



TEST - 04

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.

Content & understanding has improved a lot. Still need to shift to a more pointwise approach. Good scholarly elaboration. Include a brief critique in your answers

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

Name MATTHEWS M.
 Mobile No. _____
 Date _____
 Signature [Signature]

SECTION-A

Attempt all questions:

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

(10 × 5 = 50)

- Criticisms of Liberal tradition in IR theory.
- Basic Assumptions of the Realist approach.
- Balance of Power
- Wallerstein views on nature of World Economy.
- Limitations of the Marxist approach of IR.

7. a) Liberal tradition is a mainstream approach to analysing international relations. It stresses on non-state centric approach, emphasising on sociology, interdependence, republicanism and institutionalism, as seen in works of Rosenau, Deutsch, Nye, Doyle, Kant, etc.

Realists criticise the liberal tradition for overemphasising on cooperative factors. Mearsheimer in 'Tragedy of Great Power Politics' argues that foreign policy remains the backbone of the state because of international anarchy. Institutions, regimes, norms, etc are discarded when national interest is threatened. The recent

Remarks

trade war with China and withdrawal from JCPOA deal with Iran by the USA shows realist underpinnings

Marxists, ~~and~~ critical theorists and post-colonial scholars criticise it for being Eurocentric and is designed to ensure the domination of the capitalist 'metropolitan' west in the 'world system'.

Robert Cox criticises it as a 'problem solving' theory for its conservative bias in trying to uphold the existing order.

As Stanley Hobbman concluded, ~~though~~ the "International affairs have been the inembers of liberalism", though it is rich in theory. It is because of its overoptimism of human nature. Bull and Wight aim to moderate it in 'Internationalist society' approach and in Keohane and Nye's 'complex interdependence'.

Remarks

6

Advocate more on
the neorealist
post colonial
critique

How does feminist
social constructivist
approach view it?

b) Realism boasts of a long tradition from Thucydides to Machiavelli, and has remained the most influential paradigm of international relations.

Realism is based on the three pillars of statism, survival and self-help. State is the central actor because there is no higher authority than it. National security and National interest are the guiding stars of foreign policy.

Power is the currency of politics. Classical realists like Morgenthau give its roots in human nature. Neo Realists base it on the 'structure' of the international system.

Due to anarchy in international sphere and hierarchy in domestic sphere, possibility of cooperation is limited. Waltz believes the goal of the state is in maximising security and capabilities, while

Remarks

Mearsheimer believes states to be power maximisers

These core assumptions have been severely criticised. Liberals like Rosenau believe in 'post-internationalism' where state is no longer the only actor. ~~Marty~~ Hedley Bull argues anarchy is not a state of war because of norms and institutions.

Realism has evolved in contemporary times as seen in Subaltern Realism of Ayub and Peripheral Realism of Escobar.

c) How to be ^{view to} idea of war, conflict, hard power & sovereignty

Balance of Power is a Realist concept referring to collusive ~~or~~ counterbalancing strategies adopted by states to 'balance' an opponent with greater 'power' or capabilities.

T V Paul identified three

modes of 'Balance of Power'

① HARD Balancing

It is the traditional approach based on military alliances. Formal and binding agreements as well as understanding on collective defence form its core. Formation of NATO against USSR threat is best example.

② SOFT Balancing

~~It is~~ In the present globalised world, hard balancing is not feasible due to economic interdependence and transnational ties. Hence states engage in 'soft' approaches like 'informal agreements', military exercises, arms transfer, etc.
eg: India - Japan - USA Malabar exercise and Quad against China ~~etc~~

③ ASYMMETRICAL Balancing

Use of sub-state actors to balance conventional superiority
eg: Pakistan sponsoring Kashmir insurgents

Remarks

good content
Talks about global without BoP
Nature is artificial BoP
Also discuss its critique

