

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.

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Name MATTHEWS M.

Mobile No. _____

Date _____

Signature [Signature]

REMARKS.

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SECTION A

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.

1. a) Critical / Post-Marxist theory in IR draws from the writings of Neo-Marxists and Frankfurt school, like Theodor Adorno, Marcuse, Habermas, etc. It is best seen in the writings of Andrew Linklater.

Traditional Marxism focused on historical materialism and economic interpretation of history. This perspective is widened by Critical theorists by focusing on culture and the role of ideas. Mass media has helped create a discourse, which favours the Western capitalist system and its values, like market and efficiency.

Remarks

Linklater criticises the Realist conception of "state-centred" politics which ignores the individual. Human security is prioritised over state security. Emancipation of humans is the ultimate goal for critical theorists.

Robert Cox gives a neo-Gravscian perspective to IR where he focuses on the structures of "consent" rather than "coercion". Even the periphery states believe the best way is through market reforms and globalisation, even if it benefits the core countries disproportionately.

However, "New Marxists" like Justin Rosenberg has argued for a return to the original Marxist approach, based on economic. Despite this, Critical theory has formed a powerful critique on the Realist and liberal schools.

b) Neofunctionalism & Integration

Functionalism believed in a "piecemeal approach" to build cooperation in international relations. David Mitrany argued for focussing on "low politics" of culture, economics, trade, etc to which will eventually "spill over" into "high politics" of security and survival. He argues for keeping politics separate from political cooperative aspects.

Neofunctionalism builds on this theory, and is best seen in works of Ernst Haas and Leon Lipdberg. In their work "Peace in parts", they say the "self-interested political elites" cannot be kept separate from "low politics". They must be actively engaged and must appeal to the "mutual gains" of cooperation.

They envision "regional integration" as the goal of this approach. It does not imply a "world federation", but rather a system of interdependent nation-states. They give European Union as the best example, where even rival countries have come together to cooperate.

However, realist critics point out that the issues of "bread and butter" of people can derail the integration project. National interest and survival will discard "low politics" when inconvenient, eg: Brexit.

c) Systems Theory:

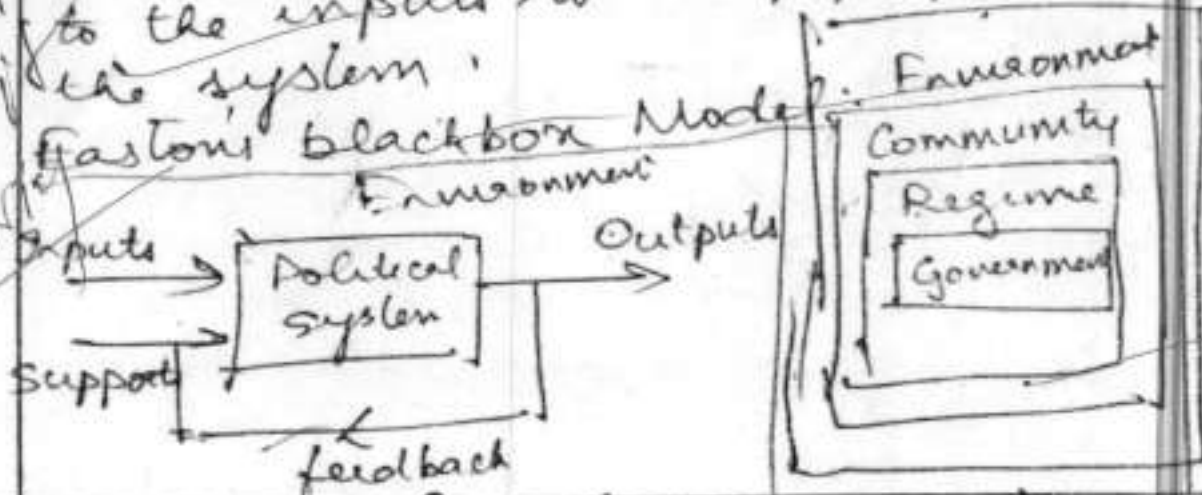
It is an approach pioneered by Easton, Almond, Kaplan, etc which considers the political system as a "set of interconnected

"elements standing in interaction".
 It draws from the work of natural scientists like Bertalanffy, and sociologists like Talcott Parson.

