

Political Science & International Relations**Crash Course & Test Series - 2023****Test 3****Time Allowed: 3 Hours****Max Marks: 250**Name SWATI SHARMATest Date 13 AUGUST 2023UPSC Roll No 0838034**Instructions:**

1. There are EIGHT questions divided in TWO SECTIONS and candidate has to attempt five questions in all.
2. Question Nos. 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, any three are to be attempted choosing at least ONE question from each section.
3. Content of the answer is more important than its length.
4. Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the admission Certificate, which must be stated clearly on the cover of the booklet in the space provided.
5. Content of the answer is more important than its length.
6. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the Question-Cum-Answer Booklet must be clearly struck off.
7. All parts of the question should be written at one place itself.
8. Write the test in exam atmosphere.
9. **Filling all the details in BLOCK LETTERS is mandatory.**

S. No.	a	b	c	d	e	Total
1						
2				X	X	
3				X	X	
4				X	X	
5						
6				X	X	
7				X	X	
8				X	X	
Grand Total						

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	Poor	Average	Good	Very Good	Excellent
Understanding of Questions					
Structure & Flow					
(a) Introduction					
(b) Conclusion					
(c) Overall					
Subject Knowledge					
Presentation					
(a) Underline					
(b) Paragraph					
(c) Overall					

Overall Remarks:

Dear Student,

All the best for next test...!!!

Q.1 (a)

Comment on post-modernist critique of structuralism. (10 Marks)

Realism is the hegemonic school of international politics. Realism shows that the international political order is anarchial in nature, where survival is the primary *raison d'état* of state. Further, survival is maintained using power as immediate end.

Neorealists

or structural realism differs from ^{classical} realism in terms of methodology used. Structural realists Kenneth Waltz and Mearsheimer show that the international political order is ~~hierarchical~~ anarchial in nature. The states act as security maximisers (Waltz) or as

power maximisers (Mearsheimer) to ensure their survival.

Post modern

theorists have criticised the structural realism for making the international order as anarchy.

Alexander Wendt criticises them for making anarchy possible as anarchy is what states make of it. Richard Ashley in "anarchy problematique" shows that structural realists have made anarchy as problem using power as a means to satisfy the national interest.

However, structural realism has been significant in understanding the great power politics that engulfs the political world order.

Que.1(b)

Discuss the feminist approach to security. (10 Marks)

National security emerged as a key concept of international relations during 17th century. It deals with security of state and its people.

Feminists propose a critique to the hegemonic realist theory that state should be protected from the anarchical world order.

Feminists argue that the meta narrative has been masculinist in nature and devoid of women's perspective in security. Cynthia Enloe questions "where are the women" in context of understanding the masculinist international order.

Feminist approach towards security, hence, is based on human security from the patriarchy and the masculinist led perspectives.

J. B. Et. shows that the lack of women perspective has led to formation of a distorted world view. The war makes men, because men make war.

For feminists security of women is political and in nature. They endorse ethics and morality in understanding security perspectives.

Feminist approach of security, hence, advocate a new arena to evaluate security in line of growing challenges such as climate change, human rights, etc.

Que.1(c)

Discuss the role of MNCs in shaping the politics across the developing countries. (10 Marks)

MNCs are the transnational non state actors that has shaped the economy and politics of world order.

The realist school of thought believe in state centric world order and do not take into account activities of MNCs in influencing states' sovereignty.

For the liberals, MNCs have been playing a positive role by integrating the developing world with international economy under forces of globalisation and neoliberalism. They advocate that

MNCs have led to growth in GDP, better choices, increased income, exchange of transfers and technology, ~~others~~ and so on.

However, the Marxist School of Thought has criticised the role of MNCs in leading to drain of wealth and development of underdevelopment in the periphery countries.

Feminists have also criticised them for leading to exploitation of women - sexual harassment at workplace, etc.

MNCs have thereby played a instrumental role in transforming the developing world with aids and investments.

Que.1(d)

Describe the political sociology approach. (10 Marks)

Comparative politics is a study of comparisons among nations. One of the approaches to study nations is political sociology approach.

Political sociology approach deals with the study of states of subject dealing with interface of society and politics.

Aristotle is considered as father of political sociology where he analysed revolution as due to inequality in society.

Karl Marx, the father of modern political sociology discussed the base-superstructure model and politics and society as part of superstructure.

The approach is a behavioural approach that emphasises on observation and behaviour of issues at in politics and society.

In Indian context, Paul Brass, Andre Beteille, Rajni Kothari has studied caste, religion and politics.

