

**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.

(101)

Structuring is a major issue  
 Also in the last few answers, your elaboration is very limited & superficial

1. Invigilator's Signature [Signature]  
 2. Invigilator's Signature [Signature]

Name Abhijeet Bhanawat  
 Mobile No. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Date \_\_\_\_\_  
 Signature Abhijeet

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**REMARKS**

Roll No.

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SECTION-A

Attempt all questions:

1. Answer the following questions in about 150 words each: (10 × 5 = 50)
- (a) Criticisms of Liberal tradition in IR theory.
  - (b) Basic Assumptions of the Realist approach.
  - (c) Balance of Power
  - (d) Wallerstein views on nature of World Economy.
  - (e) Limitations of the Marxist approach of IR.

(a) Liberal tradition in IR theory is an idealist tradition and believes in a moral conception of human nature. Thus, it believes that states seek cooperation and suggests approaches like institutionalism, democratic peace, functionalism and complex interdependence to address anarchy and security dilemmas.

However, it has been criticized by many schools. Realists believe that struggle for power is natural and that anarchy can never be resolved.

Marxists believe that Liberal theory is a means to establish dominance over

Remarks

Other countries and for building neo-colonialism through trade route.

Feminists argue that inequalities inherent in free trade and globalization disproportionately affect women.

Post-colonial scholars suggest that Liberal theory is Eurocentric because nature of state in developed and developing world is quite different.

Thus, still, Liberal tradition remains one of the dominant traditions in IR theory

1.(b) "The strong do what they can, the weak suffer what they must."

-Thucydides

Realism is one of the most dominant approach to study international relations. David Hume describes it as "common sense" and "timeless wisdom"

Remarks

You need to elaborate a lot more on their Realist & Post-colonial critique

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## # Basic Assumptions of Realist approach

1. Realists believe in an anarchic world order depicted as billiards ball model by Arnold Wolfers.
2. In an anarchic world, nations have a tendency to increase their power. This is based on their understanding of human nature according to which man has infinite lust for power.
3. Struggle for power breeds Security Dilemma threatening survival of other states.
4. Thus, nations go for 'self-help' and 'balance of power' to ensure survival in a competitive world.
5. Cooperation between nations is only possible when there are absolute gains involved.
6. Realists also take a state-centric view and deny the role of transnational actors.

Remarks

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and civil society in international relations

Morgenthau, the father of Realism, in his 6 principles of realism also highlights that ethical and moral considerations have no place in international relations. He also equates power with national interest.

Thus, based on these assumptions, Realists have given a holistic analysis of international relations.

### (c) Balance of Power

Balance of Power is a Realist prescription for establishing peace and security in an anarchic world order.

According to Realists, self-help attempts by one nation are seen as threat by other nations giving rise to security dilemma. Thus, it counter the growing power of

Remarks

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One state, nations go for balance of power through methods like counterbalancing, coalitions, band-wagoning, etc. Realist conception of BOP is primarily a military idea, and is more applicable in a regional setting with absence of global player.

What about BOP during cold war?

Liberals have opposed the realist notion of BOP and suggest Collective Security as a method to address security dilemma.

In modern times Paul Levy has given a new conception of Balance of Power. He has described three types of BOP:

- ① Hard BOP: formal military alliances, e.g. NATO
- ② Soft BOP: informal arrangements, e.g. Quad grouping in Asia Pacific

Remarks

Write about the limitations & critiques of the concept as well

global vs local BOP  
Natural vs Artificial BOP

③ Asymmetry BOP: it is BOP with respect to non-state actors, e.g. terrorists.

Thus, we see that notion of BOP has evolved in tune with changing geopolitical realities.

④ Wallerstein has described the nature of world economy in his 'World System Theory' (WST)

Being a Marxist, Wallerstein's WST is inspired from Lenin's theory of Imperialism and Marx's notion of capitalistic state's expansion tendencies.

Wallerstein has divided world economy into three different types of states:

1. Core: Western developed countries
2. Semi-peripheries: developing countries like India, China

Remarks

Next to elaborate a lot more on their features

3. Peripheries: poor countries of Asia & Africa

According to Wallerstein, Core countries exploit semi-peripheries & peripheries through trade linkages and by building 'dependency'. This leads to development & under-development.

However, semi-peripheries have been able to extract some benefits from the globalized world order.

Wallerstein asserts that since the global order is based on capitalist nations it is prone to booms & busts. He has predicted the temporal dimension of the system in terms of growth & decay and he asserts that the present phase of global economy is in fact the sun song for capitalistic economy.

Thus, Wallerstein has given an invaluable insight on the functioning of the world economy.