It assumes that the political system is a part of a larger social system. It accepts "inputs". It can be in the form of ~~raw~~ demands for materials, recognition, etc. Supports help maintain the system. They are processed by the political and bureaucratic mechanisms to give "outputs" which are the political decisions. This is studied and sent as a "feedback" to the inputs, to help perpetuate the system.

Good Attempt
 Keep improving

6.8



Remarks

Fig ()

Reduce your content
write within time frame

They go for a multidimensional approach, including sociology, psychology, etc. They focus on objective value-free observation. Model building is privatised. They call for "knowledge for the sake of knowledge". It aims to eliminate duplication of efforts across social sciences.

As Ogden R. Young criticised, it is based on a 'false theory of knowledge' because values are ignored. It is conceptually inadequate creating empirical difficulties. It is also ideologically oriented towards conservatism.

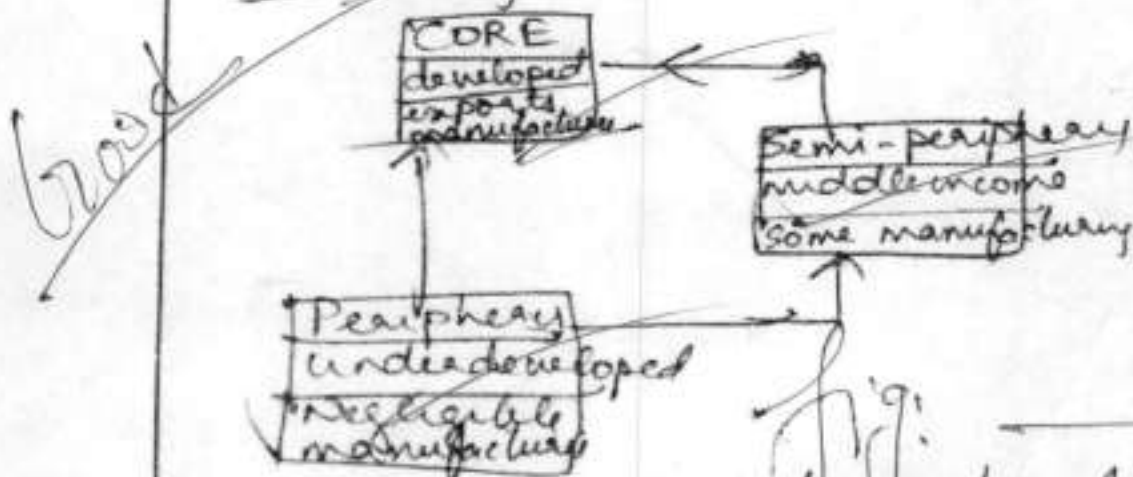
d) Dependency Theory:

Dependency theory emerged among Latin American political theorists led by Raul Prebisch. They applied Marx's economic analysis to the

Remarks

"developed" west and "underdeveloped" ~~countries~~ post-colonial or Third World countries. "Unequal Trade" was identified as the major factor where the West exported technological and manufactured goods, while the Third World exported agri-products which were losing value.

This was developed by AG Frank and Immanuel Wallerstein into a "world systems theory". World was divided into "core", "semi-periphery" and "periphery" countries.



"Surplus" is transferred from periphery to core countries. This enables the bourgeoisie of "core"

to work for the welfare of their local proletariat, absorbing them to the system.

Wallerstein gave an emancipatory vision, where world systems are seen as historically bounded. Globalisation is the symptom of the last phase of capitalist world system.

Others like Issa Shuji, Angela helped apply this to Africa. Hong Kong, Alavi.

However, this approach is losing relevance because some periphery countries like India, Brazil and China have empirically disproven dependency.

But Wallerstein's analysis of globalisation gives a contemporary outlook.

7.0

Remarks

Alot
as time
Present
market
Manage
time

1. e) Globalization:

It refers to the increasing worldwide interconnectedness between people, societies, economies and politics.

Many support the merits of globalization, especially the liberal school.

It brings people together, connected by the transport and communication revolution. It is creating a new global culture, led by Hollywood. International institutions like the UN have much greater role and influence.

Economies are being interlinked which helps in the movement of capital, services and people, bringing development to the people.

Kenichi Ohmae argues that state sovereignty is eroded by TNCs and a new global civil society.

However, it has demerits

Introduce
by
Scholar's
View

Product
Report
of
UN/ILC
on
the
Impact
of
Globali-
zation

too, as pointed out by Mearns and Thomson representing the Realist school.