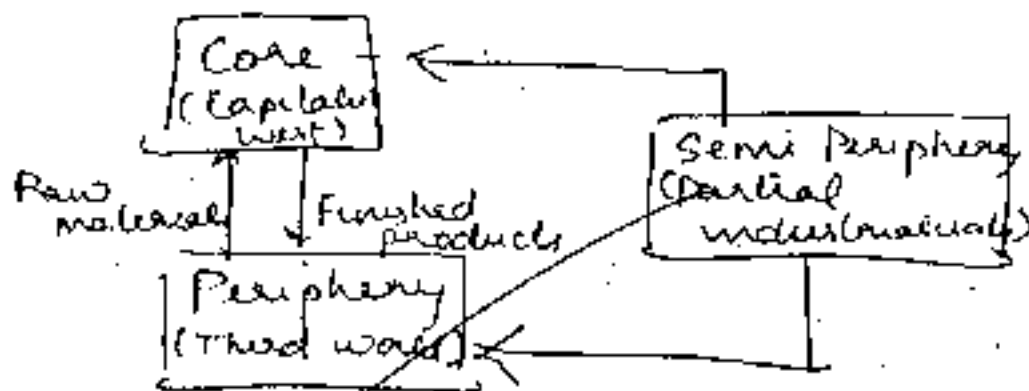
In contemporary periods, soft balancing is more prevalent, partly due to the poor operationalisation of collective security mechanisms.

d)

Immanuel Wallerstein adopts a broad Marxist framework to analyse international relations, in the same line as A.G. Frank, Prebisch, Cardoso, etc.

Wallerstein believes the world economy has been shaped by global capitalism into a World System.

Fig: World System



The 'Core Countries' are highly

developed and enjoy advantage because of

- 1) Control over metropolitan technology
- 2) Monopoly rents.
- 3) Control over financial system.

'Periphery' countries are characterised by 'underdevelopment' which face a 'double dilemma' of losing if they accept or reject aid from the core.

'Semi-periphery' helps in maintaining the system and partially benefits from exploiting the periphery.

However, the rapid rise of India and China has reduced the relevance of 'underdevelopment' and 'world-system-exploitation'. But it retains value as a meaningful critique of unequal nature of globalisation benefiting the few over many.

5

Ad E
E)

How will the system come to an end? What are the major critiques of this viewpoint?

Marxist approach in IR aims to use tools like historical

materialism, dialectical analysis and a class approach to analysing International Relations.

Andrew Heywood criticises Marxist approach for its economic determinism. Its empiricism often turns into an ideology and deductive methodology.

Its analysis often ignores the positive benefits of interdependence of economy. Mittrany argues it leads to a functionalist 'spillover' into more areas leading to peace rather than underdevelopment.

Empirical evidence is also weak, as seen in splendid success of BRICS especially China, India and ASEAN within capitalist system.

Its contemporary relevance is seen in Cardoso and Falleto's

"New Dependency" theory focussing on the role of MNCs ~~in~~ against the state.

Remarks

You need to elaborate on how it is more of problem defining rather than problem solving approach. How it ignores other forms of Identity struggle?

5

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)

Feminist perspective on International relations is based on the dissatisfaction with contemporary theories, especially Realism in addressing women's issues. ~~As Cynthia Enloe~~

It had several positive developments. The Feminists ~~added~~ 'gendered security' and changed the Realist focus on states security to 'human security'.

It reviews literature using 'gender lens' identifying patriarchy in valuing nature over culture, reason over emotion, state over the individual, etc.

As Cynthia Enloe pointed out "The personal, is the ~~political~~ political and quite likely, the international"

Remarks

Therefore they argue for greater participation in politics, institutions, fighting economic injustice, etc.

Considering the fact that women are marginalised everywhere, feminist perspective is valuable. Women form only 24% of total global labour force, compared to 75% men. Only 24.9% women are in legislatures, and only 11 countries have women heads of state.

Yet feminist understanding has problems also. Radical feminists criticise liberal feminist approach as merely "add women and stir".

Catherine Mackinnon points out that feminism is an amorphous ideology and is inconsistent in methodology. It requires a more sophisticated view of the state.

As Robert Keohane argued, the solution could be in an alliance

Remarks

This was the key demand of question

You need to elaborate lot more on its weaknesses & challenges

5

between liberal institutionalism and feminism.

- b) Transnational relations refers to the sub-state and supra-state relations between countries. It ranges from relations between individuals, communities, voluntary organisations and even regional or global institutions.

