

POLITICAL SCIENCE & INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS

Crash Course & Test Series 2020  
TEST : 03

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S. No.	a	b	c	d	e	Total
1						
2						
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Grand Total :

	Poor	Average	Good	V. Good
Understanding of Question				
Structure & flow				
Subject Knowledge				
Presentation				

**OVERALL REMARKS**

Q-1(a)

Differences in Pressure Group politics in developed & developing countries

Pressure Groups are extra-legal instruments which perform the functions of interest articulation & representation outside the formal political system. They give representation to the marginalized sections, provide them political education & help them organize better for their interests.

Gabriel Almond classifies them into 4 groups:

- ① Institutional : Ex → bureaucracy
- ② <sup>non-</sup>Associational : Ex → caste-groups in India
- ③ Associational : Ex → Trade Unions
- ④ Anomie : Ex → Guerrillas, terrorists

\* Difference between Developed & Developing Countries :

① In developed countries, institutional & associational groups dominate while in developing countries non-associational groups dominate

② Lobbying is legal in developed countries but not in developing countries. These groups in developing countries often

rely on protests, processions, etc.

③ Developed countries' groups target Congress usually, but in developing countries executive & bureaucracy are the main targets to get the demands accepted

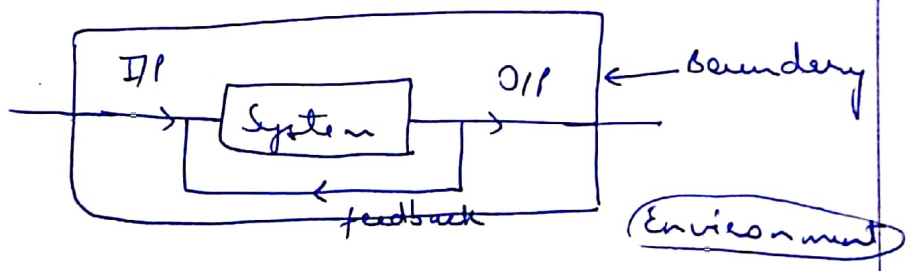
④ Pressure groups in developed countries take active part in foreign-policy decisions, but it is not so in developing countries yet.

Q-1(b): Limitations of Systems Approach to international politics.

System refers to a group of constituents, separated from their environment through boundaries, in a regular & patterned interactions with each other.

Systems approach in Comparative Politics was developed as a result of Behavioural Revolution during 1950s - 60s.

David Easton called for integration of knowledge, as well as more scientific knowledge, and he himself gave the Systems approach



However, systems approach was criticised widely for being insufficient & irrelevant.

In the works of Eugene Mehan, he laid out following limitations:

- ① Parochial for being Eurocentric
- ② Status quoist because it focuses on system maintenance, and no regard for system disturbances, disruptions or breakdowns
- ③ Prescriptive ~~due~~ due to preference for Western liberal values
- ④ Descriptive rather than analytical
- ⑤ Non-comparative

However, Young defended the systems approach by saying that it might be too abstract for any practical utility, yet it's the most comprehensive systems approach developed in political science.

Q-1(c): Democratic Peace Theory

Democratic Peace Theory, as given by Liberal scholar Michael Doyle, emphasises that democratic countries don't go to war, and hence democracy is a sine-qua-non for peace.

It is based upon the ideals of Immanuel Kant, who wanted Europe to promote democracy so as to maintain lasting peace on the continent. It derives its logic from the fact that two democracies have never gone to war in the history of the world.

This is so because a democratic govt. is more responsive towards citizens' aspirations, and citizens usually abhor war due to the destruction it brings. Also, democratic governments are often accountable to the legislature, and hence there is a scope for reverse correction.

However, its critics points out to the fact that democracy might be one of conditions for peace, but it is not the only condition. Moreover, states like USA have used this theory to intervene militarily into Middle East for their ulterior motives, but on the name of democracy promotion.

Current manipulation of this policy can be seen in the formation of QUAD as an alliance of free & democratic countries against authoritarian China.



Q-1(d)

India's prospects in APEC.

Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation as a grouping was formed in 1989 with 12 member states, but now currently stands at 21 members. It is a successful example of soft regionalism, i.e., open to govt. as well as businesses, and open regionalism, i.e., not geographically limited.

