

GS SCORE

An Institute for Civil Services

IAS TOPPER'S

TEST COPY

ARNAV SHIVENDU

RANK-283 (CSE 2018)

GS MAINS 2018: POLITICAL SCIENCE



www.iasscore.in

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Time Allowed: 3 hrs.

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 ARNAV SHIVENDU

Mobile No. _____

Date _____

Signature Arnav

1. Invigilator Signature _____

2. Invigilator Signature _____

REMARKS**GS SCORE**

ARMED GUARD
81180101
81180101
~~81180101~~

SECTION A

1. Answer the following questions: (150 Words Each) (10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) What are the main features and assumptions of the Critical / Post Marxist theory of International Relations?
- (b) Neo-functionalism as a theory of Regional Integration.
- (c) Basic Assumptions of Systems theory in general
- (d) Comment on the emergence and evolution of Dependency theory.
- (e) Discuss the merits and demerits of the phenomena of globalization on a functional basis.

(a) Critical / Post Marxist theory of international relations draws its inspiration from both Marxists and Post modernists.

Some of its features are -

- (1) Global world order should be understood in respect to social and economic forces generated by capitalist order.
- (2) State is an instrument of elites in developed nations
- (3) Theory and ideas used by us to understand the global world order is all ideological in nature.
- (4) All knowledge, thus, is for someone for some purpose (Robert Cox). It allows the

Remarks

social forces to either change the system or maintain status quo.

(5) They call for political action to change the existing structure and utilise the knowledge for human emancipation.

Some notable scholars are Robert Cox, Keohane. They criticise realists for spreading false understanding of reality as they contend that there is no single truth to be discovered.

(b) Neo functionalism is a school of thought that originated from the functionist school.

It is viewed as a theory of regional integration after its success in the formation of European Union, ASEAN.

It believes that non-conflictual, non-ideological issues should be the ground for coordination. Once the negotiations on these issues are successful there will be an automatic spill over effect over conflictual issues.

Remarks

However, it differs from functionalists. Ernst Haas, pioneer of neo functionalism despite being influenced from Mitrany does not object to cooperation on technical and political matters simultaneously.

Despite its success, it has been criticised for being slow to achieve success. Recent BREXIT has further questioned the legitimacy of the theory. However, it continues to be the best model for cooperation in the contemporary times.

(C) Systems theory as a terminology has become prominent since the emergence of Behaviourism which sought to transform political science into a scientific discipline.

James Rosewarne calls one the most important advancement in the field of system theory as

international relations.

Gabriel Almond and David Easton

used systems theory for the comparison and study of political systems based on input and output.

On the contrary, Morton Kaplan used systems theory for giving different models of international system such as bipolar world model, unit veto model etc.

McClelland describes systems approach as a world view. It considers the international system in totality based on the interaction among the units.

Stanley Hoffman considers international system as sub units in the state of interaction characterised by its scope of objectives and the means adopted to achieve to achieve the objective.

Thus, according to systems approach, every system has a purpose and it evolves and adapts according to it.

Remarks

(d) Dependency theory emerged in the 1960s as a critic to liberal school. It emerged as a response to the stagnant economic growth in Latin American countries.

A.G Frankel, Fernando Cardoso belonging to Latin American school were dejected and questioned as to why the Latin American economy remained stagnant despite having followed free trade on the advice ^{of} liberal western nations.

On studying, they realised that the rationale behind free trade was that the economically powerful nations could exploit the resources of the less developed ^(periphery) nations. They also found that the Latin American economy grew stronger every time the global economy was in a ^{economic} slowdown and the links between them and West were stagnant.

This was in sharp contrast to

Rostow's main anti communist manifesto which contested that all economies pass through the same steps of development.

Thus, they realised that the real intention was to keep them away from the influence of Communist regime.

In response to the above mentioned exploitation, Nkrumah coined the term neo-colonialism.

Immanuel Wallerstein was influenced by dependency school and, thus, gave the systems theory.

(C) Globalisation is the flow of goods, capital, people and ideas across border. Kenichi Ohmae calls it global village while McLuhan calls it Borderless world.

Merits of globalisation -

(i) Economic interdependence increased resulting in trans-national production

Remarks

- based on low cost.
- (2) Lowering of tariff and non-tariff barriers.
 - (3) Increased exports and import, therefore, better accessibility to world market for consumers.
 - (4) Increased flow of foreign capital, thus, resulting adoption of new technology.
 - (5) Reduced poverty, better lifestyle and increased employment.