Sociological liberalism champions transnational ties for reducing the impact of anarchy and promoting peace, stability and cooperation. Rosenau calls it 'post-internationalism', which puts the focus on globe as a whole rather than states.

It has several positives. Realist, 'state-centric' and 'power oriented' approach has lesser relevance in the globalised world. Wars ~~are~~ are

Remarks

more costly, while cooperation is more profitable. Flow of information and political communication is emphasised by Deutsch in lessening the potential for high level conflicts.

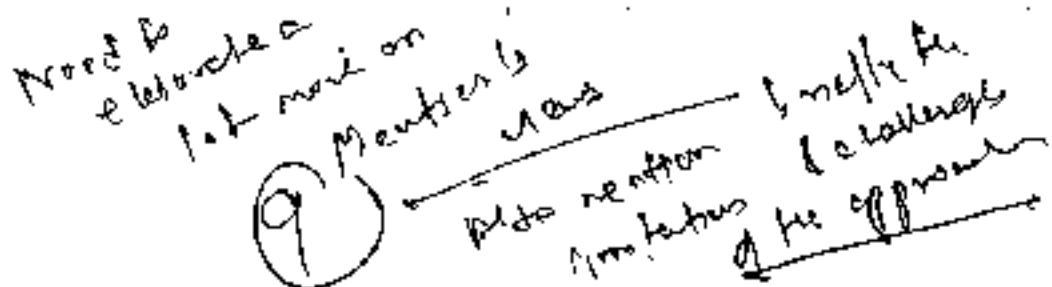
John Burton points to the 'cobweb model' which mutes disruptions, as opposed to the Realist 'billiards-ball model' which forces states to collide.

As evidence, Rosau points to the success of 'trading states' like Japan and Germany in contemporary times.

However, Ernst B. Haas criticises its attempt to 'keep politics out'. Decision-making is concentrated with 'self-interested political elite' and they must be engaged.

Keohane and Nye also while acknowledging the benefits of

'low politics' like trade and social links, in "matters of bread and butter" as well as security issues, Realist approach is more relevant.



c)

Liberal paradigm on State and Power seeks to challenge the Realist assumptions, which dominated the theoretical landscape of post-World War era.

Liberals view the state as an important actor, but not the only actor as Realists believe. Its main role is in regulation and legislation, paving way for better transnational ties. Globalisation and interdependence has eroded the sovereignty of the state giving rise to what David Held calls, a

Remarks

"disaggregated state"

Sociological liberals view the state as primarily responsible for "steering" information. ~~total~~ Institutional liberals believe new ~~organ~~ global organisations as well as local groups are challenging the states authority and competing for peoples loyalty.

liberal view of power is related to the above beliefs. Power is not viewed as an end in itself, but only a means for promoting the good of individuals. Realists obsess over military power and this view is considered anachronistic.

liberals view it as "comprehensive national power", which includes military, economic, diplomatic as well as "soft" ideational power. The fall of Russia from superpower

Remarks

~~analyze how~~
they prefer soft
power & soft power

status is related to its economic capabilities, and so is the case of China. Power is viewed as security, and a tool for peace, rather than hegemonic domination.

However, both these views have been heavily criticised.

Hier and Thomson argue that the Realist perspective of state still holds true, because globalisation itself is directed by it. Recent trade war, Brexit and anti-globalization efforts show liberal views are exaggerated. Mearsheimer believes states are 'power-maximisers' and not even values of 'liberal democracy' can stop it, which he calls 'The Tragedy of Great Power Politics'. China's moves in South China Sea despite its leading position, gives credence to his view.

But, as Baylis and Smith conceded, both state and power are transforming.

Remarks

10+2
 13
 good analysis
 you need to elaborate
 how the state has
 viewpoints
 differences with reality
 new points

~~are~~ in the globalised era, though
Westphalian norms haven't been
buried.

Remarks

4. Answer the following questions:

(a) What do you understand by the term Neo-liberal Institutionalism?

(200 Words) (15)

(b) Security dilemma arises primarily from the alleged structure of the international system rather than the aggressive motives or intentions of states. State your views.

(200 Words) (15)

(c) How is Critical Theory different from 'orthodox' or structuralist variants of Marxist thought such as neo-Marxism and dependency theory?

