

D/26

## 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.

(M)

Content & understanding of  
above covering. But need  
to provide more examples  
for better understanding

Name Matthews M

Mobile No. \_\_\_\_\_

1. Invigilator Signature \_\_\_\_\_

2. Invigilator Signature Rajesh

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature Mahan

**REMARKS**

**GS SCORE**

## SECTION A

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

- (a) Examine the idea of Global Governance in IR.
- (b) Meanings and Dimensions of Human Security
- (c) Transnational companies as an emerging challenge for Nation-states.
- (d) Post-colonial approach of IR.
- (e) Characteristics of the democratic regimes of developed world.

1. a) Global governance refers to an overarching administrative infrastructure in the international sphere.

Its main objective is to regulate inter-national/inter-state relations, recognising the fact that states are the primary participants. Its role is more persuasive, than coercive.

Its focus area can be global, and universal, as in the case of the UN; or more subject specific, as in the case of WTO.

The term "global" implies that it is broader than inter-state relations. It includes other actors like transnational

Remarks

corporations, MNCs, Civil society group, INGOs, etc. For example greenpeace NGO is an active participant as a "norm creator" in most environmental agreements.

However, realists argue that like Waltz and Mearsheimer argue that Westphalian statehood remains the apex governance level because global mechanisms ~~do~~ do not have strong enforcement mechanisms. eg: UN doesn't have an army and cannot impose peace.

Yet, forces of globalization has pushed ~~to~~ the tilted the scale in favour of global governance

Q) Why is it needed?  
what are the challenges in its functioning?

Human security is defined by Anupam Acharja as an approach towards security which places the people at its centre,

Remarks -

- - -

rather than the states. It is advocated by post colonial and feminist scholars as a critique and alternative to the Realist notion of "National Security".

Thus Human Security has multiple dimensions. Canadian Model emphasises on physical security, eg: Freedom from conflict, wars, inter/intra-state disturbances, etc. Japanese Model focuses on Economic security, where poverty is seen as an equally bad killer as war.

Baary Buzan in his book "People, States and Fear" added other dimension like Environmental security, freedom from fear and want, etc.

Cynthia Enloe calls for gender sensitive security perspective (4)

Remarks

Q1 P explain the question  
dimension with M  
with scholar with M  
for examp of met  
Human security

Thus, Human Security is a meaningful alternative ~~to~~ and supplement to the idea of ~~Human~~ Security.

2) Transnational companies are those which have operations in multiple companies and ~~have~~ are not restricted base of operations to a single country.

Realists like Waltz and Mearsheimer consider the nation states as ~~a~~ single sovereign body, embodying Westphalian ideals of territoriality, sovereignty and authority. David Held argues that the increased capability of TNCs are leading to a "relative deterritorialisation of nation-states" and a

Remarks

"denationalisation of power": It is creating a "disaggregated state".

To illustrate, TNCs account for 33% of global economic output and 40% of all exports and imports. Some corporations like Apple have a higher economic valuation than the GDP of most small countries.

This is aggravated by factors like the inability of regulating financial flows, triangulation of trade, extraterritoriality, etc.

~~New~~ Dependency Theory like Caadoso and Faletto consider the situation a "New Dependency" of states on MNC's.

However, they are still under the sovereignty

~~good and bad for the people~~  
but need to be  
start at what  
way by challenging  
at challenging  
of state power or  
to this challenge

(5)

- Remarks

-

Post-colonial approach arose due to the dissatisfaction of the mainstream approaches like Realism and Liberalism which were Western centric and could not explain the situation of Third World countries adequately.

Scholars like Franz Fanon focus on "Theory from below", where the concerns of the subaltern sections were emphasised.

Samir Amin called for analysing the "unequal exchange" and subordinate position of the Afro-Asian countries relative to the West.

A key change was that they used new sources of information to feed theory, from poems, popular fiction, history, colonial experience, newspapers, etc. This is best seen

Remarks

in works of Gyanendra Spawak,  
and the feminist works of  
Chanda Mohanty.

It also analyses  
the interaction between the  
West and Third World, as seen  
in Homi-Bhabha's Dissident Nation,  
regarding migration.