Much of "globalization" is a myth. It is "thick globalisation" because benefits are reaped by the developed west. Economic activity is concentrated in three blocs of N. America, Europe, China and Japan. The state is still supreme vis-a-vis the international institutions like UN.

Marxists view it as the "highest stage of imperialism", or in the new form of "neo-colonialism" best seen in works of Franz Fanon and Edward Said.

Thus, globalization is a 'contested' concept.

6.0
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)

30. a) Political economy approach is an intermarriage between politics and economics, best seen in works of Marxist scholars like A.G. Frank, Wallerstein, and others like Mancus Olson, Douglas C. North, Polanyi, etc.

It is far more comparative and effective than traditional approaches, because:

It focuses on empirical and analytical investigation, which was ignored by traditional methods.

It goes for an inter-disciplinary approach, drawing from the data already available in economics.

Ex: Karl Polanyi worked on the

First to
like
Adam Smith

Remarks

↓
Wealth of nations
to current
How it

Foot

political embeddedness of markets:

It aims for a value-free approach for theory-building. It has widened investigation to the Developing societies. Traditional approaches were mostly Western-centric. It focuses on "Infrastructure", i.e., the internal working of political structures, involving individuals, parties, etc.

Add commentaries

However, it ~~is~~ has weaknesses as well. Old "Woods" criticism

Marxist scholars take an "economically determinist" approach. Dependency theory ~~has~~ is disputed due to the economic rise of India, Brazil and China.

Weakness over-stated

David Easton have called for an ~~end~~ argued against the tendency towards making politics a "satellite of economics or sociology". Sartori criticises it for "conceptual sketching", where new

Remarks

Balance for answer

vocabulary is brought in with vague definitions, used differently by different scholars.

Oran R. Young calls it conceptually inadequate due to operational ^{difficulties} inadequacy. Facts cannot be strictly separated from values.

Despite this, it has helped in hypothesis formulation, prediction of political behaviours, analysis of capitalism etc.

7.0

b) NEO-NEO DEBATE

Use keywords from question itself

R. Keohane argues that Neoliberalism and Neorealism are half siblings, due to its similarities, despite different origins. Neoliberalism draws from idealist tradition, seen in work of Cobden, Hobson, Woodrow Wilson, Fukuyama, Doyle, etc. Neorealism draws from Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Morgenthau, etc.

Both have similarities.
Both schools believe that the state is the most important actor.

They think the system is plagued by anarchy. Peace needs active effort and consciously devised machinery. Power is a major point of interest for states.

But their differences are more acute:

• Neorealists believe the state is sovereign and supreme. Anarchy prevents meaningful cooperation. War is a perpetual possibility. There is no overarching super-international body above the state. The International Structure is cited as the most important cause. It is best seen in works of Waltz.
• Mearsheimer argues that states desire "relative gains" and dream of achieving a hegemonic position.

Remarks

Avoid being judgemental

Neoliberals stress on possibility of cooperation. They believe in goodness of human nature, societies and leaders. Democracy and liberal values have created a taboo for war, making it less likely. Interdependence of economies increases cost of war, while increasing rewards for cooperation. INGOs, TNCs and international organisations like UN are eroding the states' sovereignty. Keeser calls sovereignty as "organised hypocrisy". Institutions are meaningful and effective.

Thus, their differences are numerous, though both support west-centric conservative system.

7.0

- ⊙ Balance your content, one part is overstated
- * Structure your answer, start with Assumptions.

Remarks

- * Present your answer more authentically.
- * Tables can be used its differentials

c)

Political parties of the third world have unique features because of their colonial history, level of political development, political culture, and nature of the society.

Leonard Binder characterises them ~~as~~ the political parties as based on primordial identities, of caste, religion, etc. Western parties are usually class or ideology based. Third world parties are not very ideologically distinct and often advocate the same path of development. eg: Congress and Communist parties of Kerala have similar manifestos.

Due to anticolonial struggle and its legacy being inherited by one party usually, ~~so~~ they follow "single party dominant systems" ~~for~~ in the beginning, which ~~are~~ sometimes get fragmented. This is because

Remarks

Charismatic authority is valued and leaders have their own cliques.

Political participation is mostly led by elites. Social power, status and legitimacy are more important than economic power. Internal democracy is often absent or dysfunctional. This is true for most parties in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nigeria, etc.

Associates lobbying is underdeveloped, when compared to the USA or UK. But associates institutional pressure groups like the bureaucrats and army wield powerful influence.
eg: Army in Pakistan, IAS in India

Since the administrative and legal penetration in these countries are low, political parties often take on roles, like flood relief, minority rights, etc.

