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An Institute for Civil Services

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TEST COPY

KOUSHIK H R

Rank - 240

Political Science



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10/ → Try to cover more points in brief instead of giving undue explanation to the same argument

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work of structure of the answer Test - 04

guy

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.

D-22

Name KOUSHIK H R

Mobile No. _____

Date _____

Signature Koushik HR

1. Invigilator Signature _____

2. Invigilator Signature _____

REMARKS

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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 studies the impact of society & social norms on politics which was popularised by Karl Marx.

In India social context like caste, religion, ethnicity shape politics & hence we have to study the interlinkage between politics & society.

Critics argue that not just politics is shaped by society, vice versa is also true.

Remarks

In many cases, societal practices are defined by politics. In India not just caste has influence on politics, even politics has influence on caste.

Political sociology approach gave too much significance to society & threatened the existence of the political subject. Hence Theda

Skocpol gave the call for "Bringing the state back in" to maintain the

relevance of the discipline.
 What are the different features of the approach?
 Its significance is

In the Westphalian notion of billiard ball model, national interest was purely defined in terms of national security

According to Keshavjee &

Nye, due to complex interdependence, national interest has got multiple dimension in terms of economy, energy, diaspora etc.

Also there is no defined set of national interest as it varies according to states. For India gaining a seat in UNSC is in our national interest whereas for a poor country like Gabon, raising aid for development is its national interest.

Though the concept of national interest is widely contested, realists argue that national interest is the prime determinant of international politics. The action of a country is primarily dependent on its idea of national interest.

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Remarks: What is the concept of NI in different school

of thoughts.

- Mention what are the new challenges and issues in terms of NI.

⇒ Third World countries have inherited democracy from western world & hence the nature of political parties are different.

Features

- i) Primaordial Loyalty :- Political parties in the third world countries have primordial loyalty based on caste, religion, ethnicity etc.
- ii) Democratic Deficit :- The political parties in third world countries are mainly hegemonic parties dominated by a strong leader and hence we don't see intra party democracy.
- iii) Significance :- In many third world

Remarks

eg. Primaordial loyalty important feature in West
 eg. Christian leadership No admission of function
character of opposition.

countries, democracy is not matured & the govt is very powerful with alternative power like army as what Hamza Alavi referred as 'Overdeveloped state' where the role of political parties are less,

3 1/2 As Francis Fanon said, we cannot generalise post colonial states as we see wide variations among them. Hence few third world countries like India have very significant setup of political parties.
 Include as many parts as possible with 100% explanation

d) Realism as a theory is mainly centred around the western countries i.e., core countries. Peripheral Realism analyses the realism in the peripheral countries

and the realist interaction between the core & the periphery.

According to Peripheral realism, the peripheral countries are dependent on the core countries to maintain their security & survival, Eg 1- USA started SEATO & CENTO for the protection of the peripheral countries.

The national interest of peripheral countries are defined by the powerful core countries & it depends on the national interest of the core countries, Eg 1- The conflict in the Middle East is not to protect the

interest of Middle East countries, instead it is to protect the interest of core countries.

Mohammed Ayoub gave the concept of subaltern realism to counter this saying that the peripheral countries have a different idea of realism. (5)

c) Similarities

Both schools go for structure level analysis and

both schools look at the void of interactionist governance structure

Differences

→ According to neo-realists, states must go for self-help to overcome

Discussing what are the major concepts and their application

the anarchy. On the other hand, neo-liberals support international institutions.

→ Neo-liberals argue that state can go for mutual cooperation.

According to Neo-Realists, states look at 'relative gain' & hence will not go for cooperation.

→ According to Neo-Realists, international anarchy leads to 'security dilemma' & hence states must go for balance of power.

According to Neo-liberals, due to economic interdependence, there wouldn't arise security dilemma.

Both schools have been criticised by critical schools like post structuralists, constructivists etc.

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) According to realists like Hans Morganthau, the idea of national interest defined in terms of national security and power leads the international politics.

The above argument follows the Westphalian Billiard ball model of sovereignty. According to this, sovereignty is a hard shell like billiard ball and the international politics is led by conflict. Hence national security is the most desirable feature of sovereignty.

Remarks

According to complex interdependence theorists like Keshavane and Nye, the above argument is not flawed, but the notion of national security is changing beyond military and territorial security.

As John Burton says, today international politics has changed from billiard ball to cobweb model due to complex interdependence, hence there is a change in the idea of national security.