Remarks: however his theory is criticized by some scholars as an example of economic determinism.

Analyse how he argues that division of capital & labour is being reflected from household to global economy.

(e) Marxist approach of IR can be understood through three sub-schools:

- 1. Instrumental/Dependency school: Wallerstein, AG Franc, Samir Amin
- 2. Gramscian school: Robert Cox
- 3. Emancipatory school: Andrew Linklater

# Limitations

- 1. Dependency school has been criticized as crude economic determinism
- 2. In an <sup>largely</sup> anarchical world order, Realists argue that ideas & perceptions have no ~~role~~ or limited role, as against Cox's idea that every theory serves a political purpose.
- 3. Idea of 'moral boundaries' of Andrew Linklater is seen as impractical

Remarks

2

Wealth content  
Talk about its economic Determinism  
How it negates the form of identity & struggle

2. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Critically Examine Feminist viewpoints on the nature of International Relations. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Transnational relations are considered by sociological liberalism to be an increasingly important aspect of international relations. Explain. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Discuss in detail the liberal viewpoint on the State and Power in the context of International Relations. (250 Words) (20)

2(a) The dominant conception of nature of International Relations is according to 'mainstream' theories like Realism, Liberalism and Social Constructivism. These theories are state-centred and build their ideas based on concepts like anarchy, security and accordingly suggest measures to establish peace and stability.

Feminist viewpoint of International Relations is a 'human-centric' paradigm which considers the 'mainstream' theories as 'malestream' theories. Feminist theory, in general highlight the exclusion of women

Remarks

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perspective in the discipline and the how concepts like security are masculinist in nature.

Ann J Tickner has criticized Morgenthau's (tenets of Realism). She argues that states have both masculine (war, security, etc.) and feminine (cooperation, peace, etc.) aspects. She says that politicians can't be absolved of their moral responsibilities and national interest has to be ethical.

Cynthia Enloe in her book 'Bases, Bananas and Beaches' highlights the exclusion of women from the discipline. She has given a human centric idea of security.

Feminist description of International Relations has been criticized by mainstream scholars as ethnographic, emphasizing individual

Remarks

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The portion has to be more concise

experiences and not that of ~~state~~ ~~as a whole~~.  
 Within feminist school also, Radical Feminists  
 Criticize Liberal feminists for promoting neo-  
 colonialism in the name of free markets and  
 globalization.

However, on the whole, there is a growing  
 acceptance of feminist viewpoint as evident in  
 the works of Robert Keohane and others.  
UNSC Resolution 125 and Swedish feminist  
foreign policy are other achievements of the  
 feminist school.

2(b). Sociological liberalism is a subschool  
 of idealist school of international relations  
 and aims to describe the importance  
 of social relations in establish global and  
regional peace and stability.

Sociological liberals like John Burton,  
Rosenau and Karl Deutsch base their theories

Remarks

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in the social nature of man and how it can  
 be utilized to build stable transnational  
relations.

They ~~do~~ not consider ~~the~~ state  
 to be a monolithic entity like Realists, rather  
 consider it to be made up of processes and  
organization, and communication and  
interaction among these can establish  
 stable relations.

John Burton has given the concept  
 of 'cubeb model' of international relations  
 which describes the multiple ways in  
 which nations interact, building transnational  
 relations.

Karl Deutsch has given the  
 concept of 'security community' as opposed  
 to Realist idea of 'security dilemma'. He  
 suggests that increased interaction between  
 people of different nations leads to

Remarks

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removal of mistrust and like a trust develops between a community of nations which prevents wars, and slowly the community starts interacting with the rest of the globe as a single unit, as seen in the case of European Union. Thus, transnational relations are enabling establishment of peaceful relations among nations.

However, Sociological Liberalism has been criticized as Euro-centric by post-colonial scholars, as nature of state and social faultlines are completely different in the 3<sup>rd</sup> world. Moreover, colonial legacies and conflict prevent building of trust between the countries.

Remarks

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2.(C) Liberal viewpoint in context of International Relations<sup>(IR)</sup> is considered as the idealist viewpoint. It is based on the ideas of scholars like John Locke and Immanuel Kant and takes a positive view of human nature, upon which the liberal theory of IR is based.

#### ‡ Liberal viewpoint on state

Unlike Realists, who consider state in political terms alone and describe it as a monolithic entity, Liberals believe state is build up of multiple processes and organizations.

Liberal schools like functionalism talk about cooperation between these processes between different nations to build cooperation between nations.

Remarks

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How & they state in place the content of other institutions (Supra national bodies)

Apart from interaction between states, liberals also emphasize on building cooperation between civil society networks

They also believe in a minimal state and want economic and social forces to play a dominant role in global relations.