Demerits of globalisation —

- (1) Imposes domestic manufacturing units to uneven competition, resulting in job losses.
- (2) State of art technology remains confined to developed nations.
- (3) Exchange rate of nations become volatile.
- (4) Erodes economic sovereignty.
- (5) Countries have to follow prescriptions of WTO and World Bank, IMF which are

Remarks

western dominated.

(6) Tariff and non tariff barriers continued to be used by the West against developing nations.

(7) ^{Shows} Recent report by Oxfam says ~~1%~~ of 73% global wealth is held by top 1%. It also further stress on the increased inter and intra state disparity.

Therefore, globalisation remains a contested concept from functional perspective.

2. Attempt all questions:

- (a) What are the vital features of political sociology approach of international relations?
Discuss with views of eminent scholars. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) What do you understand by the term 'Peripheral Realism' and how does it differ from dominant notion of Realism? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Any debate on the meaning of National Interest will always be pluralistic and far from consensus. Examine. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

G (a) Political sociology as a discipline studies the relation between government and citizens and between decision making authorities and the target group of the same.

Runciman and Lipset trace evolution of political sociology to the onset of industrial revolution when the feudal system gave way to modern capitalist system.

Some of the features of political sociology are -

- (1) it studies the import of state and other institutions and evolution of political community.
- (2) it tries to understand the voter behaviour and the political opinion

Remarks

expressed.

John Hughes regards political sociology as study of human behaviour in sociological framework.

(3) Political sociology deals with social stratification based on class, caste, religion etc.

Beteille's and Rajni Kothari's work on role of caste, Yogendra Yadav's electoral behaviour are a case in point.

(4) Political sociology also analyses how political arrangement are based on culture and society.

Michael Rush regards political sociology as study of ^{interaction of} society and polity, social structure and political structure, social environment and political environment.

Similarly, Lipset and Bendix consider that political sociology can never

Remarks

separate study of polity from society.

A K Mukhopadhyay calls political sociology as a marriage between politics and society.

(S) Political sociology also studies political leaders and elites.

G (B) Peripheral realism emerged in the 1990s in Buenos Aires. It not only provides critique of realism but also an alternative framework for developing nations to develop their foreign policy.

Nye and Keohane point out that security is not the real and only impression of national interest as projected by realists.

Carlos regards international hierarchy the cause of anarchy.

Remarks

States are affected by both external and internal factors. This is in contrast to the diagnosis of international system by realists that consider structure of the international system to be the only factor.

Bacude thus advises all developing nations to formulate a foreign policy based on economic development rather than external factors.

He gives certain guidelines such as-

- (1) developing nation should remain isolated and not involve itself against any power.
- (2) developing nations can bandwagon with a power if it does not impact it negatively.
- (3) It should not intervene with any nation affecting common goods unless it is itself impacted.

Peripheral realism is thus regarded as a strong critique for realists who

Remarks

do not take into account differential economic and military capacity.

Hence, many experts regard peripheral realism as realism for developing nations.

(C) National interest despite being a core concept in the study of international system continues to be contested amongst different school of thought.

Classical realist, Morgenthau, says national relation defines national interest in terms of power. He suggests that power is omnipresent and just like human beings are driven towards power for security so are nations.

Neo realist, Kenneth Waltz, describes national interest as a result of the structure of the international system.

Remarks

alone. The anarchical system drives nations towards national self help to secure its security and thus, its national interest.

In contrast, institutionalist liberals believe that though anarchy exists, nations should strive for national interest not in isolation but in reference to cooperative interest for all nations.

Idealists focus on cooperation and peace rather than conflict and competition. They call for institutions like League of nations and collective security.

Internationalist liberals call national interest as community interest. Community denotes all democratic states. They call for free trade and democracy to secure peace and uphold rational

Remarks

interest.

However, Marxists define national interest in terms of social relations i.e. based on class identity. They call it social interest.

On the contrary, critical constructivists deem that state does not represent all groups of people. It represents only the dominant class possessing hegemony over other.

International society-centric constructivists define national interest based on norms and institutions.

They believe that state is an adaptive entity which defines its national interest based on international norms

based on international institutions such as WTO, UN.

Therefore, as clear from the

Remarks

above discussion that rational interest
is a pluralistic concept far from
consensus.