India's quest to join APEC dates back <sup>to</sup> years, when it espoused it as one of the objectives of its Act East Policy.

India underwent LPQ reforms of 1991, had introduced GST in 2016, is currently working on improving Ease of Doing Business, all so that it can be admitted to the APEC.

However, its prospects don't seem to be particularly bright.

① APEC has put moratorium on adding

new members since Asian Financial Crisis of 1997

- ② India's bureaucratic red-tape a big turn-off for other open economies
- ③ India's new policy of Atmanirbhar Bharat pushes self-reliance agenda
- ④ Globalisation under stress due to pandemic.

However, as pandemic is creating upheavals in the world order, India's entry might be considered by the APEC again. Being world's III<sup>largest</sup> economy by PPP, huge market and supply-chain diversification imperatives might tilt the balance in India's favour.

Q-1(e)

Strengths of Political Sociology approach.

Political Sociology as an approach deals with the interplay between politics & society, thereby bringing the process & the people together.

This approach is based on the assumption that politics alone doesn't affect society, society also affects politics equally. Political institutions are socially-located, defined by the prevailing norms, values & behaviours in the society.

\* STRENGTHS OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY :-

- ① Ends the dichotomy between society & politics
- ② Helps in study of politics as a process, and not as power-distribution alone
- ③ Brings out variations in same political process, on account of different giving different results

social conditions

- ④ Helps in understanding what legitimises authority in different societies
- ⑤ Truly comparative, as it incorporates the study of III - world countries also.

However, scholars like Sartori expressed apprehensions about politics losing its autonomy to the sociology in the process. This led Theoda Skocpol in 1985 to call for 'bringing the state back in'.

Q. 3(a)

Critically evaluate the role of UNHRC towards protection of Human Rights. Do you think China's election to UNHRC reveal UNHRC's shaky global status?

The concept of Human Rights go as long back as the times of Locke, who gave every human being fundamental Right to Life, Liberty & Property. Many constitutions around the world embraced this idea, but many left it out in an implicit manner.

However, the Nazi atrocities during WW2 gave rise to the universal demand for an institutional mechanism for protecting HRs. The Universal Declaration for Human Rights (1948) & its two covenants on civil-political & socio-economic rights gave rise to International Bill of Rights

But this new regime for HR lacked institutional enforcement & oversight mechanism. Hence, the Vienna Conference in 1993 set-up UN Commission for Human Rights. It was under ECOSOC, its 53 members elected

from the ECOSOC itself and required no apparent commitment on the members' part towards HRs. The presence of Sudan on the UNCHR post-Darfur massacre was the tipping point towards countries asking for reforms.

So, in 2006, UNGA passed a resolution with overwhelming majority to replace UNCHR with UN Human Rights Council (UNHRC). Its members were to be elected from UNGA, <sup>should</sup> have express commitment towards protecting HRs and were liable to be removed by UNGA itself.

The UNHRC has a largely unblemished role in upholding HRs. It carried out detailed investigations in Lohingya case (Myanmar), calling it 'textbook case of ethnic cleansing'; raised 'its voice against American atrocities in Iraq'; and didn't shy away from calling Israeli occupation of Palestine illegal.

However, it's often accused to be too intrusive & playing into hands of sensational elements. Its criticism of India's internal matters, about abrogation of Art. 370 in Kashmir, made it clear. USA even left UNHRC blaming it to be China-centered platform. Its mechanisms of Universal Periodic Review are often superficial & hardly helpful in holding governments accountable for their HR violations.

Its 47 members are elected on regional basis after every 3 years. China again got re-elected in 2020, despite its egregious HR violations of Uighur Muslims in Xinjiang. Though it got the lowest no. of votes among all 4 elects, yet its deft diplomacy exposes the voting on partisan lines in the UNHRC.

Many members are induced by money, aid & promises for future

rewards to vote in a particular way. This not only weakens UNHRC, but also the commitment towards HRc would erode.

Thus, there is an urgent need to reform the UNHRC from within, to make it work with more public scrutiny & to take actions to shield it away from political profiteering.