~~Liberal idea~~

#### # Liberal viewpoint on power

Unlike Realists, who consider power majorly in military terms, Liberals give a multi-dimensional view of power, consisting of political, economic, military domains.

They accept that due to anarchy, a struggle for power is there, but it can be addressed through international institutions. They propose the idea of collective security.

Remarks

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to address security dilemma wherein the global community collectively protects the rights & security of a country.

However, Liberal conceptions of state and power have been criticized by Realist scholars who consider Realism as "timeless wisdom" and do not believe in cooperation.

Post-colonial & Marxist scholars also believe that Liberal ideas tend to promote new forms of domination.

Nonetheless, Liberalism remains one of the dominant approaches to understand behaviour of states in the modern world.

Remarks

① while your understanding is correct, need to include some views of scholars

(84)

(9)

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## SECTION-B

Attempt all questions:

5. Answer the following questions in about 150 words each:

(10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) Andrew Linklater and the transformation of political community  
 (b) A feminist lens on world politics.  
 (c) Idea of International Society by Hedley Bull.  
 (d) The Great Debates of International Relations.  
 (e) What do you understand by the term "Third World Security"?

(a) Andrew Linklater belongs to the Emancipatory sub-school of Marxist school and views the state as putting limitations on the realization of human potential.

He is inspired from the works of Young Marx who was concerned with alienation of man in a Capitalistic system. Linklater has extended <sup>young</sup> Marx's ideas in the realm of international relations.

He considers the political boundaries and the formation of subsequent political communities as artificial and not conducive for human development as there are restrictions

Remarks

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on movement of people.

He, thus, calls for establishing moral boundaries between nations and increased civil society linkages, thus totally transforming the existing notion of political community. He believes that only this way can the alienation by man be addressed by building a political community based on trust and cooperation and not mistrust and suspicion.

(b) Feminist try to highlight the masculinized nature of world politics and the exclusion of women point of view both in theory and in practice.

Ann Tickner has criticized Realism for its state centric approach at the expense of human centric approach. She suggests that women & children are the worst sufferers during wars which is the

Remarks

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Outcome of Realist paradigm. She has also reformulated Morgenthau's 6 Principles of Realism to assert that states also seek cooperation and that ethics is important in international relations.

Cynthia Enloe highlights the exclusion of women from world politics and asks the question "Where are the women?"

Feminists also give a human centric analysis of state-centric paradigms like security and self-help.

### # Criticism of feminist analysis

1. Their approach has been criticized as ethnographic (based on individual experiences)
2. Radical Feminist criticize Liberal feminists as promoting imperialism through free trade. They also criticize 'add women 2 it' approach
- 3.

However, there is a growing recognition of feminist viewpoint in world order. Robert

Remarks

Instead elaborate on how the understanding of IR itself will be transformed with inclusion of feminist perspective in it

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Keohane has called for incorporating feminist ideas in mainstream theories. UNSC Resolution 1325 and Swedish foreign policy are good beginnings in incorporating feminist ideas in world politics.

5. (c). Hedley Bull is a Realist who has incorporated Liberal ideas to give his conception of International Society in the form of 'anarchical society'.

As a Realist, Bull believes in anarchy and struggle for power in the absence of any regulating authority at the global level.

However, he has accepted that some sort of cooperation is emerging in the form of regional blocks like European Union. But this cooperation is not complete and hence International Society

Remarks

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is neither fully cooperating and neither fully anarchic. It is somewhere in between, and he calls this as 'anarchical society'

But Anarchical society is only limited to Europe and to some extent in South East Asia. The rest of the world still remains anarchic.

*Add what are the components of Anarchical Society? Also talk about his idea of News mediocrity*

5. (d) The Great Debates in International Relations aim to probe discuss the true nature of IR and to arrive at the approaches to study IR.

The following were the part of Great Debates in IR:

### ① Traditionalists vs Behaviouralists

Behaviouralists like Morton Kaplan tried to provide a scientific understanding of IR against the subjective analysis of traditional schools like Realists & Liberalists.

Remarks

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This debate was won by traditionalists.

### ② Neo-Neo Debate

between Neo-realists and Neo-liberals in the backdrop of growing international cooperation post world war 2. The debate ended with Neo-liberals accepting Realist ideas to give ideas like complex-interdependence and Liberalist like Redley Bull accepting Liberal ideas to give concepts like anarchical society.

### ③ Positivist vs Post-positivist approaches

Positivist approaches like Realism, Liberalism and Marxism emphasized on meta-narratives and universal truths, while post-positivist approaches like feminism & post-modernism suggested a human centered paradigm and an incredulity towards meta-narratives.