(250 Words) (20)

4.a)

Neo liberal institutionalism is ~~drawn~~ a mainstream approach changing from idealism to counter Realist world view. It became popular from the interwar period, and then after the Cold War.

It shares some of the assumptions with NeoRealists - They believe the international system is anarchic and security dilemma is present. State is important and military power is useful.

But institutionalists ~~expect~~ believe the solution to anarchy is in creating international institutions. Collective Security helps solve security dilemmas. Human nature is essentially good and it assumed

Remarks

Why do they believe that institutions are better alternative as compared to any other mechanism

to desire peace. Hence individuals will gradually realise the utility of supra national bodies and transfer their loyalties, redefining nationalism.

Woodrow Wilson believed that we would transform the 'jungle of power politics into an organised zoo'.

They believe in the utility of regimes and it will help in norm creation. The present 'Nuclear Taboo' through consistent efforts through NPT, NSCs and IAEA has been cited by Nina Tannenwald as symbolic of this.

Moreover, David Milgram believes in creating 'functional institutions' rather than 'territorial institutions' like nation states. His cooperation with 'Spillover' creates stability and prosperity.

Remarks

However, as Mearsheimer argued, nation-states adhere to regimes only when it is in their ~~self~~ to 'National Interest'. Recent US withdrawal from JCPOA with Iran; withholding of funds from UNESCO, walking out of Paris Agreement, etc give credence to the view.



includes more views on what grounds they inferred by realist, marxist & postcolonial viewpoint

b)

Robert Jervis defines security dilemma as the ~~state~~ ^{threat} of violence situation where the actions of one state to improve its own security, is perceived by others as reducing their own security, which could be real or imaginary.

It arises from several ~~causes~~ manifestations of security, ranging from formal military alliances to an increased budgetary spending

Remarks

on security.

John Herz believes, the dilemma is primarily psychological in origin and ~~an~~ imagination of leaders. A range of factors like domestic political compulsions, to security traditions and strategic cultures may play a role, apart from the idiosyncracies of the decisionmaker.

Robert Jervis, on the other hand takes a structuralist perspective, pointing to the anarchical nature of international relations which is the prime factor: lack of an overarching authority makes it a 'self help' system and hence security is viewed in zero-sum terms.

Its implication is that, as Mearsheimer argues, states become

'power maximises': TV Paul says show that states engage in creating counterbalancing coalition to create a balance of power, either through 'hard' military means, if not through 'soft' informal mechanisms or 'asymmetrical methods'.

However Mohammed Ayub criticises this as 'Eurocentric' because, third world countries are more involved with 'Insecurity Dilemma' from internal sources. e.g: Indian poverty kills more than Pakistan or China.

⑨ Q Analysis
 Also include the fact that our scholars focuses more on the long run (state security dilemma)

c) Critical Theory depends on refers to a school of thought based on the ideas of Frankfurt school, including Horkheimer, Adorno, Marcuse and Habermas. It is broadly Marxist

Remarks

in orientation but differs from other schools considerably.

It employs the ideas of Gramsci and Lukacs, focussing on hegemony, role of ideas, intellectual and culture. Media is an important area of analysis drawing from Marcuse's 'One Dimensional Man'.

~~Broadly known as~~

It differs from Orthodox Marxism in its Critical Theory, opposes its economic determinism and especially its practical implementer under Stalin. It opposed its change into an ideology, eliminating debate and deliberation. It puts the focus on the individual, with the main goal as human emancipation.

It differs from Neo Marxist and dependency theory on their excessive focus on the role of

capital and economic development or underdevelopment. Critical theory takes an ethical perspective.

Robert Cox applies the ideas of Gramsci in criticising prevalent ideas as "All theories are for some one and ^{for} some purpose". It implies, theories cannot be objective, historical and timeless. The underlying social issues must be analysed.

Andrew Linklater calls for expanding the moral boundaries of the nation-state beyond territorial limits. He rejects classical Marxian view of working class and includes all oppressed sections within it.

However, Joseph Frankel criticises Critical theory for being a jumble of idealism, rationalism and social constructivism and unable to give ~~any~~ policy recommendations.

