gets defined by what one considers as a national interest. Again the concept of security as traditionally the protection of territory, sovereignty has changed to modern notions of human security, environmental security etc.

→ For eg. @ Realists → The classical realists ^{as Morgenstern} and even the precursors

Remarks -

of realist school as Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes... saw security or survival as the main national interest. So, Morgenthau says Power - accumulation of power is main interest of a nation to ensure its survival. They believe in 3 S - Statism, Security, Survival.

Liberalists → They believe it's not only survival & or security that is national interest. From classical liberals as Adam Smith, Ricardos they believe economic prosperity is also one of the national interest. Education, health, prosperity of masses is also national interest. Hence, national security has other dimensions than military, its social, economic, political as well.

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Marxists → Marxists believe national interest is just the interest of the capitalist classes and not the masses. Robert Cox says the capitalist countries by means of hegemony have made third world countries believe their notions of national interest & security.

Immanuel Wallerstein also shows by the exploitation by his World system theory - the peripheries interest getting exploited by core

Feminists → They don't believe that national interest should be defined in terms of male conception of security. J. Tickner argues security should not only be from military threats as women have more chances of getting attacked by men they know.

Post-Modernists → They believe in

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new concepts of human security (from poverty, hunger) and thus stop radicalization like ISIS, environmental security like global warming.

Thus, notion of national security has changed from traditional concepts of power to environmental and human security.

(b) ReDD: Comparative Politics is a phenomena of twentieth century which arose as a means to understand the complex system of politics. In words of Gabriel Almond - "Comparative politics is a movement, not just a branch of political science".

The traditional approach was static, it had a narrow

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conception of politics. It was socio-legal approach.

- Political economy approach of comparative politics starting from the days of Smith & Ricardo. tries to show p economics affect politics and vice-versa.
- It is multi-dimensional in nature as opposed to the monistic view of traditional approach.
- The political economy approach has been used by Marxists to show the recent politics have been shaped. Immanuel Wallerstein, A. G. Frank, Samir Amin all show how the present political relations have been shaped by the economic interests.
- The world system theory by Immanuel Wallerstein shows the

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exist relation between core, semi-peripheries and periphery. How the strong political systems of advanced countries by economic means control the weak political system of developing countries.

The political economy approach though has been criticised by many scholars as being too much focussed on economic relations, it is one of the very few models to describe the contemporary situations in third world countries.

- (C) 'Globalisation' is defined as the phenomena of striving to create a Global village without boundaries. That is it aims to eliminate the barriers between countries, the whole world is considered a single system.

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Globalisation is not a recent phenomena. With the advent of Bretton Woods Institutions like IMF, World Bank after 2nd world war, globalisation was used as a tool of exploitation.

As Neo-colonist Kwame Nkrumah argues, these institutes serve as a means used by developed countries to exploit the third world countries.

→ The conditions of already well off people has improved by Globalisation not the poor. It's the advanced countries which are reaping the benefits and not the developing.

→ Realists believe it's economic instead dependence and not integration.

+ Liberalists believe Globalisation has increased the choices of people. They have become more capable of

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exercising their rights. Education, health, all have got a filip.

→ Feminists believe Globalisation has served only the rights of women in developed countries, the elite section. The women in post-colonial countries are exploited and their situation has degraded more so of the environmental effects of Globalisation.

→ Globalisation has lead to Globalisation of diseases also. Like Swine Flu, Zika etc so, Human beings are not protected in this globalised world.

→ Globalisation according to Huntington has brought Clash of Civilisations due to destroying the traditional fabric of societies.

Thus, human rights and Globalisation are intricately linked. It had both

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positive and negative effects on it.