However, due to overemphasis on society, the discipline was criticised for losing its identity.

The approach undermined the study of state, thus, the da scopkol calls to bring the state back in.

Political sociology approach, however, helped to understand the issues lying at trifecta of politics, society and state, to create a transdisciplinary study.



Que.1(e)

Critically evaluate democratic peace theory. (10 Marks)

International politics aims at establishing peace and stability in the world order.

Democratic peace theory by Michael Doyle, gives a liberal perspective to establish peace among nations. The theory is influenced by Kant's idea of republicanism and perpetual peace.

According to the theory, two democratic nations do not go for war but resolve differences ~~to~~ with dialogue. It is based on the premise that the leaders in such nations are answerable to the citizens and under pressure do not act arbitrarily while conducting foreign relations.

The theory

relies on democratic idea of consent and right to revolt (Locke).

The presence of two democratic nations lead to establishment of zone of peace hence enhancing cooperation on trade, society, cultural contacts.

The theory is criticised for advancing the US's national interest. The zone of peace between two democratic nations can be a coincidence. Realists argue that nations go for war after evaluating the degree of threat.

Democratic peace theory stands questioned in 21st century where complex interdependence also put complex problems on table.



Que.2(a)

Discuss the salient features of system theory of International Politics. Do you think it as an inadequate theory? (20 Marks)

The study of international politics has been a subject of constant evolution. Morton Karp Kaplan presents his system theory to understand the evolution of international political order.

Kaplan was influenced by the behavioural approach and used the general systems theory to formulate his models of international order. His theory is also prescriptive in sense that it provides several other models that may emerge in future. Kaplan presents hypothetical and real models to understand world order.

Kaplan presents 10 models of world order which get influenced in the environment of system.

- i) Balance of power model - Europe^(17th)
- ii) Tight Bipolar model - (1940 - 1960)
- iii) Loose Bipolar model - emergence of NAM
- iv) Very loose Bipolar model
- v) Universal veto model
- vi) Unstable order
- vii) Hierarchical order
- viii) Debente model
- ix) Nuclear diffusion model
- x) Unipolar model

Giving ten models of political order, Kaplan wanted to explain how there can be peace or instability in the world order.

For example,

Kaplan shows using his universal veto model where each state would possess equal powers and each can outvote each other.

Kaplan's system theory is criticised for being an inadequate theory for its fails to answer the major other models that might persist.

It is criticised as a huge mistake in the right direction.

Further, the theory is criticised for a strong parlous game that gives vague model.

Out of ~~eight~~ ten, major models presented, only three has been able to show the real world order while the others have been majorly hypothetical.

The theory has been further criticised for losing its relevance in the rising multipolar world order.

The theory also fails to explain the input-output functions. Also, it is criticised for not fulfilling the role of international political theories that is to establish peace.

However, the theory provides a worldview of how the international political order could have been.

It might be useful when used with other approaches of behavioural school.

Que.2(b)

Distinguish the functions of political parties with that of pressure groups. Compare and contrast the nature of politics of pressure Groups in Developed and Developing societies. (15 Marks)

Pressure groups are called as "invisible empires". These are seen as groups that influence the government using their techniques for the interest of their members.

Pressure groups are different from political parties in their functions as while the former deals with interest articulation, the latter functions as interest aggregation (Structural functional model).

According to Neumann, pressure groups are the interest groups who influence the policy decisions but do not seek power, unlike political parties

whose main function relies on gaining power for the seat.

Diverger differentiates them on basis of their organisation. While pressure group is generally a homogenous group working in interest of members., such as associational pressure groups working for their caste members. Political parties are a heterogeneous group that deals with ruling as well as opposition.

However, the pressure groups can take form of political parties with time. such as Indian National Congress began with as a pressure group, later developed into a political party.

The nature and functions of pressure group



vary in developed and developing societies. While in developed countries, they generally perform developmental functions, in developing societies they promote protective functions.
(Jean Blondel).

The developed countries pressure groups are non-institutional in nature, while in developing they are generally attached to institutions of government ~~such as~~ as they are pneumatic societies.

The nature of pressure groups in developing societies has been changing as there has been growth of intra-democracy, use of constitutional means, and better organisation as in developed societies.

However, pressure groups are instrumental in making democracy more participatory.