### ④ Traditional approaches vs Post-colonial approach

This debate led to the incorporation of view point of post-colonial states in form of

Remarks

*Order of content is not correct Refer back*

3

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Theories like Peripheral Realism and Subaltern realism.

Thus, the 4 great debates have greatly enriched our understanding of IR.

5. (e) 'Third world security' highlights the nature of security in the 3<sup>rd</sup> world which is different from the developed world.

In Developed world, Economic, social and political consolidation of the state is complete. Thus, security is considered to be a state-centric paradigm and its most prominent form is 'border security' from other nation-states.

In contrast, the third world consists of former colonies, which have economic, social and ~~pol~~ backwardness, political immaturity and social cleavages. This

Remarks

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changes the nature of security in this world. In addition to border security (security dilemma), 3<sup>rd</sup> world also suffers from internal security threats (insecurity dilemma) as given by Md Ayub.

Thus, threats like separatism, radicalization, poverty, etc. gain importance in context of third world and change the priorities of the state. And hence, the Realist notion of security is inadequate to understand security paradigm in the third world.

(4)

Correct direction but still a lot of elaboration needed on views of

Mohd Ayub

Amitav Acharya

Carlos Escobar

Remarks

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7. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Discuss the dominant and distinctive features of the non-western political process. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Discuss major paradigms of political economy approach. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) While dependency theory owes much to it but also offers a critique of the Marxist notion of International Relations. Discuss. (250 Words) (20)

7(a) Non-western political process deals with the politics of the 3<sup>rd</sup> world or the developing world. Essential features of 3<sup>rd</sup> world which determine its political processes are:

- ① colonial history
- ② economic backwardness ↳ less global role  
↳ poor economic indices
- ③ social cleavages ↳ security threats  
↳ identity based movements
- ④ political underdevelopment.

Thus, different schools have described non-western political processes based on interpretations of these factors.

Remarks

- Peripheral Realism of Carlos Escobar describes a hierarchy of nations wherein the rule-takers and revisionist states aim to alter the power balance.

- Sub-altern realism of Md Ayub suggests that political, social and economic consolidation is yet to be completed and thus Eurocentric paradigms are not applicable in non-western world. He suggests that developing countries still suffer from 'insecurity dilemma'

- Marxist understanding describes an emergence of neo-colonialism and exploitation of developing countries (Nkrumah). Wallerstein describes in his World System Theory the development & underdevelopment and emergence of new bourgeoisie in developing world which upholds interest of western bourgeoisie.

Remarks

The question is on features & so make analysis & appraise with you need to know Lucian Pye analysis paper links

6

• Kamnga Plami has given the concept of 'over-developed' state to describe how political progress has outstripped social and economic progress.

thus, the features of non-western political process are in marked contrast to western process.

7(b) Political Economy approach of international relations ~~describes~~ and comparative politics analyses the politics of economy, i.e. compares nations based on economic system.

The two major paradigms of political economy approach are Liberal and Marxist school.

Liberal school exponents like Adam Smith, Ricardo, etc. have compared nations based on openness of the economy.

Remarks

Adam Smith has described the 'invisible hand of the market' and Ricardo talks about the Comparative advantage theory wherein in a global free market system, each max country is able to benefit because of its comparative advantage.

Marxist paradigm describes how the inequalities inherent in free trade disproportionately impact poor countries.

Wahame Nkrumah has given the concept of neo-colonialism while Jos Immanuel Wallerstein has described the uneven relations in his World System Theory in which the 'core' countries exploit the semi-periphery and how semi-peripheries have emerged as a new set of nations like India, China, etc. who have benefitted from globalization.

Remarks

①

Contact names & or scholarly views lacking for both subdivisions

On the whole, political economy approach is considered as a robust method because of its empirical nature. Also it is both prescriptive and descriptive in nature. However, its focus is narrow and it ignores factors like social development, political modernization, etc.

7.(c) Dependency Theory of International Relations is a sub-school of Marxist analysis and describes how a system of exploitation has emerged.

~~From~~ Some prominent scholars of this school are Immanuel Wallerstein, Andre Gunder Frank and Samir Amin. They have described, how in the post-modern world, capitalist countries have developed uneven linkages with the poor countries leading to 'development or underdevelopment'.

Remarks

Immanuel Wallerstein has given the 'World System Theory' to describe the world system as ~~the~~ consisting of core, semi peripheries and peripheries, and how the core has exploited the peripheries and how semi-peripheries have been able to get some benefit from globalization.