3. Attempt all questions:

- (a) New social movement is not completely new in India, Comment?
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Evaluate one party, two party and multi-party systems in context of their nature and functional aspects.
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) The major schools of International relations share certain assumptions while differ majorly as well on the nature and functioning of global political economy. Discuss.
(250 Words) (20 Marks)

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4. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Comment on the Role of Robert Cox and Andrew Linklater to the Post-Marxist tradition of International Relations? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Terrorism is a type of political violence and it serves political ends, elucidate with suitable examples? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Feminist critique of theories of International Relations? (250 Words) (20 Marks)

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SECTION B

5. Answer the following questions: (150 Words. $10 \times 5 = 50$)

- (a) Compare and contrast Globalization with Globalism.
- (b) What are the characteristics of the Democratic regimes of Developed world?
- (c) Critically Examine the Institutional approach of Comparative politics.
- (d) How far idea of peace offered in functionalism and neo-functionalism based on transnational ties is different to each other?
- (e) "The end of Cold War was due to culmination of several factors in a very short span of time". Comment.

(a) Globalisation was a phenomena of eliminating boundaries and barriers and creating a single world market or village. It has effects on the social and traditional culture of place as well. The education, economic system all has got influenced in developing countries as a result of Globalisation. It is also criticised as the destroying the social fabric of underdeveloped world as they are not strong enough. Indigenous forces are weak, so they need protection.

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'Globalism' on the other hand means universalization of ~~of the~~ everything has become global in the global world. The disease, organisations, etc. like Zika, Swine flu etc. There are universal commons, common problems as global warming etc. which needs to be tackled.

- (b) Democracy is the rule by majority the rule of people. So, democratic regimes of developed world are peace-loving. They don't go for war as alleged by the realists.

Michael Doyle gave the Democratic Peace Theory which suggests and shows how democracies try to

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resolve mutual conflict through cooperation and not threat & war.

(i) The major features of democracies in developed world are

(a) Moral constraint Hypothesis

They consider fighting or threatening another democracy as illegitimate.

(b) Pacific foreign policy Hypothesis

As they were concerned with the public policy, they are pacific in their foreign policy approach.

(iii) Zone of Peace → They don't fight another democracies, which is the zone of peace but can engage in war with non-democracies if required.

Thus, democracies by nature of people are peace loving.

(c) The Constitutional approach of comparative politics believe that the

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institutions have a role to play in the political systems. It's not only the political, economic or cultural factors that shape politics.

Transnational institutes also play a role in shaping the politics.

^{Neo-Marxist}
Polintaz believes that State as a institution controls the policies and decisions. It has an autonomy by which it controls the other classes from controlling it.

- (d) ~~Places~~ Functionalism and neo-functionalism through belonging to same tradition had different views.
- ① Functionalists believe maximisation

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of military power can lead to peace i.e. survival in the anarchic world is only ensured through power, that too military.

On the other hand neo-functionalists or structuralist like Kenneth Waltz believes in maximisation of power but not only military but social, economic and political.

- (II) Functionalists believe that states can cooperate only in case of absolute gains or zero sum game. On the other hand neo-functionalists believe states can cooperate even in case of relative gain.
- (III) Functionalists don't believe in idea of deterrence as a peace policy while neo-functionalists believe in that.
- (IV) Functionalists believe in ~~a~~ social peace can result by solving.

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the less disputed issues first and then the high disputed (from ~~low~~ high politics to low politics) like economic issues first and then after confidence building the political issues.

While Neo functionalists believe nothing is non-political in nature. All issues are political. So, one should move from high disputes to low. Track I to Track III diplomacy.

~~For~~

- (c) Cold war was the period after World war where there were hot issues and tension between U.S. & USSR blocks but it never translated to full-fledged open war. It was an ideological tension

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between two blocks.

- ⑩ But between 1989-1991 so many events happened which lead to culmination of cold war.
- ⑪ Fall of USSR disintegration.
- ⑫ Gorbachev Policies
- ⑬ Fall of Berlin Wall
- ⑭ Korean war
- ⑮ Vietnamese War

The cold war had divided the whole world into two blocks. The block led by US had capitalism as main ideology and block led by USSR had socialism. When the soviet race as a result of cold war started b/w the countries, Russian economy already due to its fragile condition couldn't stop poverty, unemployment to take grip. As a result there was large scale discontentment.

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The USSR disintegrated as a result of its inward so the other block was no more there. So, Cold War ended as giving way to US as the global hegemon.