In the present times, national security involves economic and energy security, this defines the attitude of many western countries. Partly some other challenges to the nation

Remarks Security — Environment issues
 — Issues in Third world like food, Hygiene, Poverty & diseases.
 — In Gadget: of which mention — Nuclear, Separation more
 — Terrorism, etc

towards Middle East. National security has geopolitical context. We try to change the geopolitical nature in order to protect our national security.

In the recent times, national security is being threatened not by other countries, instead by non-state actors.

Though national interest is closely associated with national security, the idea of national security is changing. Hence national interest is called an 'amorphous concept'.

b) According to Adam Smith, ~~the~~ the pioneer of political economy, it is the theory for statesman to analyse the relation between politics

and economy.

Political economy took a different turn & gained prominence with Karl Marx whose theory of 'economic determinism' defined politics in terms of economy.

Thereafter, it was continued by neo-marxist with the theory of underdevelopment by A G Frank and World system theory by ~~Sam~~ Immanuel Wallerstein.

Due to globalisation, liberal political order defined in terms of free trade has gained prominence. As a result political economy has gained prominence over

traditional approach which according to Maecius was non-comparative, descriptive, static, parochial & ~~not~~ monographic.

Critics argue that political economy looks at politics only from economic approach, but there are multiple other factors which ~~define~~ politics.

According to Robert Cox, Political economy has led to 'internationalisation of the state', but still state is very important as "military-territorial enforcer of the contract". Hence traditional approach would still be relevant.

Though Political economy has

gained prominence, traditional approaches are still relevant. As Samuel Huntington says, it is difficult to

link economic determinism with Political determinism.

⇒ Human Rights are the most basic rights enjoyed by a person to lead a human life. According to Marshall McLuhan, globalisation leads to 'global village', hence human rights is universal & was recognised by the UDHR declaration

According to Anthony Giddens, globalisation increases the intense consciousness ~~and~~ among societies and connect distant localities in such a way that the effect of events happening

here are felt thousands of miles away.
 The above is true in terms
 of human rights. Globalisation gave
 new energy to civil society and
international NGOs, as a result there
 is spread in the awareness of human
 rights. With the increasing penetration
 of media, human rights violation in
 far off Africa will have repercussion
 in USA increasing the public pressure.
 Globalisation has increased
 the international responsibility towards
 human rights.

Critics like Noam Chomsky
 argue that Human rights is a mask
 for the western powers to fulfil
 their national interest as we saw in

many 'regime change'

Globalisation has led to 'cultural imperialism' and hence there is opposition towards universal notion of human rights by multiculturalist through 'Asian Values' debate.

According to Thomas Pogger, the present globalisation is 'globalisation from above' leading to many human rights violations. Pogger argues that we need 'globalisation from below' wherein the people are involved leading to global justice.

On one hand, globalisation has increased the consciousness towards human rights, on the other it has also created challenges to human rights.

Remarks

Mention the politics of propaganda in international
- away institutions like WTO, UN etc by western
- grants to serve their vested interests

SECTION B

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

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

a) According to Marshall McLuhan, Globalisation treats the entire globe into a single 'global village'

Similarities between globalisation & globalism

Both concepts consider the interaction between the states which brings the states together as Giddens said that the events happening here will have an impact miles away.

Discusses in brief what are the two concepts along with their major features

Remarks

Differences

- i) Globalism promotes "globalisation from below" wherein all the countries must be equal stakeholders.
- ii) Unlike globalisation, globalism promotes global citizenship & hence developed countries must contribute towards the development of poor countries.
- iii) According to globalism, the problems facing the world are global in nature & hence we need global solution to such problems.

ii) The western world have embraced democracy as its form of govt.

Characteristics

i) Matured democracy :- The democracy in these countries are in a matured phase where people follow the democratic methods to raise their issues.

ii) Intra party democracy :- There is democracy in the political circles through primaries & the leaders have the freedom to op against the party dictum.

iii) Spread of democracy :- Based on 'democratic peace theory', these regimes have attempted to spread democracy through 'regime change' which has created more troubles.

iv) Rise of anti-democratic forces

We see the rise of all-right in these regimes.

Remarks Need to mention more important points in brief along with some lapses and debate it to present context in the verb.

The traditional approach of comparative politics many follows the comparison of govt. institutions across various states.

By comparing govt. institutions, we can know the success or failure of institutions & get the best practices.

But, by comparing the institutions, we will not know the various factors behind the functioning of institutions. Eg:- By comparing the British & Indian states, we can know about the govt. institutions, but we cannot understand why India succeeded in democracy, but

Pakistan did not.

Institutional approach is descriptive & mechanical, but ~~the~~ as David Easton argues it is not sufficient to understand the text, we must understand the context too.