However, scholars like JP Nettles has criticised this

approach of comparing third world parties with the US or UK model. These parties have the unique role of state building, nation building, interest articulation and interest aggregation at the same time. Democratic norms are imparted by these parties.

Thus, they indeed have a unique role, identity and methodology.

* Understand the demand of the question & address accurately

* Try to give scholarly commentaries like Almond's Analysis, etc.

* Provide content as per allotted marks to the question.

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

5. a)

Robert Cox gives a Neo-Marxist perspective to IR, applying Gramsci's ideas and framework.

R. Cox analyses US and UK and their hegemonic status. For him hegemony means the ability to exercise power, with the consent of the ruled. It means cultural control and intellectual leadership.

The hegemons have promoted the ideas of free trade through Neorealist and Neoliberal theory. Neorealism is not as objective or commonsensical as it claims. "Theory is always for someone and for some purpose." It means

Remarks

Knowledge cannot be objective and has hidden values. Because of this, even "periphery" countries believe "free trade" and market capitalism is beneficial for everyone, and hence accept it voluntarily.

However, he gives it an emancipatory vision, calling it a "critical theory", which aims to challenge the prevailing order. He maintains Marx's belief that capitalism is inherently unstable and will provoke a revolution. Andreas Linklater ^{adds} ~~just~~ the dimension of Frankfurt school to this theory, while Justin Rosenberg has advocated going back to the traditional works of Marx instead of Gramsci.

65
 75 & 100 marks questions
 it in use
 time
 Content

Remarks

b) Social Constructivism is a relatively new school of thought emerging as a critique of Neo-Realism and Liberal Institutionalism, both of which couldn't satisfactorily explain events like end of cold war, fall of Berlin Wall, etc. It is best, its main proponents are Alexander Wendt, Finnemore & Sikkink, etc.

Social constructivism is based on ideas, norms and culture. They don't believe reality ~~is~~ is objective and unchanging as realists claim. Reality is "socially constructed". For this reason, they believe in the power of change. For example, Realists claim "anarchy" is the root cause of conflict. But Wendt argues "Anarchy is what the states make of it". Thus, realism is only an excuse for leaders to

escape responsibility.

Finemore and Sikkink

shows that social construction happens
3 stages: ①②③

① Norm identification by the idea entrepreneurs

② Norm cascade, when all actors follow it

③ Norm internalisation, when any given fact is taken as granted without question.

This creates identity and soft power. For example, "Nuclear taboo" in IR prevented USA from using it even in cases like Korean or Cuban crises.

Thus, this approach along with Feminism has become a powerful critique on Realist-led theory.

Write about
Wendt
Commentary

Give
Scholarly
View on
Constructivism

S.U

Remarks

e) Hegemonic Stability Theory

d) Problems of state-centric approach:

Many scholars, especially those of the Realist school adopt a state-centric approach. The state is considered sovereign and supreme. It holds the "sole monopoly of legitimate violence". It controls the military and provides public services.

However, it has several problems.

There is a definitional problem with what constitutes the state. Some consider only the legal and political system; while others consider it as an association of associations. Liberals like Roseau argue that this approach ignores "Transnationalism".

There are multitude of interaction between individuals, groups, etc.

Globalists like Kenichi Ohmae argue that ~~the~~ globalization is eroding state's sovereignty and creating a "disaggregated state".

TNCs, INGOs, international organisations are gaining influence.

Feminists like Cynthia Enloe argue the modern state is created and structured "by men, for men". State security overrides Human security.

Concepts like National Interest are used and misused in a state centric approach, because it is the elites, political elites or bureaucracy which defines it.

Thus, a state centric approach is bound with many flaws, but still remains very popular.

Good
Keep adding
30/10/09

5:0

e) Different Responses to Globalization

Globalization refers to the increasing worldwide interconnectedness between people, societies, economies and states. It is viewed as driven by the Western Liberal Capitalism.

Developing and countries and LDCs have mixed responses to its economic effects. They call for protection of domestic industries and agriculture and ask the developed countries to lower open up their economies. They call for eliminating NTBs (Non Trade Barriers) and SPS (Sanitary and Phytosanitary) measures.

They oppose intellectual property regimes, especially regarding the pharma sector. But they also send their diaspora and scientists to benefit from western universities to improve

Add
Scholar's
definition

Avoid
Introduction

research capabilities.