Remarks

good critical analysis needed
 also major concepts
 15

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"?

5. a)

Andrew Linklater is a Critical Theorist who applied the ideas of Frankfurt school in international relations.

Linklater aims at the transformation of the political community. He criticises the existing mainstream approaches of Realism and Liberalism as 'problem solving theories' which aim to maintain status quo. In contrast critical theories aim to challenge the existing order.

He ~~takes~~ opposes the present overemphasis on nation-state and its territorial divisions. Linklater calls for expanding the moral boundaries of the state. Emancipation

Remarks

of humanity is his major concern.
 link later ~~and~~ opposes a form
 of domination including hegemonic.
 Role of media is a special area of
 concern. Norms and values are
 emphasized in the social transformations
 along with its link ~~with~~ knowledge

Joseph Frankel criticises
 it for being a gamble of rationality,
idealism and social constructivist
philosophy ~~with~~ it is unable to give
adequate policy recommendation

Yet it holds great value
 for shifting state-centric focus of
Realism.

Good content
 You also need to elaborate on his idea of creating phases of debate & recognizing national forms of domination

b)

Feminist lens on World politics
 aims to establish a gender perspective
 to uncover the underlying elements
 of social oppression in mainstream

Remarks

theories.

When Kates Millet argued that "The personal is the political," Gyula E. Enloe claims "It is also quite likely by the international." She argues that patriarchy ~~is~~ has restricted women from the international sphere. The states are run by men, for men. Hence they try to improve women's participation in politics.

Feminists try to put a gender perspective on Security. J. Ann Tickner calls for renewing existing security literatures and stresses on human security instead of national security. Women's welfare is often used to justify war. eg. Security of Kurdish women was used as a case for bombing ISIS militants.

Catherine Mackinnon ~~also~~ accepts that feminism requires

Remarks

6

Good content & scholarly work

Instead you will be basic understanding of IR be transformed with inclusion of feminist new point in it.

a more sophisticated analysis of the state and it does not constitute a uniform ideology. Despite it, ~~women~~ feminist lens is important to analyse the gender bias of all theories. R. Keohane calls for an alliance between institutionalists and feminists for lasting changes.

c)

Hedley Bull puts forward the idea of international society in his book 'Anarchical Society'. He takes a 'nationalist' approach.

Bull tries to take a 'via media' between liberalism and realism, by avoiding both the overoptimism and pessimism of human nature and international structure. He argues humans essentially prefer to cooperate than fight, which is why anarchy has not turned into a state of war.

Remarks

This is because of creation of new values and social norms. Institutions and regimes also help in regulating large scale conflicts. ~~But~~ In spite of this Bull believes there is no 'hierarchy' and has resulted into an "anarchical society".

The reasons he gives are similar to sociological liberalism based on transnational ties, and interdependence theory of globalism. Emphasis of social construction in creating identity and subjectivity are also present. The absence of war between India and China as well as US and ~~North~~ N. Korea are cited as examples.

It has been modified by Barry Buzan and Richard Little by applying Realist principles, which seems most suitable for explaining contemporary reality.

Remarks

You need to elaborate on the various components of anarchical society. Need to elaborate new reality.

59

e) Third World refers to the 'non-capitalist' and 'non-communist' world which won its freedom from colonialism after Second World War.

Third World Security is an alternate theoretical perspective based on Subaltern Realism of Ayub and Amartya Sen. It aims to shift away from state security of realism towards human security. Biggest threats are 'internal' rather than 'external'. Poverty, underdevelopment, communalism etc plague these regions causing an 'insecurity dilemma'. Project of Nation building is incomplete.

Carlos Escobar calls for 'Peripheral Realism' because present theories cannot be applied to both First world and Third World simultaneously. It has been supported by both post-colonialism and feminist thinkers.

Remarks

6

good starting & analysis
Just elaborate on how on
the regions for Insecurity Dilemma

6. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Enumerate the limitations and shortcomings of the Realist approach. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) What is the Notion of Political decay in respect of political system of developing nations? (200 Words) (15)
- (c) While some argue that globalization and other developments have changed the international system fundamentally, others suggest that the basic contours of the international system remain essentially unchanged. Elaborate. (250 Words) (20)

6.a) Realist approach claims to see the world as it really is, taking a commonsensical and pragmatic view of international relations. ~~It is seen in the writings of Morgenthau, E. H. Carr, Waltz and Mearsheimer.~~

It has various limitations. Robert Cox criticises Realism for claiming to be timeless and objective. "All theory is for someone and some purpose", and here, Realism aims to uphold the existing order, along with its injustices.