Que.2(c)

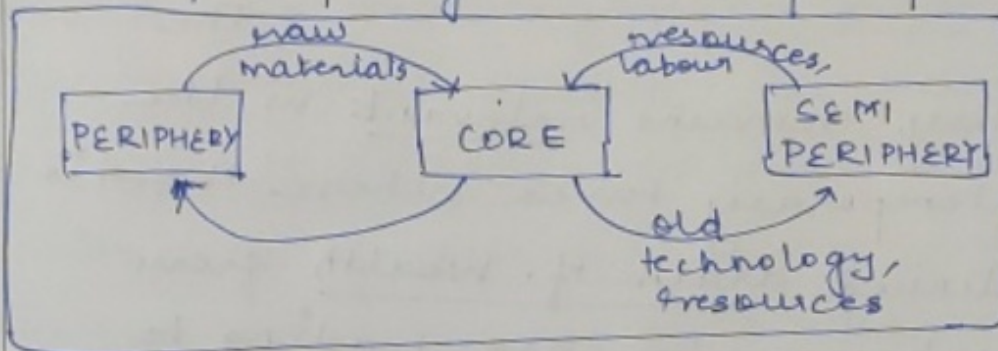
'World System Theory is a 'macro-sociological' perspective seeking to explain the dynamics of capitalist world economy'. Discuss the contemporary relevance of World System Theory (15 Marks)

Systems theory is a behavioural method used to explain the political system as it is than it should be. Immanuel Wallerstein, marxist perspective, gave the world systems theory as a critique to capitalist world order.

After the end of history, (Francis Fukuyama), Wallerstein analysed how capitalism has become as world system. Marx predicted that wealth accumulation will take capitalists to nestle everywhere.

While analysing the capitalism as world system, he used praxis and gave temporal and spatial dimensions of evolution of world system.

Wallerstein divides the world economy into three dimensions—
core, periphery and semiperiphery



Wallerstein shows that by integrating themselves into the international political economy, there has been development of underdevelopment in the peripheries.

The semi peripheries acts as agents of core and help maintain the exploitation of peripheries. By providing resources, technology, jobs, the core creates a false consciousness in the semi-peripheries.

Hence, Wallerstein presents a macro perspective where capitalism has become the world system.

The theory remains relevant in the contemporary times where there is continued drain of wealth from peripheries to core leading to poverty, inequality in the peripheries. There are instances of governability crisis in the semi-peripheries leading to rise of rightist parties. The differences between Global North and Global South can be well understood by dynamics of world capitalist system.

However, the theory is criticised for its economic determinism, it remains significant in era where geo-economics is taking over geopolitics.

Que. 3(a)

Explain the difference between 'realist' and 'neo-realist' approach to international politics. Discuss the relevance of feminist critique of realism. (20 Marks)

Realism is the hegemonic school of international politics. It originated as child of darkness to show the relevance of survival and power as key determinants of a state's foreign policy.

For realists, the international political order is anarchical in nature. Due to presence of anarchy and absence of any superior authority (world government), the survival of states becomes the foremost priority. As all the states possess equal capacity to outman the others, the states depend on self help to ensure their survival. For this, realists refer power.

to be used as "immediate end", whatever may be the ultimate end (Hans Morgenthau).

The classical realists differ from the neo realists in their understanding of human nature and methodology.

For classical realism, that began with Hans Morgenthau "Politics Among Nations", the human nature is power seeking (animus domandi). The states are run by the humans, hence the states become power seeking in nature. Thereby politics become power struggle.

The neorealists, Kenneth Waltz (The Theory of International Politics) and Mearsheimer (The tragedy of great power politics) accept that

International order is anarchical but within classical realism as unscientific for being based on human nature.

The neorealists use structure of international politics to understand political order. They differentiate it from domestic order which is hierarchical, international order being anarchical in nature. Hence, the state becomes security maximisers (Waltz) and gather only as much power as necessary for survival. Mearsheimer recommends states to be power maximisers in order to prevent any aggression by other states.

The feminists present the most elaborate critique to realism. They criticise realists for ignoring the women's perspective thus,

making it a masculinist ~~pos~~ theory.
A. J. Tickner reformulated six principles of Morgenthau using feminist ideology. According to which morality and care are also part of human nature. Realists took a pessimistic view of human nature. Further, the national interest also involves human security than only survival of states. For feminists, ethics are part of state's foreign policy, ~~and~~ ~~not just~~ ~~based~~ Politics is not autonomous of morality but involves morality.

Realism, however, remains as the most significant theory in the current world developments. States survival remains centre of debate as seen in Russia - Ukraine war.