Response to cultures is also mixed. Hollywood, MTV, Mac and ~~MTV~~ ~~as~~ ~~McDonald's~~ have captured local imagination, westernising the elites. However, Glocalisation is also happening like to hybridisation, like new fashion and food.

Political aspects like international organisations are welcomed, to exert group pressure on the 'Great Powers', like using UN for Disarmament.

In the recent past, with protectionism and regionalism emerging in US, UK and Europe, the developing societies are emerging as champions of globalisation. eg: ~~US withdrawing~~

Great
Create
Headings
Separate
Describe
by
Comments
File
Joseph
Reports
on
US
etc

S.D.

Add current views on
Globalization like
Barack Obama etc

Remarks

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)

6. a) "Democracy" means any a form of government where the ultimate sovereignty rests with the people.

Its major features in advanced industrial societies are:

The political ^{representative} ~~executive~~ is elected by the people, directly or indirectly. Elections are conducted periodically by an independent impartial authority.

Checks and Balances to the executive in the form of judiciary and legislatures are present.

The "individual" is considered at the centre of the system, with fundamental rights of life, liberty and property.

Add
Historic
definition

Remarks

Party competition is an essential feature, giving different meaningful choices to the voter. ~~Most~~ Daniel Bell has argued that after the 'End of Ideology', most parties in advanced societies are ideologically similar "catch-all" parties.

Independent press is crucial to ~~counter~~ government propaganda and keeping citizens watchful of their rights.

Freedom of speech, expression, action and association along with a healthy civil society are now treated as a basic feature in a democracy.

However, Robert Dahl and Lindblom call western democracies as poly "deformed polyarchies". They are "Polyarchy" means the "rule of many", not the rule of all. They are deformed

Remarks

Focus on
his points
more
authentic

7.0

because of imbalance of group interests, with the corporates having disproportionate power.

b) Pressure groups are a group of individuals working to influence politics towards a common goal, without capturing ^{political} power themselves.

Almond gives a four-fold classification:

① Institutional pressure groups which are a part of the state, with distinct interests.
eg: IAS officers in India.

② Associational groups which are groups of professionals like labour, management, agriculturists etc. eg: FICCI, trade unions

③ Non-Associational groups which are based on traditional identities like religion, caste, etc.

Remarks

eg: Jats working for reservation

(4) Anomic groups which often work to change the political system itself. It happens due to dysfunctional political communication.

eg: ULFA, Maoists.

Pressure groups & Interest groups

Both terms are often used interchangeably, with minor differences. Both are groups of homogeneous individuals with a common goal. Both don't aim to capture political power directly.

But interest groups are often seen as benign, which while "pressure groups" carry a negative connotation. Its methods range from lobbying, to bribery, collusion, etc.

In this sense, pressure groups can be seen as a subset of interest groups.

Remarks

7

Give
Comments
Balance your
Content
Proportion

1
 C) NAM was started as a movement among "Third World" countries which did not want to be a part of Cold War. Its main goals were

① Economic development through
 • North-South cooperation

② Reduce the dangers of Cold War hostility

③ Reshape global politics on the basis of equality & national self-determination

Realists have argued that with the end of Cold War, NAM has become irrelevant. But the global conditions still have a role for NAM.

Economic development is still a priority for Third World countries, but the major threat is from globalization and neo-colonialism now. The danger of Cold War block politics have given way to intra-state wars,

Remarks

Global
 Historical
 development
 21st
 Century
 21st
 Century

terrorism and nuclear proliferation
 Global politics is still far from
 the ideal of equality, best seen
 in the UNSC working.

NAM now has a
 membership of 120 and is the
 biggest association of developing
 countries. India's negotiating power
 has also increased manifold.
 Hence ~~not~~ and can provide
 effective leadership.

Therefore, the idea of NAM
 is still very relevant, even though
 the ~~idea~~ processes and structures
 will need to be ~~made~~ refined.

Major Contradictions:

From its inception, most
 countries were not truly "non-
 aligned", with ~~even~~ India signing
 a Friendship Treaty with Russia.

The countries did not form
 a coherent group, with regional

rivalry taking centre stage
 eg. Iran using it for anti-Israel
 propaganda. The group is too
 big and amorphous.

with the end of cold war,
 there is a question of "Non-aligned
 with whom", because there is only
 one superpower. India and ~~China~~
~~have~~ several countries have
 heavy trade with the US.