Hence we need behavioural approach as the stream is not descriptive, instead we need to be prescriptive in nature. (S)

d) Functionalism gives by David Mitrany tries to achieve "peace by pieces".

According to Mitrany, this can be achieved based on Richard Cobden's idea of "non-

political'. According to Mitrovy, co-operation must be in non-political issues by non-political actors & this can be done through sectoral approach & the success in one sector leads to spin-off effects leading to functional linkages.

Neo functionalists like Ernst Haas believes in the same idea of peace as suggested by functionalists, but neo-functionalists ~~the~~ method of achieving peace is different.

According to Haas, the political actors cannot be kept out from the linkages & such linkages

without political consideration will not last long. Hence there is a view that co-operation must also happen in political sphere & by political action.

Functionalism & neo-functionalism idea of peace through cooperation has seen success in EU, ASEAN etc

5) e) With the disintegration of USSR, we saw the end of Cold War with USA remaining the sole super power.

Factors that led to end of Cold War

i) Second Cold War :- Ronald Reagan administration increased the defence spending in very short span leading to Star Wars and the USSR

had to divert funds to maintain army space & hence it became weak,

ii) Gorbachev factor

Gorbachev introduced Perestroika, Glasnost & Shinatra doctrine to restructure USSR. This attempt to restructure in a short span led to collapse of USSR.

iii) Ostpolitik of Germany

West Germany started getting close to East Germany & hence the Eastern Europe could see the difference in the West leading to demand for self-determination.

Though various factors like political & economic weakness, ethnocentrism etc were prevalent, all these factors culminated in short span leading to collapse of USSR.

Remarks Write to cover more important parts in short instead of giving over explanation by one issue

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)

Collective security is based on the liberal institutional approach given by Woodrow Wilson to convert international politics from 'jungle to zoo'.

Collective security assumes that all countries can come together to punish the violator in the interest of global good.

Post WW I, League of Nations was established and Post WW II, UN was established to achieve collective security.

Remarks

According to Karl Mannheim, collective security is "relative utopia". It is based on impractical assumptions.

Assuming that the states will come together to protect global interest neglecting their national interest, is utopian. An realist argue,

national interest is the primary determinant of international politics.

Hence it's a fantasy to assume countries will always prefer collective security.

If a state's national interest will be served, then it will support collective security. This is evident by selective actions of UN.

Discuss the change in global power structure along with the changing challenges which world is facing. (Both Nuclear & Non-Nuclear)

Remarks

New Issues and Challenges
 - How Collective Security could be helpful in addressing these issues
 - Major initiatives / foot bridges / New Way forward!

Also the international politics is big power politics due to power asymmetry. Hence collective security depends on the interest of big powers.

As John Ikenberry said collective security is a good theory but challenging in practice as it looks unrealistic, but involves elements of fantasy.

b) Bombing of Hiroshima & Nagasaki during WW II gave birth to nuclear weapons. Later during the days of Cold War, there was an arms race between two super powers to have nuclear domination.

Since 1945, there is a call for nuclear disarmament, it

couldn't succeed due to the distribution of global power into two blocs during the Cold War.

Nuclear weapons give great political recognition & hence all P5 countries possess nuclear weapons to have global power dominance.

The non-proliferation treaties like NPT also recognise this - "global division of power" as the P5 countries have an exception and are considered nuclear weapon states.

The attitude of global community towards nuclear weapons is also based on power relations. China being a signatory of NPT proliferated

weapon technology to Pakistan to balance India & USA had a blindfold as it needed Pakistan support to fight USSR in Afghanistan.

The global division of power has led to selective targeting of nuclear weapon. Presently India's nuclear weapon are being accepted & there is also attempt to make India a member of NSG which was formed to have nuclear apartheid against India. This is due to the growing importance of India in international sphere.

On the other hand, Libya & Iraq were attacked just with a suspicion of possessing WMD. This was again to balance the global power distribution.

According to Gandhi, nuclear weapons are ~~the~~ most diabolical use of science, but we cannot get away from this satanic weapon until it is dependent on ~~complex~~ distribution of global power. (7)

Balance of Power (BOP) theory argues that there needs to be ~~an~~ a net balance in power among states so that no state is either too strong or ~~too~~ too weak and when this balance is breached, states come together to maintain this balance by punishing the perpetrator.

According to realists, Balance of power based on Westphalian order brings stability. Realists argue

that BOP brings international peace. According to Kenneth Waltz, Cold War brought international stability due to BOP. ✓

Distinction in Balance of Power

- i) Bipolar Balancing as witnessed between USA & USSR during Cold War.
- ii) Regional Balancing through institutions like EU, CENTO, NATO, Warsaw Pact etc.
- iii) Global Balancing i.e., there must be balance in power across the world which maybe very difficult to achieve.