~~Postcolonial analysis~~  
have proved to be a fresh  
and meaningful critique of  
the Realist Theories.

- e) Andrew Heywood defines  
defines a democratic regime  
as a system of governance  
where the ultimate sovereignty  
rests with the people.

Its main characteristics  
as given by Leonard Binder  
are  
1) Participation is popular and

Remarks

-

:

extensive

- 2) Identity of the people are linked to modern markers like class and respects pluralism
- 3) Legitimacy of the system is based on institutions and emanent sources.
- 4) Authority is legal rational.
- 5) Administration and legal penetration is universal.

The three driving factors of western democracies are "Consent, ~~Part~~ Popular participation, and respect for authority".

However, as Dahl has shown, Western Democracies are "Deformed Polyarchies" due to the disproportionate influence of corporates. Widespread inequality and unemployment has shown it to be far from a utopia".

Remarks

(63) What are the strengths & weaknesses of democratic process?

## 2. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Discuss the major arguments given by the scholars of 'End of Ideology' debate.  
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Discuss the views of Communication theorists on role played by transnational relations in IR?  
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Features of political parties in third world countries.  
(250 Words) (20 Marks)

2-a) End of Ideology is a theory which argues that humans have reached the endpoint of ideological evolution and all political systems are destined for a similar pattern of growth. It is best seen in the works of Daniel Bell, Dahrendorf, etc.

They argue that the differences between the ideological "Right" and "Left" are no longer profound. China & Russia are following a similar economic model of economic liberalisation as the USA.

Remarks

Overwhelming economic and social power is neither with the capitalists or the proletariat but with a "new" managerial class. Therefore, they argue that emancipation of humanity is not to be from anti-communism or anti-capitalism, but from anti-bureaucratism.

Francis Fukuyama takes this further saying it is an "End of History", where the Western liberal Model of democracy and capitalism has become the victor of economic ideological war, and communism has been put into the "dustbin of history".

Post modernists call this an "End of modernity", where ideologies were irrelevant grand meta-narratives which are no longer necessary.

## Remarks

- ⑧ Good book I understand but should have elaborated more on "new" of Daniel Bell's etc.

However, as Andrew Heywood concluded, 'this expression of 'End of Ideology' must be seen as ideological in itself. Western capitalist democracies are no paragons of ideal society, and hence ideological evolution will continue.'

b) Communication Theory views political activity as a movement of demands and supports across the political system. ~~They~~<sup>It</sup> places transnational relations at the core of ~~the~~ its theory, best seen in the Cybernetics of Deutsch and works of Cobden.

They view the international sphere as a single interconnected system. States are not seen as self-contained "independent wholes". Global

Remarks

society is viewed as a machine.

The fundamental unit of analysis is "information flow" rather than nation-states. International sphere is dynamic, and is characterised by a "servo-mechanism", which provides feedback as a stimulus for evolutionary change. The world Transnational relations are in "Homeostasis" rather than equilibrium, characterising its dynamic nature.

Communication Theorists argue that the primary role of the nation-states is not to exert power over others but to "steer" information.

However, this approach has been criticised for its "excessive rationality".

Remarks

Dean Young argues that humans cannot be analysed like machines. It ignores possibility of revolutionary change, even though it agrees on its dynamism.

Yet, it is a unique approach, which has enriched systems theory and comparative politics.

- ~~c) Political parties are groups of like-minded individuals who come together with an objective to capture political power.~~

Parties of the Third World share some common features with the west, like its an acceptance of plurality, necessity of engaging in electoral battles, etc.

