

**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.

113

Content & Structuring are good  
 but some of the answers are way too long & others are way too short  
 good effort overall

1. Invigilator's Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Name Pooi Bishnoi

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

2. Invigilator's Signature [Signature]

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature [Signature]

**REMARKS**

e) Limitations of Marxist Approach

Marxist Approach take economy as basic structure and politics as super structure

It has been criticised for ECONOMIC REDUCTIONISM. The criticism was responded to by Chase Dunn who gave his theory focusing on military and politics

Robert Cox based on Neo Marxist Idea of Gramsci gave concept of hegemony and manufacturing consent

Vague & incomplete  
 Abstract in pointwise manner on scholarly & functional critique  
 Talk about how it ignores other forms of identity, struggle & exploitation

2

## 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.

a) Liberal Tradition in IR is one of the earliest traditions given by Andrew Wilson and Roosevelt.

Liberal tradition has positive view of human nature and prescribes avenues of cooperation such as Institutions, civil society linkages, free Trade (eg Rousseau) etc.

### Criticisms

a) Realists call them as utopian as it is not possible for states to overlook National Interest and offer cooperation.

Remarks

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b) Feminists like Susan Droller Okin criticise them for state centric view and not giving adequate attention to human security eg migrant rights

c) Marxists criticise them for promoting MNCs which ultimately lead to exploitation of countries of South.

d) Post colonialists criticise liberal ideas as Eurocentric (Gayatri Spivak) and favour.

Joseph Beitz highlight democracy deficit in Institutions of Global Governance. The liberal order is facing trouble due to Anti Globalisation, Protectionism etc which Beitz call as LEGITIMATION CRISIS (6)

Remarks

Analyse how Marxism is accused of imposing western Capitalist values in the name of Universalism

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b) Basic Assumptions of Realist Approach

Realism is a dominant ideology which is based on various assumptions such as:

→ ANARCHY - The absence of a world government. It is not possible for states to depend on other states. They have to rely on Self Help

→ Politics as Struggle for Power - According to Hobbes, Man is power seeking and increase in power of one leads to insecurity in other states.

→ Security Dilemma - which often leads to Zero sum game.

→ State is the main actor and any action is justified if it leads to protection of National Interest

Remarks

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The main theories given by Realists include Law of State (Machiavelli) Thucydides Trap etc.

Morganthau's 6 principle establish politics as autonomous sphere devoid of any universal moral obligations.

One of the basic assumption is that - given by Structural Realists like Kenneth Waltz and Mearsheimer that nature of International Politics is such that Nations cannot cooperate with each other on a permanent basis. - There are no permanent friends and no permanent enemies.

Find enumerate all the basic assumptions & then analyze

Need to add more points from hints

Remarks

(4)

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c) Balance of Power

It is the way of management of Power given by Realist school of Thought Martin Wright calls it as FUNDAMENTAL LAW of International Politics.

David Hume calls it as COMMON SENSE. According to Balance of Power - Independence is guaranteed so long there is Balance of Power.

They believe in concept of - Collective Right can check aggressive designs. All countries should combine to check any effort of preponderance to gain power by any state.

David Hume trace its origin to Athens and sparta in Ancient Greece

Remarks

APJ Taylor calls 1848 to 1914 as Golden age for Balance of Power in Europe based on Congress of Vienna which gave it 100 years of Peace

Essential conditions are Independence, Multipolarity which exist at regional level.

TV Paul, Michel Boutman, James Lovitt have given concept of Balance of Power in 21st century

- No more hard balance due to Interdependence and Nuclear weapons
- SOFT BALANCING - Temporary and Issue Based eg Climate Change
- Asymmetrical Balancing with non state actors eg against Terrorism