Criticism - of BOP

According to Nehru, BOP creates "never-ending state of peace".

Far from bringing stability, it brings instability. Two World Wars were fought in order to maintain BOP.

BOP leads to arms race between the countries as we saw between USA & USSR during Cold War and between India & Pak post Cold War.

This arms race has led to many conflicts across various theatres.

The biggest threat to BOP today is the risk of asymmetrical action. Scholars like Walzer in his book "Just & unjust wars" calls for asymmetrical balancing with pre-emptive wars, but wars like "war on terror" has created more damage. Hence the relation b/w BOP & stability is far from conclusion.

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)

a) NAM was the proposal of India. It was formed during the hey days of Cold War bloc politics to not align with any of the blocs & have functional autonomy based on Bandung Principles.

Relevance of NAM

NAM was formed during Cold War as to not join any of the blocs. Critics argue that with the end of Cold War, there is no ideological conflict as Daniel Bell

Remarks

argued in "End of ideology" and hence critics like Francis Fukuyama question the raison d'être of NAM.

Presently we are seeing a decline of US hegemony and resurgence of Russia & rapid rise of China. Hence according to Mark Kramer, there is a possibility of New Cold War in which case NAM would be relevant.

Supporters of NAM argue that we need NAM 2.0 based on multiple alignment. As Raja Mohan says, NAM is having the highest membership after UN and it is in need of leadership which India can

provide to fulfil her geopolitical interests

Major Contradictions

i) Tilt from Non-alignment :- Many non-aligned countries like India had to tilt towards Russia to protect herself.

ii) Multiple alignments within NAM
Countries like Pak, Egypt etc was close to USA whereas India, Vietnam, Cuba etc were considered to be "Team B" of USSR.

iii) Conceptual Confusion :- NAM was neither isolation nor neutrality, hence it led to conceptual confusion.

Mention in short what could be done with NAM to make it more powerful and in accordance with the requirement of this world -

Remarks: few suggestions to revitalize and strengthen NAM to make it more functional and relevant -

Gabriel Almond defined pressure groups as the groups which use various tactics to put pressure on the state to fulfil their group interests.

Classification of Pressure groups

i) Institutional :- The members of these groups are belong to govt institutions. E.g. - Civil servants group etc. ^{in developing states}
 They are more dominant due to 'overdeveloped states' (Hamza Alavi)

ii) Associational :- These pressure groups have a defined associational interests and are well organised. E.g. - Business groups. They are more prominent in developed world.

iii) Non-associational :- Groups like religious groups, cultural groups etc which have weak organisational structures & primordial loyalties.

iv) Anomic :- These groups are formed randomly & with very varied interests. Eg! - Naxalites, ULFA etc. More prominent in developing & underdeveloped world as democracy has not matured.

Pressure Groups & Interest Groups

Interest groups don't have very defined structure unlike pressure groups.

Both interest groups & pressure groups perform the function of interest articulation, but the

method varies. Interest groups mainly go for communication, petition etc whereas

6 pressure groups go for strikes, boycott etc.
Need more content and analysis
See notes for reference.

c) Post Second World War, many global governance structures like UN & others were established. USA established Brettonwoods System to have global financial governance through IMF & World Bank (WB).

Challenges

i) Democratic deficit :- According to Robert Cox, these global institutions especially IMF & WB suffer from 'democratic deficit' as it is dominated by developed countries.

ii) Alteration :- The democratic deficit has led to creation of alteratives like BRICS NDB & CRA and AIFB.

iii) Reverse Globalisation :- According to Martin Khor, these institutions like IMF & WB support the interests of western powers & hence it is a "rich man's club".

According to Cerdosa, these institutions have strengthened dependency and created chaos through Structural Adjustment Programme through shock therapy. Hence there is criticism & opposition to these institutions.

We are seeing the rise
 manon other up issues - shift towards 'Global South'
 - Rise of private and non-state actors
 - Change in nature of national interest

Remarks

of protectionist regimes in western world & there is decline in interest towards these institutions.

iv) New World Order! - With rise of China & other emerging economies like India, the relevance of these institutions are in question.

v) Legitimacy! - These global financial institutions couldn't control the 2008 economic crisis nor the Euro crisis.

Prof. Ramesh Thakur in his article "Dark side of globalisation"

question the relevance of these institutions as it has led to what Brecher termed as "Global Pillage".

According to Joseph Nye, demoralisation of these institutions in the need

Remarks: The special mention to IMF financial institution like NDR and AIFB and how far this is a class of interest b/w the new ones and the traditional