Q. 3(b)

What is gender justice? Do you think gender justice in law as well as in practice is the key to achieve SDGs?

Gender justice refers, broadly, to providing what is due to each gender, i.e., equal opportunities, resources and capabilities.

In theory, it might appear as a goal towards equal distribution, but in practice, it means more attention towards historically disadvantaged gender, i.e., the women. The fact that we have 'gender justice' as a field of study itself points towards the importance of focusing more on women empowerment.

Gender Justice is a broad term. It encompasses all the dimensions of our lives - social, cultural, economic, political & international. The need for such a concept arises from the marginalisation of women?

- ① Women earn as much as 2/3<sup>rd</sup> of what men earn for same job roles
- ② We have had only 25 Heads of State so far world over.

- ③ Asset ownership of women is less than 1% of total
- ④ Almost half the levels of education & health attainments
- ⑤ Subjected to violence in all forms on daily basis almost; Worst forms of war & crisis effects faced by them.

Thus, gender justice as a concern in global discourse arose from UDHR 1948 treaty, which promised equal rights to all w/o any discrimination on the basis of sex, place of birth, race, religion, etc.

But the particular boost came with the establishment of UN Commission on the Status of Women, which led to declaration of UN Decade for Women (1975-85). During this decade, 3 Women's Conference was organised & a fourth UN Conference on Women took place in Beijing (1985), which gave rise to Beijing Action Plan; it contains 12 action points concerning women in field of edu, health, employment, violence, etc.

These initiatives led to Gender mainstreaming as an official UN policy. The state laws were to conform to Conventions so developed, and were to accepted in practice through policies. It actually led to women empowerment in many ways, like narrowing gap b/w primary school enrolment for girls & boys, more job opportunities as well as more agency for women.

SDGs give special focus to gender justice; dedicating Goal 5 to women only. But even all other goals like SDG 1: Zero poverty or SDG 10: Reduced inequalities indirectly works towards gender justice. Only if states are able to follow all the global conventions in practice, make laws for women empowerment and work towards an equal future, can SDGs be achieved.

Hillary Clinton <sup>had</sup> rightly remarked once, "Women empowerment is not only a strategic goal but a pre-requisite for global development"

Q-3(c)

The debate on ASEAN's centrality gained momentum with China's growing regional clout. Do you think the debate is likely to get sharpened with consolidation of Quad?

ASEAN came into existence in 1967 with an aim to consolidate highly heterogeneous & diverse region of SE-Asia. Focussing slowly on things that matter in a functional way, it has evolved its own ASEAN Way which is responsible for peace & prosperity in the region.

However, things ~~are~~ <sup>got</sup> a bit disturbed with the rising aspirations of China to be a global superpower. China considers ASEAN region as its global backyard, and wants to maintain its hegemony in the region (Toruman Doctrine). Thus, it began to build artificial reefs in and around the South China Sea, entering into agreements with ASEAN members for leasing ports (String of Pearls strategy) while remaining engaged economically through RCEP.

However, the region of Indo-Pacific is equally important for the USA, who has always played the role of an external balancer in the region. USA is a resident power in the region, with strategic interests in containing China as well as protecting its allies like Japan, S. Korea & Taiwan.

To counter Chinese aggression, the concept of QUAD has slowly been taking shape. First institutionalised in 2007, it remained largely dormant before being revived in 2017 on the sidelines of ASEAN summit itself. The major aims are yet to emerge coherently, with all the 4 partners viz. India, Japan, US & Australia, only highlighting their vision of 'free, open & inclusive Indo-Pacific'.

But the concept of Indo-Pacific can't be imagined without the centrality of the ASEAN. It's the region that

both constitutes Indo-Pacific as well as is the recipient of whatever results this superpower rivalry would bring. This raised concerns about pro-active approach ASEAN should take, highlighted itself by the ASEAN in its doctrine of 'ASEAN as the center of peace & prosperity'

However, there are still apprehensions about ASEAN countries on which side to join. While China is the biggest trading partner of almost all the countries in the region, they are the victims of China's land-grabbing policies. In words of Singaporean Premier, "the scope for non-alignment is narrowing for the ASEAN countries; and no matter which side they choose independently, if ASEAN could pick one side as a bloc, this is definitely going to tilt the balance in favour of the preferred side".