These ideas have been based on Marx's and Lenin's understanding of international relations. Marx had argued that "search for profit forces bourgeois to settle everywhere and nestle everywhere".

Lenin had described first world wars capitalist war and how capitalist mode of production breeds conflicts.

Remarks



Thus, building on these ideas dependency school has described the current state of international relations.

# Critique of Marxist notion

Marx had ignored the role of civil society networks and importance of ideas. Dependency school, on the other hand believes that dependency of the periphery on the core is established in a number of ways including political, economic and social.

Thus, dependency school, while building on Marxist notions, also gives a critique of it.

50

Remarks

Weak & vague content  
 Marx → Possibility of global revolution  
 Dependency school → The interests of western proletariat is placed opposite to the interest of 3rd world proletariats

8. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Elaborate on the features and evolution of the Comparative method. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) The state is a central concept in Marxist theories, but is viewed in a different way from a realist or liberal approaches. Examine. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Can it be claimed that there is no point in insisting on only one singular understanding of National Interest? Discuss. (250 Words) (20)

8.(a) Comparative Method of international politics can be traced back to Aristotle who had compare 157 constitutions.

In modern times, comparative method emerged in the form of Institutional approach wherein government/constitution of different countries was compared. This traditional approach followed by scholars like Straus, Ermino, etc was criticized as static and neglecting the political realities. It was also found to be non-applicable outside Europe and was not value-neutral.

Thus, various methods of

Remarks

Modern comparative politics evolved to address these shortcomings.

System Approach of David Easton and Structural functional Approach of Almond and Powell attempts a scientific understanding of political processes. But this behavioural attempt was found inadequate to describe in depth the political realities.

Political Sociology approach attempts to understand influence of society on politics. It has two major schools: Marxist and Weberian. This approach has been very useful in understanding the politics of developing country like India.

Political Economy approach compares economic policies of states, while Political Development approach of Lucian Pye

Remarks

Note about how it evolved from Comparative least approach to comparative politics. Also analyze the impact of Post Behavioural and world studies trends studies.

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Compares the political development of nations. Political modernization is an important method of comparison between developed and developing world.

Thus, we can see that Comparative Method is now a very vibrant discipline with multiple schools and sub-schools.

Q. (b) Marxist notion of state is based on the premise that state is a class instrument, controlled by the bourgeois to further its interests.

In the realm of international relations, Marxists accept state to be the central notion. Marx himself held that "search for profit forces bourgeois to settle everywhere and nestle everywhere", and state is the important tool through which this is done. Theory of imperialism

Remarks

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given by Lenin also describes how states establish dominance over other states for the benefit of bourgeois.

Marxist school also believes that Realist and Liberal methods are aimed at building neo-colonialism and not peace and establish security.

### # Difference from Realist and Liberal ideas of State

Realist take a ~~value-free~~ view of state which works solely on the basis of national interest. Realists also reject the influence on social or economic factors on state's foreign policy.

Liberal conception of state is a harmonious construct which aims to

Remarks

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fulfill national interest through cooperation. Liberals also advocate ~~the~~ giving away some sovereign powers in order to establish institutions of global governance and world government in the long run.

Thus, while Liberal & Realist take state centred view with respect to domestic development and national interest, Marxist take a state centred view to describe how liberal & realist conception of states establish hegemony.

~~Weak content~~

~~Marxist view on state is not at all uniform & contains many sub divisions. Should have elaborated on the unique view of each of them~~

5

Remarks

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f.(c) National Interest is one of the most ambiguous and most controversial concept in international relations.

Like all other concepts, national interest has also been interpreted differently by different schools.

Realists like Morgenthau equate national interest with power. Morgenthau believes that to check security dilemma and to ensure self-help, power is the most important tool, and thus becomes the key to national interest.

Liberals believe national interest to be multi-dimensional encompassing domains like economy, security, environment, etc..

~~the~~ scholars like Charles Beard believe that national interest is a vague notion

Remarks

used to justify political decisions. In his words, "if people have to respect the decision which hurt them and soldiers have to die for it, then what better term than national interest."

In recent times, Lee Kuan Yew has given another dimension of National Interest in the form of New National Interest which is based on economy and devoid of any emotional considerations.

Social Constructivist scholars like Alexander Wendt also believe that national interest is a subjective category which can acquire any meaning based on the choice of the state and ruling elite.

Remarks

~~Work more & separately~~

Feminist and Post-modernist notion of national interest calls for incorporating human welfare with national interest as it is people who constitute a nation.

Thus, we can say that there is not one a single conception of National Interest, and its meaning differs from school to school.

Good direction but need to introduce more diversity in term of approaches

Post colonial Marxist idea liberal peace

8

Remarks