Remarks

6. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Although heavily reliant on the notion of Power, the Realist notion is far from a common understanding of Power at Global level? Is it correct to assume that Realism gives only secondary importance to Peace and Cooperation?
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Conceptions of Clash of civilization offers cultural understanding of International relations explain:
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) What are the different meanings of system in international relations, Explain the Mortan Kaplan model?
(250 Words) (20 Marks)

(a) Realist tradition has a very long history starting from its precursors Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes to classical Realists as Hans J Morgenthau and structural Realists Keneth Waltz all giving importance to one means of survival — "Power".
→ They realist belief of S.S. - State, Survival and security itself is based on the notion power. Acquiring and assimilating military power to maximum. The Machiavelli also says a Prince should be powerful, as a lion.
→ The structural realist as Keneth

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expanded this notion of power to include economic, social, political power as well but still the main focus always remained acquiring of Power.

- The states who are the main actors are in constant struggle for power to ensure their survival.
 - Power at global level is not understood as only the military power, as argued by the Marxists such as Lyamcsie power at international level is exercised by hegemony - imposition of common set of beliefs as common sense. US after World War through its various Bretton Woods Institutions and Globalise neo-colonial policies has done that.
- ~~It is not true~~

Remarks

Though it seems Realists are always talking of struggle and war but they give importance to peace and cooperation as well.

Neo-Realists as Grotius gave the concept of absolute and relative gain and argued states can cooperate if they want so. It's not the nature of individual but the structure which has led to insecurity about the security dilemma.

(b) Clash of Civilisations is explained by Huntington is a theory which shows how Globalisation has led to identity crisis in different countries.

Albert Einstein once said - "The third world war will be fought with nuclear arsenals, and then

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the fourth with "sticks & stones".

→ The west has dominated over the East with all its policies and has developed nuclear arsenals capable of destroying the masses.

→ There is a identity crisis mostly in the Islamist fundamentalist countries as Middle East. The invasion of Iraq, sanctions of Iran all show how US hegemony has grabbed the entire world.

→ The clash in new world will not be of ideologies as the IInd world war but of religion, ethnicity, culture, tradition.

→ After the 9/11 attacks of US, Francis Fukuyama gave the concept theory of End of history. The terrorism has become globalised as well in a view to assert itself.

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The destruction of social fabric of third world countries has put a doubt in mind of conservationists.

So, it's very necessary in the contemporary world to understand the cultural aspects of various nations. The rise of ISIS and Boko Haram, the transnational crimes, genocides will can be controlled if the civilisations are allowed to thrive.

- (C) System in international relations is undefined was born organic intensity which takes certain inputs in form of demands and gives outputs as public policies.

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(c) System in ^{international} ~~internal~~ relation is understood as the manifestations or arrangement of different countries in the power relation. Morton Kaplan gave 6 models of systems in International relations.

① Balance of Power System

It is defined as an arrangement where the share of power among countries is such that the resultant is zero. No country or group has an upper hand.

② Bipolar System

The Bipolar system has bi means two poles. It is further classified into

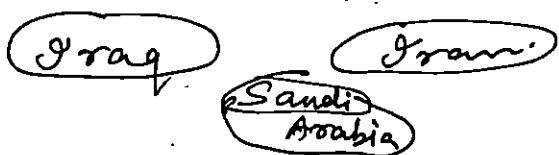
③ Tight Bipolar System → Like US and USSR after Cold war

US

USSR

Remarks

(b) loose Bipolar system \rightarrow there can be multipoles, a balance can be there



(ii) Universal Actor System \rightarrow After the Cold War system, US emerged as universal actor. This system is characterised by the domination of an universal actor. There is none other who can match it.

(iv) Hierarchical system

(v) Unit veto system

The Morton Kaplan theory gives a broad understanding of various arrangements which can emerge in international relations. Critics have argued that the first three models are only relevant, the other two are difficult to

Remarks exist.