Q-5(a)

Relevance of NAM in 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Non-Aligned Movement was born at the Bandung Conference in 1955, and its I summit took place in 1961 in Belgrade. Based on 10 principles of Bandung Conference, it played a crucial role during cold war, providing the developing countries a platform for South-South solidarity, anti-imperialism & anti-racialism.

However, with the end of Cold war in 1990, NAM has increasingly been marginalised. Egypt, one of the founding members, even suggested to end it then & there. Currently, India has not attended two back-to-back summits in Venezuela & Azerbaijan, Egypt & Indonesia are pro-US countries, Yugoslavia has disintegrated and NAM is in search for an agenda.

However, the emerging world order & the

prospects of New Cold War between US & China have pointed towards the relevance of NAM. The current pandemic has highlighted the need for global solidarity. In the words of PM Modi, "NAM has been world's moral voice, and its ~~relevance~~ <sup>new</sup> has been more than ever in a fragmented world order".

Being the largest global solidarity platform outside of the UN, NAM holds immense potential. All it needs is reinvigoration through effective leadership, provisions for funds and political will to rise like a ~~bird~~ phoenix from the ashes.



Q-5(b)

What are the weaknesses of traditional approach to comparative politics?

Traditional approach, or the legal-institutional approach, to comparative politics deals with the study of institutions & constitutions. It has been the dominant approach since 16<sup>th</sup> century upto the WW2.

It studies the states through historical, legal & political perspectives, and compare them on the basis of formal institutions. It's, however, widely criticized for precisely this reason. In the words of Maucider, traditional approach has following limitations :-

- ① Eurocentric
- ② Prescriptive
- ③ Non-comparative, for excluding III world countries
- ④ Formalistic, i.e., focused on what ought to be rather than what is.

③ Ignore the social & cultural factors shaping political institutions.

In response to these criticisms, Systems approach was born as a by-product of Behavioural Revolution, to make the field scientific as well as <sup>truly</sup> comparative.

However, this approach remained relevant, and has made a comeback in a reformed form as NEO-INSTITUTIONALISM.

Q-5(c)

Discuss the impact of pandemic on nature of state in advanced industrial societies.

The pandemic has rattled the state machinery world over, but the most affected seems to be well-entrenched state machinery of the advanced industrial countries.

Increasing power of state in all spheres, xenophobic sentiments in the societies, crashing economies, sealed border by asserting national sovereignty, all point to a new normal. The notion of borderless world, esp. entrenched in Europe through Schengen Visa no longer holds true. The maxims of cooperation & institutionalisation, e.g., European Union, have all failed to prevent countries from putting their national interests first.

The vast resources of developed countries have proved to be insufficient to tackle pandemic, with USA recording max. no. of deaths.

The technology meant for development is now being used for surveillance. And the biggest casualty is globalisation, which is facing resistance from the part of the world most favourable for it.

Therefore, the pandemic has unleashed forces that are going to destroy the earlier notions, and would set advanced industrial countries back by years before they can revert back to normal. The ultimate beneficiaries would be the youthful countries of Global South, which are able to manage this crisis better due to their geographies, demographics and less interconnectedness.

Q - 5(d)

Give your views on national interest as a 'Pseudo Theory'.

Be it Machiavelli in the Europe or Kautilya & Sun Tzu in Asia, national interest has always been at <sup>the</sup> core of the theories of statecraft. Since time immemorial, national interest is what has defined the policies of the countries in international arena.

Realists like Morganthau have even gone to the extent to say that National interest is the ultimate end, and power is just a means to attain it. However, national interest is a very subjective term, differing as per the exigencies of time as well as the interpretations of the states.

This has led Raymond Aaron to remark that national interest is a pseudo-theory because in reality, there can't be any single comprehensive definition

of national interest. It is just an ambiguous concept, open to <sup>different</sup> interpretations at different times.

Social constructivists like Alexander Wendt have also criticised by saying that it is a speech-act situation.

Countries define their interests & then securitise them in the name of national interest. In the words of Kamlesh Thakur, "If armies have to fight for it, citizens have to die for it, resources have to be drained for it, what better concept can we have than national interest".