Remarks

3. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Political Economy approach is far more comparative and effective than the traditional approach of comparative politics. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Discuss the similarities and differences between neo-realism and neo-liberalism in detail. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) In what sense have the political parties of the third world have developed a distinct identity and methodology of their own. Describe with examples. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

4. Attempt all questions:

(a) Examine the different types of Party systems and analyse their salient features.
 (200 Words) (15 Marks)

(b) Discuss the Feminist analysis of International relations discourse.
 (200 Words) (15 Marks)

(c) Conceptions of Clash of civilization offers cultural understanding of International
 relations explain.
 (250 Words) (20 Marks)

Q
 (a) Giovanni Sartori said that a political system is not defined by the number of parties but the parties that play the dominant role.

Thus, the party systems are generally classified on the account of following —

(i) Single party system

It originally originated in authoritarian regimes but are now found democratic set up also.

Features —

(i) usually the official party of the nation.

(ii) membership of party is essential to get certain government jobs.

(iii) generally characterised by its political

Remarks

elites.

(iv) Elections are held but generally for popular perception not ^{for} actual election.

These parties originated as Fascist and Nazi-party in Italy and Germany during 2nd World war. Later in India, it took a distinctive form as Congress party which virtually was the only national party as there was no opposition.

(2) Two party system

Features -

(i) there exists other parties but majority elected candidates are from 2 main parties.

(ii) Transfer of power remains confined to these 2 parties.

(iii) However, on the basis of ideology, these parties are segregated as

(a) Ideologically similar parties like in USA where both Democrats and Republicans are inspired from liberal individualistic values.

(b) Ideologically distinct parties like UK

Remarks

where Conservatives and Labour party are considered as right and left parties respectively.

(3) Multi party system

Features

- (i) In multi-party system, usually no single party has majority.
- (ii) Coalitions are a norm where parties could either be supporting from outside the government or otherwise.

For instance, from 1989 till 2014, India saw coalition government.

Similarly, Italy has never witnessed a single party winning the mandate.

- (b) All feminist scholars in International Relations discourse focus on gender and patriarchy.

Gender for them is a society based identity different from sex which is a biological identity.

Remarks

Rose Marygrant criticises realists for being patriarchal and not considering factors for human security and female security.

~~They~~ ^{to} Realists give a masculinist notion of power and leadership. Women have to accept this and act as a secondary sex.

Gynthia Endoe says that international relations are deprived of an important dimension by not considering women point of view. She has brought attention to women's plight during war times where they are used as sex slaves for soldiers or for care taking in hospitals. They criticise the systematic use of rape as war weapon during Serbian war.

Post modernists ask as to how such gendered perceptions have entered the field of international relations.

Remarks

Cynthia Enloe raises the question,
"Where are the women?"

Elshtain and Susan Moller Oaken demand for integrating women participation in public sphere as "it's the public sphere which drives foreign policy".

The ^{US} Secy of state, Hillary Clinton also called for incorporating women point of view in foreign policy.

Thus, the feminists tend to understand the international relations by placing women in it and thereby, the implications.

They criticise both liberals, realists and Marxists for disregarding women's point of view and giving masculinist foreign policy.

Cynthia Enloe, in this context said, "When I look at state, I see masculinity". She, thus, calls state to defend state and women from state.

Remarks

(C) Clash of Civilisation thesis is given by Samuel P Huntington. It says that the post cold war conflicts shall not be based on ideology but based on cultural, ethnic and religious lines.

He divides the world into civilisations-

- (1) Western civilisation
- (2) Latin American civilisation
- (3) Orthodox erstwhile USSR civilisation
- (4) Asian civilisations i.e. Hindu, Buddhists, Chinese
- (5) Sub Saharan African
- (6) Middle - East.

He envisages Russia and India as swing states i.e. they will align with any side. He shows how Russia on one hand, battles muslims in Chechnya but cooperates with Iran on the other.

Similarly, he envisages a Sino-Islamic axis comprising China, Iran and Pakistan against the West.

Remarks

This is because both Christianity and Islam are -

- (i) universalists i.e. they are supreme.
- (ii) missionary i.e. promote proselytisation.

Also, there is a resurgence of Islamic fundamentalism against Western model of universalist values. This was witnessed during the America led global war on terrorism.

Thus, Huntington suggests to non-western countries the following -

- (i) bandwagon with the West.
- (ii) remain in isolation but very difficult as it is expensive.
- (iii) build alliance with other non-western nations and develop economic and military might. This will force the West to appreciate the other existing civilisational values and accept them on equal terms. This will ensure peace and cooperation.

Remarks

In the post-cold war era, clash of civilisations remains the most correct diagnosis for international world order.