Thus Balance of Power in updated version remains relevant

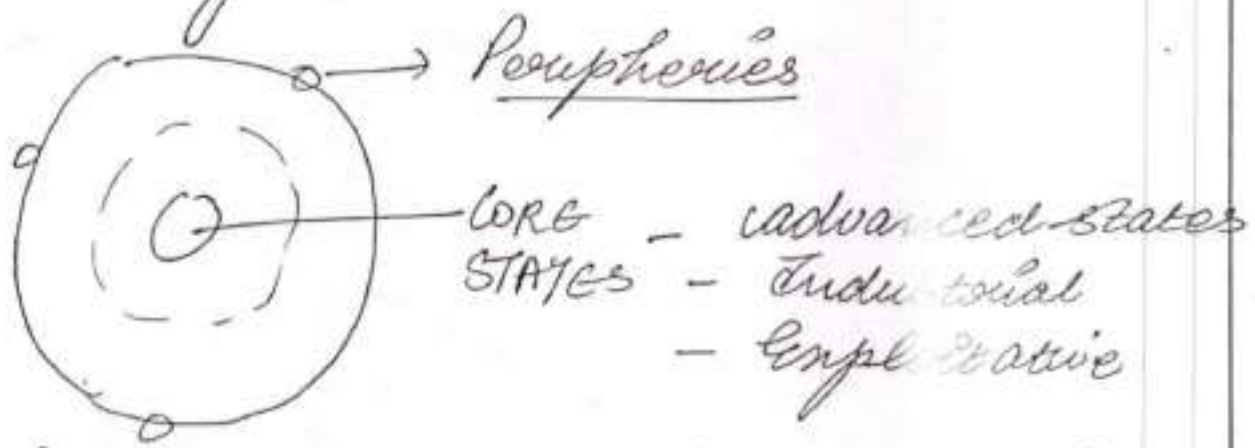
Remarks

6 good analysis  
add Types (hard & soft) of BoP  
- Brief mention of critiques & limitations of BoP

d) Wallerstein View on Nature of World Economy - inspired by Marxist Philosophy

- He believes Globalisation has linked all states due to Internationalisation of Capitalism.

- In his World System Theory He has given Spatial and Temporal Dimension of International Political Economy



Peripheries - the state act as Just instrument in hand of strong side of core states.

Remarks

The poverty in Asia and Africa in Balkans can be explained by this theory.

Thus International Economy has made periphery as DEPENDENT on core states. They are suppliers of Market and raw material

On Temporal, ~~the~~ Wallerstein predicts Internal contradictions in the present system based on EXPLOITATION which is bound to collapse. He proposes an alternative in form of Communism based on equity and Justice

(4) 5

Weak analysis  
need to clearly define the features & types of economies of all states

Remarks

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)

Q2(a) Feminist school of thought is concerned with securing equal rights for women, and ultimately their 'empowerment'. In the International sphere, Feminists see it as THE MOST MASCULINIST DISCIPLINE

According to Cynthia Enloe, in 'Banana Beaches and Bases', the International sphere is also guided by conventional views on women which exist in domestic sphere - guided by PATRIARCHY

She gives the slogan 'International is personal and personal is International' where women are given subordinate roles eg wives of Ambassadors hosting parties

Feminists also point out exploitation of women for the sake of National Interest human trafficking, breaching their bodies

Remarks

as a means to secure foreign exchange

Ann J. Tickner, criticised the Realist scholar Morganthau and his 6 principles of International Politics. According to her, Realism's pessimistic view of human nature is guided by their masculinist view. She modifies 6 principles as -

- a) Human Nature based on Feminine Values is capable of cooperation
- b) The pursuit of state should be HUMAN SECURITY not state security
- c) States should seek power for empowerment
- d) Politics cannot be separated from ethics
- e) Universal Moral principles exist
- f) Without such principles human solidarity not possible

Thus feminist view enriches as the discipline of IP by making it more INCLUSIVE however they are being criticised for being UTOPIAN and not rooted in Realism.

Remarks

3

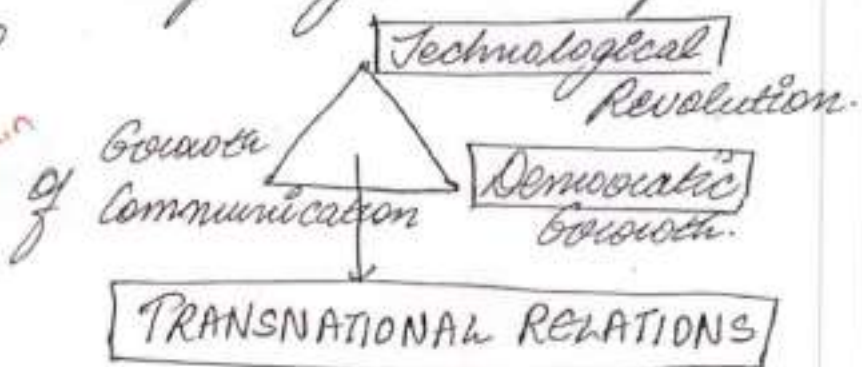
while your content is good, it needs to be more critical examination of feminist viewpoint. You need to elaborate on its limitations & challenges.