Q-5(e) What are the salient features of NAFTA 2.0?

NAFTA was signed between US, Canada & Mexico during 1990s, becoming the only free-trade agreement between developed & developing countries back then. However, it came under increased scrutiny with President Trump calling it 'the worst trade deal ever'.

The renegotiated FTA called US-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA), or the NAFTA 2.0, came into existence in 2018 and has following salient features:

- ① IPR protection limit to be enhanced from 50 years to 60 years
- ② Canada to open its dairy market to USA
- ③ Strict implementation of environmental & labour legislations

- ④ Rule - of - origin demand raised to 70% of local content
- ⑤ Minimum wage requirements at par with USA to retain % of workers in Mexico in every process.

The new deal provides equitable opportunities to all the three nations, and will be helped in checking illegal migration, bringing up economic growth & increased employment opportunities for the countries involved.



Q. 7(a) Feminist Theory of IR explores gender as a site of the power & social interaction. Do you subscribe to the view that the neglect of feminist perspective is a real challenge to in conceptualizing the notion of security in IR?

When Cynthia Enloe in her book 'Bases, Bananas & Bombs' asks 'where are the women?', it's the war-cry for the Feminist Theory of International Relations to be born. Feminist Theory of IR precisely deals with this question of invisibility of women in the matters most affecting them: war & security.

Gender has always been a site of social interaction, with the concept of patriarchy relegating women from the sphere of public life to the private life. However, what was less clear was gender as a site for power interaction, which becomes important as soon as the studies on effect of war on women became available. War leads to insecurity of life, loss of livelihood, poverty, ~~immigration~~ migration, etc. all of which disproportionately affect women.

But even directly, war entails use of rape as a systematic instrument to deprive women of their agency.

Hence, when Cynthia Enloe further threw light on the roles women played in war, as the workers on plantations (bananas), wives of diplomats hosting lunches (beaches) & prostitutes in the bases (bombs), it all showed increased marginalisation of women.

Thus, feminist Theory of <sup>IR</sup> ~~IR~~ deals with incorporating the views of women in the defence policy of the nation internally, as well as in foreign policy externally. Ann J. Tickner in her seminal work 'Gender in Politics' gives 6 feminist principles to counter realist 6 principles of Morgenthau, whereby she deplores him for separating politics from ethics. She gives the concept of human security rather than national security, and defines national interest in terms

of both masculinist & feminist discourses.

Many nations have subscribed to the view that neglect of feminist perspective has led to more wars, destruction & further security concerns. Thus, Sweden began the concept of feminist foreign policy, described by its Foreign Minister as the policy which keeps women at the centre of both peace & war. Hilary Clinton, former <sup>USA's</sup> secretary of state, has also emphasised on the fact that as long as we don't include the feminist concept of human security in our IR discourse, our wars are going to remain inhuman.

Thus, being the worst sufferers of the ill-effects of conflicts, women are naturally conscious about the miseries war can inflict. If they are involved in policy-making, a lot more wars could be avoided. The

field of IR, which has been the most masculinist discipline till date, needs to shed some space for the growing power of feminist discourse. In today's era of asymmetrical wars, old policies are redundant, and new paradigms of foreign-policy thinking as well as war & peace calculations need to be developed.

Q-7(b)

Post - Covid19 world needs globalization based on fairness, equality & humanity. Discuss.

Pandemics are not just global health emergencies, they also lead to new norms, values & behaviours. The Covid-19 crisis is no different: the lockdowns & sealed borders, the notions of national sovereignty, the deglobalisation tendencies it has unleashed, are all here to stay for long. Thus, globalization needs to be reformed & redefined.

The globalisation, as we have known since 1990s, is based on neo-liberal paradigm of free market & limited government. This leads to creation of wealth world over: \$4 Trillion flows across global markets on a daily basis, more than the combined GDP of half the world. But it also led to inequalities: some states are ~~winners~~ winners like Brazil, India, China, etc. while some are clear losers like G-7, eastern European countries, etc.

To add to it, there were gender-based inequalities, with concepts like feminization of poverty gaining currency.