Remarks

SECTION B

5. Answer the following questions: (150 Words each) (10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) Robert Cox's views on nature of Hegemony in International Relations.
- (b) Social Constructivism in International Relations
- (c) Hegemonic Stability theory
- (d) Problems with a state-centric approach in IR.
- (e) Response of developing and least developed countries towards Globalization

(a) Robert Cox's concept of hegemony is both an alternate perspective of international relations and a critic of realism.

Cox in "social forces, state and world order" says that knowledge is for some purpose and for somebody. Thus, knowledge is based on ideology which serves the interest of the dominant class. It assists in establishing hegemony i.e. capacity of the state to manufacture consent.

He gives the example of US and UK wherein both have been proponents of free trade. They have not only used military or economic might but have managed to convince other nations about the benefits

Remarks

of free trade as common sense.

However, Cox, a Gramscian, believes that Hegemony is not permanent. He proposes that American hegemony will be broken in some time.

(b) Social constructivism is an alternative framework in international relations and has emerged as one of the strongest critique of realism.

It believes that all interests of a actor is based on one's identity. Identity in turn is a result of one's experiences and the prevailing norms. For them, the ^(inter subject awareness) interactions amongst nations and other actors result in the development of perceptions i.e.

If the interactions are positive, it results in the alignment of one's interest with others, thus, preventing conflict. For instance, NATO, which follows ^{nations}A

Remarks

the principle, "one for all, all for one". Since all are democratic nations.

This is how they prove that the realist notion of anarchy and self help in international system being as automatic result of the structure is incorrect.

If the actors during a continuous cycle of interactions develop a negative perception against each other, it results in a conflict.

(C) Hegemonic Stability Theory was given by Charles Kindleberger and Robert Gilpin. It suggests that the world order has an inherent tendency to move towards instability.

However, this can be arrested if a hegemon or a world power is willing to establish a System of rules based on certain norms and values. ^{He will do} so as it benefits both the hegemon and world.

Remarks

They give the example of Pax Britannica (Rule of UK) and now Pax Americana (US Hegemony) that has resulted in the formation of Bretton Woods system consisting of WTO, IMF, World bank sustaining world finance and trade.

However, they believe that hegemony does not last for more than 100 years. This is because a hegemon usually overstretches itself economically and militarily and the free riders may act against the hegemon.

(d) State centric approach is followed by many prominent schools of IR such as liberalism, realism, marxism. It is a wonderful approach as it reduces thousands of relationships and complexities to less than 200 similar units.

However it has its drawbacks -

Remarks

(i) No standard definition of state

State can either refer to a nation/country or an apparatus of the government.

(ii) Problem of holism

State generally is regarded as a little greater than sum of its parts, a coherent and a holistic unit. However, in IR, ~~world~~ international system is usually regarded as a loose system associated to

(iii) National loyalty is generally a hierarchy of communal identities starting from regional identity to one's national identity. For instance, an Indian is an Asian and at the same time a Punjabi/Keralite.

Thus, making it very difficult to appeal to the people on a single identity of state.

Remarks

(d) Lack of similarity between states in terms of economy, military might. A state may also differ in terms of political system.

For example, it is unfair to compare USA with Zimbabwe which differ heavily in terms of economy, military etc.

(e) globalisation is the free flow of goods, capital, idea and people. It has been termed as borderless world by Marshall McLuhan.

However, there have been mixed responses amongst developed and developing nations.

Developing nations response -

- (1) Technology remains with developed nations.
- (2) Led to an increased economic growth but with no job creation.

Remarks

- (3) Tariff and non tariff barriers such as phyto sanitary and sanitary measures imposed by Europe on Indian mangoes.
- (4) Increased demand of opening markets by developed nations with a complaint against intellectual property rights regime, agricultural subsidies, counter-vailing measures.
- (5) Increased polarisation between rich and poor. Developed nations continue to grow at the cost of developing nations.
- (6) Intra-state divergence has further grown. Demands for reservation by Jats in India, for instance.
- (7) Local culture and traditions are being subsumed by Western universalism. However, poverty in the nations have been reduced by half, Millennium.

Remarks

development goals were achieved,
infant mortality rate is down by
half. Even the economies are catching
up.

However, recent trade war and
protectionist policies of USA remain
a concern for developing nations due to
an unclear path of globalisation.