Kenichi Ohmae criticises its state centered approach. Globalization has eroded sovereignty, away from

Remarks

The Westphalian model. Economic interdependence has made military capabilities less relevant. Wars as a tool of National interest is more expensive and Cooperations more profitable.

Ayub criticises the emphasis on 'National Security' and instead calls for 'Human Security'. Realism is not suited for the problems of Third world, which faces bigger challenges from inside than outside. Feminists like J. Ann Tickner, agree to this view, and criticise its gender bias in valuing reason over emotion and values over culture.

Rosenau ~~and~~ ^{calls for} Transnational liberalism because of increasing communication between communities and non-state actors. It is given rise to a coaxial model of state rather than billiard ball model.

Remarks

works more
Tickner

Wendt and social constructivist blame Realist for their fatalist approach and argues "Anarchy is what the states make of it".

Despite these limitations, Realism has proven to be the most influential, thanks to ~~to~~ what Mearsheimer calls "The ~~Tragedy~~ Tragedy of Great Power Politics".

good content
but you can
also mention some of the
argument based on things

Also include

opponent
base & critiques

b)

Political decay is the antithetical concept of political development. It has been popularised by writings of Huntington, Binder, Aye, etc.

Samuel Huntington gives four characteristics of decay in developing societies.

① Rigidity of social institutions instead of adaptability.

② Simplicity of political institutions.

③ Subordination ~~not~~ characterising instruments of the state, rather than autonomy.

④ Incoherence and disunity of the society.

~~to explain the decay~~

Lucian Pye gives the causes for this decay as

- 1) Problem of state-building due to historical specificities like colonialism.
- 2) Problem of nation building due to ~~to~~ loyalties of primordial identities like religion, caste, etc.
- 3) Problem of participation, which is dominated by elite sections.
- 4) Problem of distribution which is ineffective due to low capabilities of administration.

However, this notion of decay - development has been severely criticised.

A G Frank criticises them for ~~the~~ value has in promoting only the western model of capitalist development. It is only resulting in underdevelopment. It ignores multicultural perspectives where federation building will be more suited than nation building in developing societies.

Despite this, political decay is a useful tool for comparative politics.

Good analysis
 you need to elaborate how to protect political decay a strong state provides democracy and need it

c)

Globalization and Antiglobalization is a highly debated area in contemporary international relations.

Hyperglobalist approach argues that globalization has changed the international system fundamentally. Revolution in communication and transport has

resulted in what Giddens called 'Time-space distanciation' or "End of geography".

Fukuyama believes the debate between political ideologies is over and western liberal democracy has become the unalashed winner causing an 'End of History'.

Sociological liberals like Rosenau point to growing transnational ties which competes with the state for sovereignty. International institutions and civil society groups have earned the loyalty of the citizens and is giving rise to a new "disaggregated state".

Economic interdependence is its driving factor, with free trade and capitalism creating the "entangling of national fortunes". For these reasons, Kenichi Ohmae argues that it is time for buying the

Remarks

Need to mention a lot more on a lot more news from the hyper globalist tradition

idea of Westphalian notion of statehood.
 Yet, Globalization sceptics like Held and Thomson point to contrary evidence. Economic globalization is largely a myth and is designed by nation states. Recent trade wars and protectionism by USA is evidence for this. True transnational TNCs and INGOs are rare, rather than MNCs with international operations.

Decision making has also rested with the states. Mearsheimes believes that Great powers obey regimes and institutions only when it suits its national interest. For example, 2017 UN call for nuclear disarmament was rejected by every nuclear nation including India.

It is best conclude with the analysis of Held and McCree in 'Globalization/Anti-globalization' that though Westphalian nation statehood

Remarks

13 Content is good among org. good
 Simply need to add more names & views of scholars from India

REMARKS

GS SCORE

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