Remarks

It is also considerably unique in other areas, like:

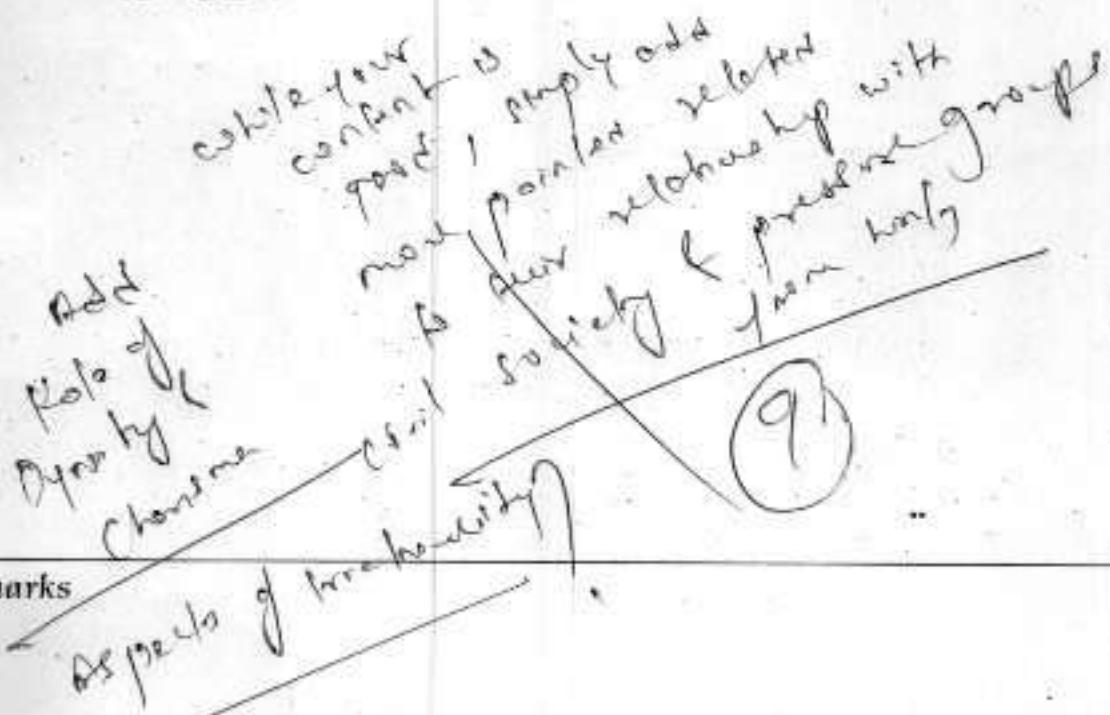
- 1) Centralisation of leadership  
eg: BNP and Awami League are only vehicles of single leader.
  - 2) Identity is based on primordial loyalties like Caste / religion, etc.
  - 3) Ideological differences on economy are minor, with all accepting liberal capitalism in practice.
  - 4) Lack of internal democracy and dominance of charismatic authority. eg: High command culture
  - 5) Legitimacy is often claimed on transcendental sources
- ~~↳ Lucian Pye adds other points like~~
- 1) Inequality in political sphere, where some parties enjoy advantages over others.

No  
there  
always

Remarks

- 2) Capacity to implement programme is low and "speaking of promises" creates a "democratic overload".
- 3) Differentiation of functions is few because of parties dominated by ~~few~~ only a few capable individuals who monopolise decisionmaking.

Thus, political parties in the third world are unique in its own way, which has led to the indigenisation of the western democratic model.



Remarks

**3. Attempt all questions:**

- (a) Pressure groups and their role in Decision making of State. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Neo-Liberalism vs Neo-Realism Debate. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Briefly enumerate the most important functions of WTO. How do the regional trade agreements like TPP or RCEP likely affect the WTO? How does India stand in WTO differ when it comes to issue of export of Services? (250 Words) (20 Marks)

**- Remarks**

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*Remarks*

Remarks

*Remarks*

*Remarks*

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*Remarks*

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*Remarks*

**4. Attempt all questions:**

- (a) Comment on how 'Security Dilemma' actually results in an atmosphere of 'insecurity' in the long run. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Third World Security. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Issues and limitations of International Financial and Economic Institutions. Discuss the relevance of demand of NIEO in this context. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

**Remarks**

**GS SCORE**

*Remarks*

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*Remarks*

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*Remarks*

**SECTION B**

5. Answer the following questions: (150 Words Each) (10 × 5 = 50)
- Security Community as per Karl Deutsch.
  - Idea of Neo-colonialism by Nkrumah.
  - Political economy approach vs. traditional approach in comparative politics?
  - Critical / Post Marxist theory of International Relations
  - Feminist critique of theories of International Relations.