Remarks

6. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Discuss the major features of democracies in advanced industrial societies.
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) How does Almond differentiate between the various forms of Pressure groups? In what sense do pressure groups have a distinct identity separate from that of interest groups.
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Critically analyse the relevance of the Non-Aligned movement today? What were its major contradictions since its inception?
(250 Words) (20 Marks)

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

Remarks

7. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Discuss the features of democratic peace theory of International Relations.
 (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) While the classical approaches continue to place the state in the centre of their propositions, sociological liberalism shifts its focus on transnational aspect and actors. Discuss.
 (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Analyse how the liberal, realist and critical approaches views the phenomena of Globalization.
 (250 Words) (20 Marks)

(a) Democratic peace theory postulates that there is no war among democratic states.

Its origin is traced to Immanuel Kant's Perpetual peace theory. In contemporary times, Michael Doyle is one of the chief proponents.

Some of its features are—

- (i) Democratic states usually view each other as trustworthy and reliable, thus, they act predictably. They do not view each other as a threat.
- (ii) Democratic states have freedom of speech, thus, allowing legislature, citizens and media to act in a responsible manner.

Remarks

(iii) Democratic states are usually economically interdependent. This not only integrates markets but also people. Thus, any war is seen to be a hindrance to free and open trade benefitting both the nations.

(iv) Democracies never launch pre-emptive wars.

(v) Wars led by democracies are short lived and they usually suffer low casualties.

Experts cite the example of European Union that have avoided any conflict since 2nd world war.

However, realists call it coincidence and common interests instead of common understanding.

In spite of the criticisms, democratic peace theory is successful and marks the victory over national boundaries and state centric discourse by market theory.

Remarks

(b) Classical approaches such as realism and Marxism continue to place emphasis on states and disregard the role of trans-national relations.

James Roseau, pioneer of sociological liberalism, defines trans-national relations as relations between states of international systems supplemented by relations of individuals, groups and society.

James Roseau believes that the international system is transforming from a state centric model to a multi centric model i.e. sovereign bound actors and sovereign free actors such as MNCs, society, individuals are involved. James Burton has given the cobweb model against the billiard ball model of states. The cobweb model represents all forms of trans-national

Remarks

relations, thus, reflecting the true status of relations among states and other entities.

Karl Deutsch has given the concept of security community which denotes an integrated society. Integration as per Deutsch means the communities do not feel threatened by each other and view any threat on each other as a threat to all of them. He gives the example of all NATO nations.

Therefore, sociological liberalism broadens the scope of international relations by shifting its focus on transnational aspect and actors.

This is in sharp contrast to realists who view the international system and the interactions only on the basis of states. Even the Marxists view state as the central actor and an instrument of capitalism.

Remarks

(C) globalisation is termed as a borderless world by Marshall McLuhan.

Globalisation is marked by movement of goods, capital, idea and people. Despite its positive outcomes schools like realists and critical approach have a pessimistic attitude towards globalisation.

Realists have a sceptic view towards globalisation. They object that the capacity of the state to regulate has reduced. They do not view state and globalisation in a zero-sum game. According to them, globalisation is a manifestation of state-centric world.

According to realists, globalisation has been created by the dominant states for their economic benefit. Thus, increasing capacity of the state.

Critical scholars, on the other hand, take a completely negative view against globalisation. They derive their inspiration from Marxist school of thought and view globalisation as a hierarchical process.

They believe that the core (developed nations) grow at the cost of periphery (developing nations) and exploit their natural resources.

However, liberal scholars view globalisation as a panacea to all global issues such as unemployment, poverty. They show how globalisation leads to minimisation of wastage of resources during production process. Transnational production has improved productivity and improved quality of life for all.

As globalisation has involves movement of ideas, dynamic and modern society and culture was involved in all societies.

Remarks

Liberals view globalisation as a victory of market over national boundaries which actually is a tariff barrier and territorial expanse is commercial capacity ^{for liberals} as per constructivists.

Therefore, globalisation remains a contested process. With the ongoing trade war between USA and China, Trump's protectionist policies, globalisation remains a threatened process.

However, BRICS nations have resolved to fight against protectionism and protect the liberal world order.

[Large faint handwritten note across the page]

Remarks

8. Attempt all questions:

- (a) The concept of Anarchy is fundamental to both the liberal and realist traditions but they view it in divergent manners. Explain. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) What are the major advantages of the Behavioural Approach in studying International relations? Describe its major attributes as per the views of David Easton? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) What are the major arguments given by the classical Marxist view on international relations and what are various questions raised on its legitimacy and accuracy? (250 Words) (20 Marks)

Remarks

Remarks