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7. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Collective security is a "relative utopia -one that tries to be realistic but retains elements of fantasy'. Discuss. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) International Disarmament and Non-nuclear proliferation regimes are reflection of 'global division of power', analyse the statement. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) What are the major subdivisions or distinctions of the term "Balance of Power'? Why is the relationship between balance of power and stability of the international system highly contested and far from any conclusion? Discuss. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

② Collective security is a concept in International Relations is defined as an arrangement between states where "all fight for one, and one's security is security for all". They have come into an arrangement where the threat perception for one is treated as threat perception for all.

→ Collective security is possible between states as Hans J. Morgenthau a classical realist says - "the collective military capability of state(s) can crush the aggressor".
 → So, in collective security they

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pool their resources or we can say stand together and fight in case of aggression.

→ League of Nations formed as a result of 1st world war was first of collective security institutions.

But failure of League of Nations shows collective security is a relative utopia.

→ The second world war resulted even after such a mechanism being in place. The dominant powers never joined it.

→ In a world, where some players are more powerful than others and bipolar system is there no collective security can hold good.

→ Even after UN came into existence after Second World War, US has

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never stopped bullying other countries for it's gains. US invasion of Iraq despite UN not agreeing for it is one such example.

So, it's a fantasy to believe in contemporary world where League of Nations has failed and UN has just nominal importance to believe collective security can be a realistic phenomena.

- (B) After the World War II ended, the world was divided into two blocks led by US & USSR. This led to arms race between the two countries and within 2-3 decades human had the capability to wipe it's kind out of the earth. With the arms race, came agreements also for disarmament by both the groups as START-I,

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SALT-I etc.

- Internationally, within and outside these blocks also there were countries who started acquiring arms, nuclear arsenals.
- In 1972, came the NPT or Nuclear Proliferation treaty with 4 nuclear and 45 non-nuclear countries.
- It banned the non-nuclear countries to have nuclear arms or technology even for civilian purposes.
- It allowed only signatories to have technology transfer also.

The CTBT- Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty

PTBT- Partial Test Ban Treaty
all were partial towards the nuclear powers. They did not want the third world or emerging countries to become nuclear.

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capable. India, Cuba, Israel and Pakistan are presently only non-signatories to NPT.

→ They nuclear disarmament was imposed only on the countries who were emerging ones like Iran (US sanctions).

→ The nuclear proliferation regimes also ~~were~~ were directed to save the status quo of global division of power. Thus, International disarmament and non-nuclear proliferation regimes are reflection of global division of power.

(C) Balance of Power is one of the key terms in International Relations. It's said "If there was no B.O.P world history would be history of wars. It is an arrangement

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where share of power is equal or unequal.

There is an arrangement of power between different nations in the international world.

Realists believe the world is anarchic and there is a natural Balance of Power which holds it together.

Neo-Realists believe in acquired Balance of Power. Whenever there is a mismatch, the balancer balances it. Now, there can be various Balance of Power divisions.

Unipolar World → The world after end of Cold War with emergence of US as global hegemon is a unipolar world. (Uni) - one Polar - Pole only one centre of power.

Remarks

- (i) Bipolar → when two centres of power are there, like the US & USSR after 2nd world war.
- (ii) Multipolar → when there are multiple poles, like the contemporary world with China and India also emerging as powers.

The Balance of Power and stability of International system is linked as per many scholars like before 19th century Netherlands was the centre of power, then came Britain and lead to colonialism, twentieth century was century of America and 21st century will be a Asian century.

→ whenever there was a mismatch in B.O.P, wars occurred. The security dilemma of nations have

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forced them to go for wars. World has seen W.W I & II.

So, critics say it's collective security which can stabilise the International system as against B.O.P. But past experiences have shown even 'collective security' could not ~~not~~ system as League of Nations could not prevent Second world war from happening.

So, ~~as~~ no conclusion can be drawn for which system

B.O.P. as argued by realists or collective security as liberalists is good for stability of International systems.

Remarks

8. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Critically analyse the relevance of the Non-Aligned movement today? What were its major contradictions since its inception? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) What is Almond's classification of pressure groups? How are pressure groups different from Interest groups in their structure and function? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Discuss the challenges being faced by global governance structures today with special emphasis on Global Financial organizations like World Bank and IMF? (250 Words) (20 Marks)

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