5-a) ~~Deutsch~~ Security Community is an idea that like-minded nation states will come together and form "islands of cooperation and peace" in order to ~~the general~~ ~~weather~~ the storm of ~~Anarchic~~ ~~Peace is~~ anarchy. It builds on democratic peace thesis of Immanuel Kant and Doyle. Security Community are built on multiple foundations. Democratic values promote solving disputes through dialogue. Transnational ties

**Remarks**

between the people and society create a consensus for peace and mutual defence.

However, nondemocracy are not bound by similar conditions and hence, security community aims to defend itself against future aggression.

- (3) You need to talk about the two types of security community -
- b) Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana in his work "Neocolonialism" argue that despite the Third world countries winning freedom from colonial powers, they are still tied up in a subservient position through economics.

The erstwhile colonial powers like UK, France and new superpowers like USA enjoy disproportionate economic

Remarks

power. They no longer use traditional mechanisms like military conquest or political subordination, but rather convert the former colony into another economic dependency state.

The Third World countries are severely dependent on their former masters for aid, trade and investments. Trade is dominated by "unequal exchange" where progressively depreciating raw materials are exchanged for progressively appreciating manufactured goods. Also the colonial powers leverage their educational and technological superiority.

This creates a situation of "Neocolonialism" instead of traditional colonialism.

Remarks

Colonialism is now replaced by global firms playing a role of market. Also a group of countries (Russia, China, India) are adopting a policy of workers nation.

c) Political Economy approach refers to a 'unified' approach of using economic theories and facts, theories and principles to explain political phenomena, and vice versa.

### Differences

<u>Political Economy approach</u>	<u>Traditional Approach</u>
1) Applicable to developing societies as well.	1) Eurocentric
2) Multidisciplinary to avoid duplication of research.	2) Not multidisciplinary
3) Analyses the "Infa-structure" like the working of informal mechanism within parties	3) Limited to formal political structures
4) Focuses on value free approach	4) Value oriented

Remarks

Political Economy approach  
is best seen in

- ① Methodological individualism  
↳ Mancur Olson
- ② Role of institutions by Douglass North
- ③ Political embeddedness of markets by Polanyi, etc.

Such multidisciplinary  
and empiricism oriented work (5)  
are absent in traditional approaches

- ~~good understanding also has my~~  
~~Also is different or~~  
~~different form of~~  
~~new reality~~
- d) Critical Theory is a school  
of post-Marxist school of  
thought popularised by the  
Frankfurt school, Theodor  
Adorno, Horkheimer, Marcuse  
and Habermas. Cox linklater

In the field of international  
relations, it was popularised  
by Andrew Linklater.

Remarks

Its main goal is the emancipation of humanity. It is against the state-centric approach of Liberalism and Realism. It calls for expanding the "moral boundaries of the state" so that people are concerned of each other as humans, not as national individuals.

~~Robert Cox applied Gramscianism to international relations where consciousness, norms, identity and culture shape inter-state politics.~~

Critical Theorists argue that ideologies like Realism are neither neutral nor explain political reality impartially. "Every theory is created for some purpose" and hence, it has led to Western domination.

Remarks

~~good elaboration  
fully & well for realism  
critique re realism  
in particular~~

c) Feminist critique of International Relations theories based on applying a "gender sensitive lens" on all theories.

Feminists like Cynthia Enloe argue that present theories are created "by men for men". Patriarchal assumptions are ubiquitous in all concepts. They call for gendering ideas like security and war. "National Security" has ignored the vulnerable sections and women emerge as the greatest casualties in all conflict.

Hence, they call for "human security", where ~~the~~ individual are ~~placed~~ prioritized instead of the state.

"Your answer will complete my Ticksheet"

(4) You <sup>not be</sup> include <sup>your critique of projeckt's view</sup>

Remarks

They aim to create 'emancipatory theory', by studying and altering present discourses on politics.