Hence, globalisation was long in the need for reformation, the pandemic just accelerated this development. The skeptics are triumphing the role of nation state as the responder of last resort, while the economies themselves are going into closed-model (Atmanirbhar Bharat is a case-in-point)

However, all is not lost yet. The way scientists & doctors collaborated world over, pooled their resources & knowledge and ~~gave~~ worked towards bigger goal of humanity, it led Gideon Rose to call for a New Template for Globalisation.

Modi at NAM Virtual Summit remarked that we need globalisation based on the concept of care, compassion & humanity. Thus, there are rising calls

for more globalisation, and not less globalisation, though in a reformed way.

The world can look forward to following contours of new globalisation :

- ① Greater cooperation between North & South
- ② Economies putting their citizens first
- ③ More collaboration in the field of healthcare & skill development
- ④ Diversification of supply chains
- ⑤ More suspicion towards market monopolists or economic superpowers.

The most important contribution of the pandemic is towards realisation of the fact that 'threat to humanity anywhere is a threat to humanity everywhere'.

Hence, we must stay together or perish.

Q. 7(c)

Do you think the world is witnessing the end of Pax Americana & the beginning of Pax Sinica?

The collapse of USSR in 1990 marked the beginning of a unipolar moment for the USA. For past 30 years, it has played the role of global hegemon, and the era <sup>was</sup> largely referred to as 'Pax Americana'.

However, Hegemonic Stability Theory clearly lays down that the unipolarity is never sustainable, because the hegemon often stretches its military. Starting from Kosovo war in 1999 to USA's unilateral intervention in Iraq & Afghanistan, it all slowly drained USA of its resources & respect equivocally. The Global Financial Crisis of 2008 came as a rude reminder that even an economic superpower is not infallible.

Thus, US hegemony was long under duress, the election of Trump added urgency to it, and the pandemic



has acted as the accelerator for the crisis. No matter what parties inside US say about USA's current hegemony, the failure of US to manage the pandemic, its almost-defeated withdrawal from Afghanistan, its withdrawal from international institutions like UNESCO & WHO, all points towards the end of Pax Americana. The end-point was the QUAD, which shows how US now needs middle powers like India & Japan to counter China.

In the words of Yeats,  
 "The old world order is coming to an end, the new is struggling to be born; Now is the time for monsters"

China was quick to seize the moment for ~~step~~ filling into the shoes of US. However, the Chinese dream of Pax Sinica got over even before it was born.

USA's hegemony came from its unrivalled position in its backyard, but China is facing pushback in South China Sea by

ASEAN countries. Its borders ~~are~~ <sup>with</sup> its neighbours are always disturbed. Its economy is slowing down, thus switching off the growth - engine. Geo-political rivalries are taking shape in the form of QUAD. Its leadership in international organisations is being challenged, e.g., Australia demanding investigation at WHO in China's handling of the pandemic.

Thus, today we are living neither in Pax Americana nor in Pax Sinica. The world <sup>order</sup> is more multipolar than ever. In the ~~words~~ <sup>words</sup> of Henry Kissinger, "It's not about how US or China would behave, but rather how middle powers like India, Japan & Australia would behave" that will decide the future of the globe "

Q - 8(a)

Discuss the salient arguments of structural realists. Highlight the post-modernist critique of structuralists.

Realism has been the most dominant as well as the oldest theory to describe the field of International Politics. It emphasises on states as the only players in the world arena (based on Westphalian world order), and power to be the deciding factor. Hence, states are basically engaged in power-play in the IR.

Classical Realism, propounded mainly by Morgenthau, was based upon human nature as selfish & power-seeking. However, neo-realists found this assumption to be unscientific, and sought to build upon the anarchical structure of international arena. Structural Realists, as the name suggests, believe the structure of the global politics to be anarchical, so that the states are compelled to indulge into power politics to maintain their existence.

Structuralists are mainly divided into 2 groups :

① Defensive Realism : Propounded mainly by K. Waltz, it argues that states increase power so as to maximise their security, and not to change the world order in their favour.

② Offensive Realism : While agreeing with the anarchical structure of global politics, they concur with classical realists that states are power-maximisers & not security-maximisers.

Mearsheimer, one of the greatest proponents of offensive realism gives example of China as the revisionist power against the current hegemon US, and hence predicts the Tragedy of Great Power Politics.