Q2(b) Sociological liberalism focuses on the society to society linkages in the International sphere.

Its prime proponent Rosenau highlights the growth of transnational linkages which has resulted into development of MULTIPLE IDENTITIES and Multiple loyalties.

The transnational links are increasing especially after 1990s and era of Globalisation according to Joseph Nye, this is possible due to

How a functional relation (conflict) & overcome again



Another proponent John Burton terms this as COWEB MODEL where multiple channels of communications are developing between society.

Karl Deutsch is sociological liberal

Remark:

has given the idea of SECURITY COMMUNITY - which is a result of growth of transnational communications. He gives the example of European Union. ASEAN also adopted ASEAN Community Resolution in 2015.

Plots the idea of Security Community

Thus the sociological liberals as opposed to Realists, believe that the Security dilemma and anarchy in the International Relations can be overcome by these communications across societies.

With the communications-functional linkages develop which help in Trust Building, exchange of culture, etc.

The sociological liberal Model should be applied in case of SAARC to build in more society to society interactions eg Kathmandu corridor, Track 2 diplomacy. This can further lead to South Asian region becoming a Security Community.

Remarks

8

In the task part - instead of talking about sample, mention body. He challenges Country of this approach

Q210) Liberalism is the oldest <sup>and first</sup> school of International Politics which was established in 1914 in Toronto. The earliest proponent during the Interwar period include Woodrow Wilson who proposed 14 principles as Intellectual foundation.

Make it more concise

Liberalism over the years has grown into a meta school of thought which includes various perspectives such as - liberal Institutionalists, sociologists, etc who see state and power in different forms.

[ON STATE]

Like Realist school of thought, which is hegemonic discipline in International Relations, liberals also take STATE CENTRIC view.

According to liberal scholars like Michael Doyle, W. Wilson, Roosevelt, state is the centre of International Politics and it is the major player, for whose

Remarks

Security, the International Politics is conducted.

In what sense their conception of state different from realist conception?

Although there are some schools within liberalism like Complex Interdependence, Sociological liberalism which believe that Due to Globalisation, there has been decline in role and power of nation state and increase in role of other actors like - society, business, civil society organisations etc.

[ON POWER]

Traditional liberal scholars focus on Economic Power or Hard Power as a prescription for state power. Interdependence scholars like Richard Rosecrance has given the idea of TRADING STATE

According to Rosecrance, Economic Power is the basis of all other forms of Power. Liberals do give the emphasis

Remarks



on military power by Realists by giving the example of states like USSR which despite being a military power collapsed. US also wanted to lose hegemony when overstretched itself militarily. whereas Japan & Germany grew after world war 2 by focusing on economic power.

Smart Power = Hard + Soft Power

liberal scholars of Complex Interdependence have introduced the concept of SMART POWER which was the basic feature of Obama administration and include a mix of diplomacy, military, and soft power.

Judicious use

India's posture post Balakot event can be classified as smart power where India leveraged its military capability, economic capability as well as smart management of diplomacy, soft power to diplomatically isolate Pakistan and compel China to lift

Remarks

what role does idea of mutual cooperation play in their conception of power

Mazood Azhar as Global Terrorist

Thus liberal ideas on power & state are based on the liberal values which see positive nature of war state and believe in possibility of cooperation

Their perspective is criticised by Marxist scholars like Emmanuel Wallerstein Samir Amin who see a western liberal state as instrument in hands of capitalist class. Realists criticise them for ignoring military power and utility of cooperation.

In the present times the liberal values were questioned by antiglobalisation movement according to Thompson, in order to for liberalism to stay relevant in theory & practice, the traditional liberal states need to show commitment to liberal values.

Remarks

(13)

good analysis & striking point add more names of scholars

3. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Security is the deepest and most abiding issue in International politics. Comment. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Compare and contrast views of liberal, realist and critical schools on global political economy. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Given the emphasis on the state, power, anarchy, conflict and security, it is not entirely surprising that throughout much of its history cooperation has been a secondary concern for realists. Explain. Is the neo-realist view point any different on this? (250 Words) (20)

Q3(a) Security is the FUNDAMENTAL Value of human life. It means freedom from threat. The biggest threat is threat to life. The biggest security concern is security of life.