Remarks

## 6. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Political Sociology approach of international relations. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Emergence and evolution of Dependency theory and areas of difference with classical Marxist IR view? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) What are the competing claims made about globalization in context of international political economy? What has been the impact of globalization on internal functioning of states in context of democratic decision making? (250 Words) (20 Marks)

6. a) Political Sociology approach refers to an intermarriage between political science and sociological perspectives. It has been advocated by scholars like Easton, Graham Wallace, Charles Merriam, etc.

Its main argument is that the state is as much a sociological entity as it is political. Society and the state cannot be separated. Its integration has the benefit of utilising the abundance of data within sociology, while eliminating duplication of efforts.

Political socialisation and

Remarks

In what sense  
are different  
from political  
science &  
sociology?

culture are essential vehicles of political values, transmitting them among peers and family.

Its 3 main schools of thought are:

- ① Pluralist: It sees the society and polity as ~~as~~ arenas for the competition of multiple groups
- ② Elitist: It sees the society as dominated by any one section of ~~to~~ the society which enjoys disproportionate power and influence
- ③ Marxist, where the polity is divided into social classes, which dictate their political and economic destinies.

However, David Easton has criticised it for making "politics a handmaid of sociology". It has ignored the

Remarks

*view of political  
method with significant*



normative and philosophical dimensions of political theory.

b) Dependency theory emerged among Latin American economists and political scientists, mainly Raul Prebisch and ECLA.

Its main argument was that the world was divided unequally into metropoles and satellites where the former exploits and drains the latter.

Prebisch argues this was due to "unequal exchange" and "unfair terms of trade": Metropoles or West uses their technological superiority and economic power to create a "neocolonial" situation. It is essentially

This was developed by A.G. Frank, Samir Amin, Cordón, Waller and Wallerstein. They show that global capitalism has

created a "world system", which divided the world into "core", semi-periphery and periphery countries.

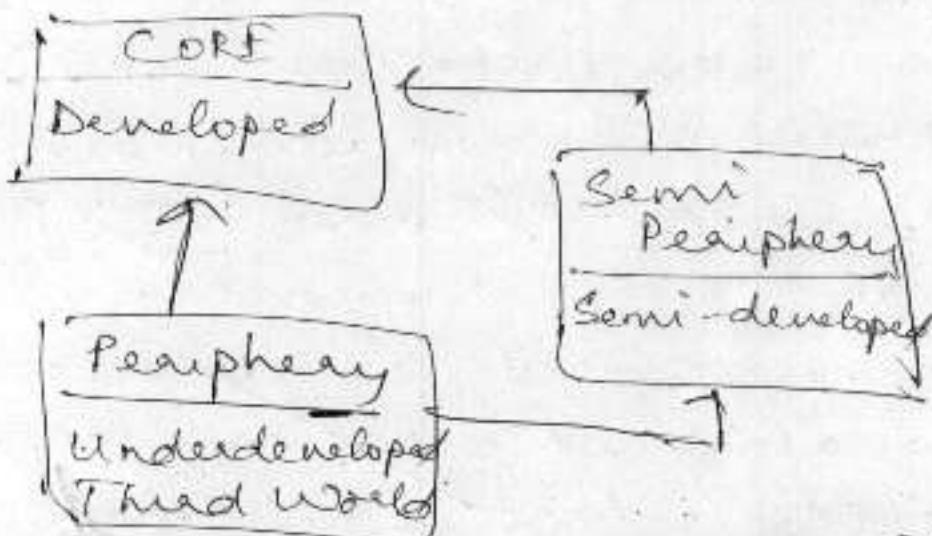


Fig. World System of Wallerstein

Its main difference with classical Marxist view is that it adds an ideological and hegemonical dimension. Periphery countries are seen as theoretically politically independent, yet they are enslaved to the world capitalist system. Its own dominant classes of landed

Remarks

How is the entire of modernization  
theory or third world =

elites, indigenous bourgeoisie and bureaucracy engages willingly with the core countries.

However, scholars like Justin Rosenberg has advocated going back to classical historical materialism of Marx. Dependency has lost influence with the meteoric rise of India, China and East Asian Tigers.

- ~~polity w/ new polity and not of pol. not of pol. of world~~
- c) Globalization is defined by Baylis and Smith as the deepening of worldwide interconnectedness.