Its practical outcomes as a
 group were below potential.
 Now there are several specialised
 organisations for national interests,
 eg. Asean, African Union, etc.

Despite this, NAM holds
 huge potential as a coordinating
 body and a moral force.

Give key forward

focus on scholars and
 their commentaries

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)

8. Introduction of International Relations
 a) Anarchy is a central concept of both realist and liberal traditions, yet they view it differently.

Realists argue that domestic politics is characterised by "hierarchy" due to the strong political system. But international relations does not have any overarching supervisory institutions, resulting in anarchy.

Due to this, the state is seen as the ~~primary~~ primary actor. Survival is the ultimate "National interest". Power must be sought for the end of security, according to Kenneth Waltz.

Remarks

It hinders cooperation and war is a constant possibility.

However, liberals have a different opinion. They agree 'anarchy' is present. But it is not a state of war. Overarching authority is present through international institutions like the UN. Rosenau argues that 'Transnationalism' of individuals and societies promote cooperation. Michael Doyle argues that democracies do not fight each other, even in anarchy. Economics breeds "interdependence".

Realists like Mearsheimer have however disputed this. "Even liberal democracy cannot triumph over anarchy".

Both approaches have been criticised by social constructivists, like Alexander Wendt. "Anarchy is what the

Good
Keep it
improving

states make of it!" By saying blaming anarchy for war, leaders are trying to escape responsibility. It can be shaped through ideas, norms and knowledge.

b) Behavioural approach, as Sartori argued, brought a "revolution of sorts" to political science. It mainly ~~is~~ focuses on giving an objective analysis on the actual behaviour of different political actors. It is best seen in David Easton's "Behaviouralism"

Major Advantages:

It helped give a scientific credentials to ~~politic~~ international relations and political science. Its focus on theory and model building helped in better political analysis and prediction. It

adopted an "interdisciplinary" approach drawing from economics, sociology, psychology, etc. It emphasised on "infra-structure" which means non-formal political institutions like interest groups, political parties, etc. It has also moved away from Western centrism towards analysing developing societies.

Major Attributes

David Easton gives 8 "intellectual fundamentals" for behaviouralism.

- ① Finding regularities
- ② Verifiability determines the relevance of data.
- ③ Quantifiability of political process is stressed.
- ④ Theory building is prioritised rather than applied knowledge.

Remarks

- (5) Value-free approach is ~~also~~ emphasized.
- (6) Systemisation of acquired data
- (7) Pure science, where "knowledge for knowledge's sake" is valued.
- (8) Integration of social sciences is the final goal envisaged.

However, it has caused excessive formalism and rationalism.
Paul F Kaess criticises its "empty vision of politics". However it is the "right step in the ~~correct~~ direction", the ~~direction~~ direction of empiricism.

Conclusion

c) Classical Marxism

Marx himself wrote very little on international relations due to the encyclopaedic nature of his work. But he gave an outline based on the economic interpretation of history and historical materialism.

VI Lenin expanded this in "Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism". He viewed the ~~to~~ imperialist powers as a part of a "Capitalist chain". The division of "haves" and "have-nots" ~~are~~ are applied to international relations. The industrial-capitalist bourgeoisie of developed countries team up with the local bourgeoisie to exploit the native proletariat. Capitalists ally with the landed classes when capitalism is underdeveloped.

The state is viewed as a "committee for managing the affairs of the bourgeoisie", and hence is a class institution.

Some contemporary thinkers like Justin Rosenberg are classified as "New Marxists". They advocate a return from political economy approach, dependency

and Neo-Gramscianism towards original Marx's writings.

However, it has been subject to severe criticism.

Marx's prediction of worker revolution did not happen in the West. As Bernstein noted, they got integrated gradually into the capitalist system. Also, worker's rights and welfare has also improved.

Critical theorists, ^{are} unblatant point out that the proletariat has low revolutionary potential because of their inability to understand capitalism and its cultural manipulation.

Robert Cox call for a Gramscian perspective of hegemony, because of universalisation of norms of free trade and capitalism.

Liberal Theorists like Fukuyama show how capitalism has created the world's most

Successful societies like US & UK. Even "periphery" countries like India and China has achieved impressive growth, overtaking most western countries.

Despite this criticism,

Marxism retains relevance as a social philosophy for emancipation of humankind. It was a powerful critique of 19th century capitalism and must be merged with analysis of newer phenomenon like Neocolonialism.

Good Attempt

Keep up

12.0

Remarks