The value of security has priority over other values. It is precondition for other values to exist.

This not just in domestic sphere security is most important issue in International Sphere - which is concerned about STATE SECURITY.

According to Machiavelli "Reason of State" - The security of state is most important. According to Hobbes, it is in interest of man to take care of interest of state.

Remarks

Don't go for theoretical cycle. Talk about security of life/globally

According to Realist, as there is anarchy in International politics, there is SECURITY DILEMMA exist. According to Mearsheimer there is no escape from security dilemma. Thucydides also point frequent wars in history for protection of state security.

According to liberals security can be enhanced through interdependence, institutions, communications etc. eg creation of UN post world war 2.

feminist also believe security as big concern in International politics but they point towards HUMAN SECURITY eg UN Resolution 1325 highlights the security concerns of women in armed conflict.

The issue of Migration, exodus, civil wars, proxy wars, women sexual assaults, terrorism are the rising security concerns which need collective response of International Community.

Remarks

Talk about marxist critical post colonial & social constructivist news etc

Q 3(b) Liberal Realist Critical School on Political Economy

Political Economy Approach in International Relations is concerned with Economic policies of the state. They are concerned with nature of state based on its economic policies

According to classical liberals, they believe in liberal economic policies. Adam Smith is the first political economist who in Wealth of Nations proposed free market economy.

According to Traditional liberals, free market can result into 'wealth and prosperity of all'. WTO, free trade, are based on liberal ideas of Political Economy. Their basic principle is COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE and if goods

Remarks

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*Include views of Ricardo & Keynes as well*

flow freely across border, services will not cross border.

The view has been criticised by Critical or Marxist school which see countries as instruments of Exploitative MNCs and they result peripheral states becoming dependencies on the core state.

Realists do not consider free economic trade as significant dimension in IP. According to them National Interest is supreme. e.g. US coming out of trade deals, protectionism across the world. The issue of the WALL across US-Mexico Border

These examples prove Realist view that National Interest remain prime concern of states and not free trade. According to liberals, the liberal states need to abide to liberal principles to save the liberal political economy.

Remarks

(6)

*Critical analysis is very weak*

*in Realist analysis discuss the idea of mercantilism*

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Q3(c) Realist is ~~one~~ the most dominant school of International Politics. It started as criticism to liberal idea of cooperation presented by Woodrow Wilson in Interwar period.

The 14 point programme by Wilson was criticised by Realists as 'UTOPIAN'. The Intellectual foundation stone of Realism were found in -

a) Kautilya - statecraft focused on securing state interest rather than cooperation similar to Sun Tzu 'Art of War'

According to them state is either in the war or preparing for war.

b) Hobbes gave concept of security dilemma and Machiavelli gave concept of Raison D'Etat which justifies any action by state to secure its interest.

Remarks

Thucydides also focused on acquiring power. According to Thucydides -

The consideration of right and wrong was never strong enough to turn a nation from benefits of power.

The strong do what they have power to do and weak accept what they must accept.

Morganthau in his 6 principles in Politics Among Nations (1948) laid down three values of Realism

- Power as a means and Power as an end.
- Not guided by Universal Moral Principles
- Politics as autonomous discipline which is uninspiring
- To rely on self help

Thus throughout history, it has been pointed out by Realist that

Remarks

due to anarchy in world politics, the states have to rely on self help and in the situation of power struggle - cooperation is a secondary concern.

The neo realist perspective has been given by Structural or Scientific Realists - Kenneth Waltz - Theory of IR and Mearsheimer - The Tragedy of Great Power Politics

The Neo Realists have established realist values on a more firm basis on structure of the International Relations.

Classical Realists like Morgenthau saw politics as power due to human nature as power seeking

Whereas Neo Realists see International

Remarks

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Structure which is anarchic which leaves no option to the states but to seek power

Thus the only difference in classical and Neo Realist thinkers is their unit & system level analysis

Both school of thought give more importance to power struggle than to cooperation. It is for this reason that liberals call them as Children of Darkness

Social Constructivist criticise them for interpreting in such a way that their prescription seems rational overlooking possibilities of cooperation.