In the context of Political Economy it has been differently interpreted by different schools like liberal like Kenichi Ohmae has resulted in a worldwide economy without borders. No country is

spared from the effects on the system because trade and investment has resulted in interdependence. Joseph Nye expands it to "complex interdependence" where it is not merely state led economies, but also the unit-level factors like people and society are also interconnected. This has resulted in a new "disaggregated state" where its sovereignty is eroded.

Realists dispute this saying that the states remain the sole decisionmaking body. and Waltz argues that due to 2 factors.

① Lack of overarching global governance framework & anarchy

② Security Dilemma;

Therefore International Political Economy is dependent on states - Marxist and dependency

Remarks

Should not be <sup>in view of</sup>  
denied  
these will <sup>the</sup> <sup>skeptics</sup>  
by <sup>for</sup> <sup>globalists</sup>  
conservative

theorists put forward the idea that present economic system is unequal, divided into 'core', 'periphery' and 'semi periphery'. Globalization is merely the highest stage of capitalism and a new form of imperialism.

### IMPACT ON DECISION MAKING

Despite diverse opinions, it is undisputed that globalization has eroded state capacity for independent decisionmaking. TNCs enjoy a privileged position due to its capacity for financial flows, extraterritoriality, threat of triangulation of trade, etc.

Global Civil Society has become a potent player, where reports by Amnesty/Greenpeace are taken very seriously globally.

Also global governance institutions like UN have achieved a 'transnational legitimacy'.

Remarks

-  
:-

These have all resulted in the relative deterioration of the nation-state.

relative now  
the impact on decision making is  
also not uniform and  
depends on the relative power  
position of the states



Remarks

7. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Critically Examine the Democratic Peace Theory. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Discuss the relationship between National Security and National Interest. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) What are basic tenets of Liberal institutionalism? How far idea of peace offered in functionalism and neo-functionalism based on transnational ties is different from each other? (250 Words) (20 Marks)

a) Democratic Peace Theory refers to the idea that democracies do not fight each other, and is proven by historic evidence. Its main proponents are Kant and Doyle.

Doyle gives the main reasons for this as:

- 1) Popular opinion is always against war.
- 2) Responsible leadership wary of putting people through hardship.
- 3) Democratic values, where problems are solved through dialogue.

Remarks

Kant argued that democracies would form security communities and "islands of peace", which prevent war.

However democratic peace theory has been critiqued by many schools of thought:

Social constructivists like Alexander Wendt argue "Democracies like Canada and USA do not fight because they are friends, and not democratic ~~countries~~". It implies that social construction of reality can be applied to non democracies too.

Interdependence liberals point to economic ties and the success of "trading states" like Germany as the prime factor.

Realists like Mearsheimer argue "Sadly even the liberal democracy cannot triumph over anarchy".

Remarks  
 Scope of the law to  
 not been very clear.  
 concrete, it's unclear.  
 also that all the countries to  
 various examples to  
 two democracies to  
 don't fight with  
 each other.

meaning the anarchical system always carries the possibility of war.

b) National Security and National Interest are two foundation stones or guiding ideas of Realist foreign policy.

National Interest means - adopting policies or measures which benefit the nation-state as a whole.

National Security means  
 ☛ physical, economic and  
 ☛ cultural security of the state.

Both are interlinked, as Kissinger said "National Security is the ~~foremost~~ highest among National Interests".

Barry Buzan has expanded the idea of National security

to include environmental and human security.<sup>7</sup>

However, both these ideas have been criticised and their actions can seem contradictory. National Interest is a "singularly vague concept" which is often defined by the political/economic elites. It sacrifices/compromises human security by engaging in war or in persecution of minorities. For example ~~the~~ the Rohingyas were called Bengali extremists by Myanmar state and considered a threat to National Security Interest.

Thus, the vagueness and lack of a precise definition opens it up for misuse, and unjustifiable political actions.

You need to answer  
the challenges with  
complex of new  
emerging & old

Remarks (8) complex of new emerging & old  
and expand the security of both National  
National interests.

c) Liberal Institutionalism is an idea ~~where~~ popularised by Woodrow Wilson and others who argue that only institutions can transform the "~~zoo~~" "chaotic ~~&~~ jungle of international relations, into a zoo".