Derived from the concept of Thucydides Trap, structural realism says that

The world structure often leads to conflict between powers so as to retain their hegemony.

However, this approach has been widely criticised by liberals, who points towards cooperation visible in world like UN.

Marxists criticise it for hiding the class character of global order behind the garb of national interest.

But the most passionate critique comes from POST-MODERNISTS who believe that 'Anarchy is what the states make of it'. Richard Ashley gives the concept of 'Anarchy Problematique' where states presents anarchy as a problem, then fight wars over it, and triumphs are often shown as the vindication of their stand. While in the reality, same anarchy can be presented as a way to call for greater cooperation.

They also question the stance of structural realists that 'balance of power is the common sense', and says that it is no more than a murky concept to further national interests. Thus, Der Derian proposes to understand every such text with the context in order to gauge the true nature of world politics.

Q. 8(b)

Do you think that the balance of power is an ambiguous concept? Examine the relevance of balance of power in 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Balance of power has been taught by the Realist scholars as a form of common sense. However, throughout the history, it has remained an ambiguous concept because of the many meanings it can take :

- ① It might mean different countries with roughly equal power
- ② It might mean one country balanced by group of countries
- ③ It might mean a state, or might mean a tactic.

Thus it has remained a murky concept, with different countries attaching their own meanings to it. It neither clarifies balance of which power, i.e., social, political, economic or military, ~~neither~~ <sup>nor</sup> does it clarify balancing for what purpose.

Balance of power as a concept came into vogue right from the time Westphalian world order came into existence in 1648.

Since then, various countries of Europe kept on balancing one another in concert with each other. But often requires an external balancer, which role was played by Holland during 17<sup>th</sup> century & later on by Britain during 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The high point for this was marked by the WWI when Ottoman Empire was defeated by England, France & Holland acting in concert with each other. But the unrelenting misery it inflicted on the world led to search for a new model, which was provided by liberal institutionalism. In the views of Woodrow Wilson, balance of power gave unsustainable state of peace.



Hence, the countries went for League of Nations for continued cooperation, which however failed miserably due to old Bol tactics played by Britain & France. This didn't stop here, and their appeasement of Nazis to check Communist Russia later led to WW2.

Thus Bol have been defining feature of 20<sup>th</sup> century, directly or indirectly. Later on, it was only with the emergence of bipolarity between two superpowers that could put this concept to an end.

Q-8(c)

Do you think nuclear deterrence is a myth & there is no realistic way to protect ourselves against deliberate or inadvertent use of nuclear weapons?

In the views of K. Waltz, nuclear weapons are the ultimate weapons of peace. The Cold war remained cold due to nuclear deterrence, otherwise the height of rivalries was even greater than that during WWI & WWII.

Nuclear deterrence is based upon the concept of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD). It means that if a country goes for the use of nuclear weapons, the other country threatens it of massive retaliation of the scale that the war seem to be a costly option.

However, nuclear deterrence as a policy depends upon large no. of factors like nuclear triad, survivability & retaliatory capacities, capability to withstand mass destruction, etc. For nuclear deterrence to be worthwhile, number of nuclear

weapons is immaterial, and nuclear posture is what defines a country's deterrence (Bipin Narang).

For ex → France follows 'assured retaliation' even after a terrorist strike

However, nuclear deterrence brings with it many security threats, and there is always a greater danger attached to it than the benefits it brings:

- ① Nuclear weapons falling into hands of non-state actors
- ② Command & control falling into hands of army, which often adopts aggressive posture
- ③ Accidental use of nuclear weapons
- ④ Nuclear weapon states engaged in low-level skirmishes even more.

Prof. Ramesh Thakur questions the policy of nuclear deterrence itself. He raises the questions about what nuclear deterrence could a country like N. Korea put against America.

Or if nuclear deterrence is really a way to peace, why do USA wants to stop Iran acquiring nuclear weapon in Middle East where Israel is only nuclear power.

Thus, nuclear deterrence in reality is a myth and just a way for global powers to maintain their power & prestige. It might bring low-level benefits to the state, but the costs of holding nuclear weapons as well as surviving accidental use far outweighs the benefits that they bring.