(14)

v. Good analysis & elaboration  
no major improvements needed

Remarks

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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 Marxist School of Thought - which is believed to be 'least Marxist' - ~~but~~ The Emancipatory Theory has been given by him

According to Andrew Linklater there is a need to overthrow <sup>or remove</sup> the territorial boundaries which have artificially divided the nation states.

The Westphalian and Billiards Ball Model are no more relevant

Remarks

in the present age of globalisation

This model should be replaced with New MORAL BOUNDARIES between Nations. He calls for transformation of political community from rigid differences to fluid identities based on communications

He refers to the idea of Radical Democracy as found in Ideas of Habermas and in Indian context Gandhi also talked about such idea.

Therefore applying it in south Asian context Linklater's theory offers a solution in form of promotion of Idea of GRASSROOT DEMOCRACY

Remarks

Write about his idea of multiple sphere of debate  
Add - need to recognize other forms of participation  
discrimination

b) Feminist consider International Politics as a Masculinist Discipline where gender is women perspective is ignored. As referred to by feminists - when I look at state it appears male to me

Cynthia Luoe asked in Banana Beaces and Bases - WHERE ARE THE WOMEN? It highlighted subjugation of women role in International Politics which is entention of Patriarchy in family & domestic politics

According to Ann J Tickner - women perspective has not been included in world politics. It conforms to view that women should stay at home and men should travel.

Remarks

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In the present times - looking at world politics through feminist lens depict -

- Exploitation of women labour by MNCs - eg trafficking for foreign exchange (study by George Steine, Ramesh Thakur)
- Women are the worst sufferers of Gender violence due to Migration Terrorism eg NADIA MURAD - The last girl - first Iraqi woman to win Nobel Prize highlights the issue

UN has passed Resolution 1325 to bring in more feminine perspective countries like Sweden have adopted Feminist foreign Policy. According to Margot Wallstrom - There is need for Greater VOICE to women & their concerns

Remarks

Good content  
also add on how  
the addition of feminist  
to IR will  
transform its  
basic understanding

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c) Hadley Bull has given the idea of ANARCHICAL SOCIETY where he challenges Realist view of perfect anarchy.

Hadley Bull bounces ~~realism~~ <sup>liberalism</sup> in Realism when he says that growth of institutions, values, norms, treaties across the world has transformed the world from anarchy to anarchical society.

This has been due to growth of REASON in man. The anarchical society reflects the change which calls for better cooperation among nations based on these linkages.

Incomplete  
 what are the features of Anarchical Society?  
 what is its role of New Multilateralism? (2)

Remarks

c) Third World Security

The concept has been given by Post colonial scholars like Mohd Ayub, Anutava Acharya

This is in response to the idea of Security Dilemma put forth by liberals and Realists

According to Post colonial scholars, the traditional theories of IR - are EUROCENTRIC whose ideas are neither originated nor relevant for third world security

Third world security is explained by INSECURITY Dilemma which refers to Internal security issues. Examples include civil war eg Libya, Naxalism eg India. (3)

Incomplete  
 you need to elaborate a bit more on how it is related to causes of Dilemma



## d) Great Debates of International Relations

— Refer to the Realism Vs Liberal debate. The two schools developed their ideas in response to each other.

Debates include

a) On Security - Realism considers security dilemma can't be overcome and proposes Balance of Power, Deterrence. Liberalism proposes collective security.

b) Whether states can offer cooperation - Realists refuse. Liberals offer solutions.

Social Constructivists believe the debates are result of constructions and not objective reality.

Remarks

Read the entire topic again from links.

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6. Answer the following questions:

- Enumerate the limitations and shortcomings of the Realist approach. (200 Words) (15)
- What is the Notion of Political decay in respect of political system of developing nations? (200 Words) (15)
- 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)

Q6(a) Realism is known as hegemonic approach in International Politics. It was started by HM Carr after his book "20 years crisis" in 1940s. All other approaches are responses to realist approach.

Some basic features of Realism as pointed out by its scholars like Morgan Kousser, Kenneth Waltz, Realist Realism.

- Anarchical world order.
- State centric world order.
- Politics is struggle for power.
- National interest to be of supreme value.

The limitations of Realist approach has been highlighted by various schools as-

- LIBERALS calls Realists as children

Remarks

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Elaborate & bt more

of darkness, with pessimistic views of man and overlook cooperation.