#### BASIC TENETS:

- Faith is placed in international institutions because they argue that the same cause of conflict is security dilemma. Overarching international governance structures can ~~at~~ reduce anarchy and promote peace.
- Westphalian ideal of sovereignty of nation states is also a cause because states take actions without thinking of the rest. Institutions can forge cooperation.

Remarks

## Functionalism & Neofunctionalism

Functionalism is an idea popularised by David Mitrany where "peace is built in pieces" or by a piecemeal approach. Cooperation is encouraged in "low politics" areas of economy, culture, etc and "high politics" of security is ignored left out. Eventually cooperation would "spillover". This would lead to peace and eventual integration of the world.

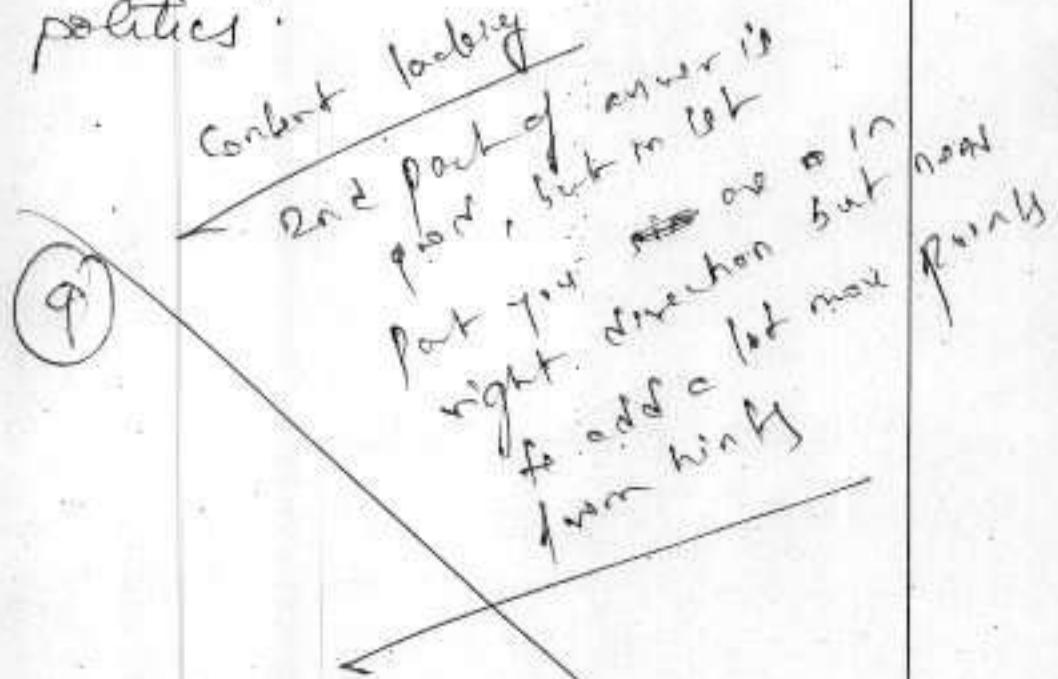
However Neofunctionalism as theorised by Ernst Haas and others argue that ignoring "high politics" is not going to work. They need to actively engage "self-interested political elites".

Joseph Nye argues for a

Remarks

"Complex interdependence", whereby transnational and subnational relations will also lead to functionalist spillovers.

Therefore, neofunctionalism builds on functionalist assumptions attempting to explain why its tenets are disproven in real world politics.



**GS SCORE**

*Remarks*

8. Attempt all questions:
- (a) Compare and contrast views of liberal, realist and critical schools on global political economy. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
  - (b) What are the different meanings of system in international relations? Explain the Mortan Kaplan model. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
  - (c) 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. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

*Remarks*

*Remarks*

*Remarks*

**GS SCORE**

*Remarks*

**GS SCORE**

**Remarks**

*Remarks*

**GS SCORE**

**Remarks**

**GS SCORE**

*Remarks*