2) Feminists - point out exclusion of women perspective and Ann J. Tickner highlight absence of moral principles

3) Post Colonialists like Dhond Ayob, Amrita Acharya calls it as Eurocentric eg Security Dilemma bigger concern than Security Dilemma in 3rd world.

4) Social Constructivists like Alexander Wendt say - Anarchy is what states make of it. It is not a natural fact but a social construction

5) Post Modernists call Realism as a meta ideology and a discourse, not telling objective facts.

However, despite all these limitations pointed out by various schools of thought Realism remains the most dominant school in International Politics.

Remarks

8) While the structure of answer is good, but you need to add more content on how you mentioned.

Q8b) The Political System of the developing nations got attention after the WW2 and the Behavioural Revolution

After the Behavioural Revolution, various models were proposed in comparative political theory to study developing societies

The structural-functional theory of Edmond and Powell was criticised by Marxist for giving too much emphasis on adaptability, flexible feedback mechanism of the system and not focusing on political ideology.

The notion of Political Decay was put forward in response to these Eurocentric approaches such as Political Development Approach (Ducian Pye)

The Political Decay was given by SAMUEL P. HUNTINGTON as part of his Political Modernisation Theory

Remarks

No need to start explaining the concept

Political Modernisation leads to Institutionalisation, Rationalism, Modernisation of Authority etc. But in developing countries —

Political Participation does not lead to political institutionalisation which results into Political Decay. eg. Almond and Verba in their book — point out lack of CIVIC CULTURE for the case as a reason for political decay.

Over participation of people eg. due to competitive politics if does not get institutionalised leads to Demagogic leaders as in Germany, Italy during WWI.

Riggs in his prismatic state model refers to this mismatch as Development Gap where theory and practice mismatch.

Thus there is a need to provide proper channels and institutions of Representation to prevent political decay.

Remarks

Not very clear  
Need to talk about characteristics of ~~political~~ decay  
Also why strong state should always provide democracy to prevent decay

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Q 600) Globalisation has been one of the most defining features of 21st century. It has been described as compression in time and space, world becoming a global village, borderless (Marshall McLuhan)

Globalisation has impacted all spheres of human life, especially the International System. However, the impact of Globalisation is seen differently by different schools of thought.

Realists believe in their view of state-centric world. They do not acknowledge any changes in their basic ideas of anarchy, national interests by the globalisation.

According to Realist Theory Arms Race, reliance on self-help, national security remain as important as before globalisation. Though International Communication have increased but —

Remarks

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- state remains main actor.
- state decides the level of globalisation based on its National Interest eg China not opening economy or society even in this world and adopting Trade Protectors

However some school of liberalism see fundamental change in International Politics. According to Rosenau, James Burton societal linkages are developing which is becoming important dimension in International Political

According to Keohane and Nye globalisation has resulted in COMPLEX INTERDEPENDENCE which has caused traditional concepts like Deterrence, Balance of Power ~~to~~ irrelevant

In the globalised world the realist notion of Independence does not exist eg China and India - conflicting at Border, cooperating at SCO.

Remarks

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There also has been growth of International norms, institutions, values etc which have changed the basic structure of International Politics from Anarchy to ANARCHICAL SOCIETY  
Hadley Bull

Networks of Interconnections have developed which are making cooperation possible.

Marxist point that due to Globalisation capitalism has expanded at global scale in form of IMPERIALISM (Lenin) and Neo colonialism (Amitava Acharya)

The MNCs have become a prominent player across the globe eg business delegations eg with King Salman visit to India, Track 2 diplomacy, Business Investments.

Remarks

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According to Arundhati Roy, Globalisation has resulted into a mutant variety of capitalism - digitally operated, remote controlled which has evaded democracy, polluted environment.

According to AG Frank, Samir Amin Globalisation has changed International Politics from Anarchy to hierarchy where peripheral states have lost Independence and have become dependent.

Thus Impact of Globalisation, according to Realist has not changed Politics (as struggle for power), Marrxist believe it has enhanced Capitalism's exploitative power and liberals believe Globalisation has increased avenues of cooperation via civil society linkages.

10  
Remarks while you should  
each approach almost honest  
simpler framework world  
be to divide your arguments  
on globalization into three  
groupings  
- Skeptic  
- Hyper globalis  
- Transnationalis