Que.3(b)

Critically examine the relevance of theory of Balance of Power in 21st century. (15 Marks)

Power remains a contested concept in discipline of political science. Balance of power is the key concept in international politics that deals with management of power in the world order.

Balance of power is one of the means to achieve national interest. According to realists, the survival of state is the motivation behind foreign policy. In this anarchical world order, the states depend on self help for their survival.

Balance of power is a concept of westphalian world order, where each state acquires equal capacity and are present as billiard balls (Arnold Kelfers).

Among the states, when one state tries to, ^{create} preponderance ~~among~~ over other states, the states come together to balance the hegemon.

The states can balance the single state by internal or external balancing. In internal balancing, states try to increase their capabilities such as Japan increasing its defence expenditure in case of rising China. While in external balancing, the states come together as an alliance to balance the state such as NATO.

Balancing can also be done using diplomacy and dialogue.

However, the relevance of balance of power is questioned in 21st century. It is argued that world order

has transformed from billiard ball to cobweb (John Burton) where there is interdependence among nations. With rising threats, such as non state actors, the state does not remain the central actor.

Further, the states rely on deterrence than using balance of power. Balance of power has been useful for conventional weapons than nuclear weapons.

Scholars argue that states now balance threat (Stephen Waltz). Further Alexander Wendt criticises realists for overemphasising on anarchy in the world order.

However, David Hume calls balance of power as a common sense. It shall remain relevant till the survival is in question



Que.3(c)

What is gender justice? Do you think gender justice in law as well as in practice is key to achieve SDGs? (15 Marks)

Gender is a structured concept. According to feminists, "a woman is not born but made" (Simon D Beauvoir). Gender justice has become a global concern in the contemporary times.

Gender justice refers to the equality between men and women as gender in all spheres of life. It also takes a prescriptive approach to empower women to bring them at par with men in society.

The advent of gender justice began in 1975 World Conference on Women that highlighted the gender concerns for

the first time. Later Beijing Platform of Action (1995) and UNSC resolution 1325 were adopted in lieu of providing gender justice.

Women suffer issues of child marriage, harassment, exploitation at work and home, unequal political representation, that raises questions on gender justice.

SDG 5 provides for gender equality. Also, SDG 10 deals with reducing inequalities. The implementation of gender justice in law and practice is the key to achieve SDG as it ensures ground level implementation.

SDG can be better achieved when there is bottom up approach in implementation using localization of SDGs.

Several laws have been implemented to achieve gender justice at domestic and international level. However due to constrained funding, low awareness, ~~per~~ bureaucratic compulsions, the laws are not implemented in spirit.

Further, there are needs of behavioural changes in practice to achieve SDG. Feminists argue to bring women perspective in the security theories. to prevent a distorted world view (J B Eliahtin).

Hence, gender justice is a challenge of implementation and practice to achieve stability and peace in world order by achievement of SDG by 2030.

Que.5(a)

Weaknesses of traditional approach to comparative politics. (10 Marks)

Comparative politics is the comparison of different political nations. Aristotle, father of comparative politics, studied 158 constitutions to show differences among them.

Traditional comparative politics emerged till World War II. It included various methods such as philosophical, historical, legal institutional to evolve at criteria of differentiation. It was inculcative of normative science.

The traditional approach was criticised as narrow and non comparative for it compared only constitutions and types of government.

It also lacked the

criteria for comparison of the third world. It was criticised as eurocentric in nature for taking western model as ideal model for comparison.

With rise of behaviouralism after World War II, and positivism, there was rise of modern comparative politics that based the comparison on data and observation. It separated government and system. (eg - political system approach of David Easton)

However, traditional comparative politics laid the foundation for the future theories such as structural functional, political modernisation, etc for a transdisciplinary study.



Que.5(b)

New International Economic Order (NIEO). (10 Marks)

International economic order has been evolutionary in nature. Since 17th century, growth of trade has been a benefactor in relations among nations.

The New International Economic Order (NIEO) was a product of consensus among countries of Global South or developing countries against the ill effects of economic order after World War II.

India, at helm of Non Alignment Movement (NAM), showed leadership in formulation of policies for NAM NIEO.

NIEO dealt with better trade among developed

and developing, better terms of exchange of goods and services, reduce poverty and hunger. NIEO wanted to produce an egalitarian world order with development of third world countries.

NIEO is based on idea of equitable trade and not aid. A policy document was adopted by UNGA in 1974 and later the Declaration for New International Economic Order (2018) shows significance of NIEO in policy making.

Though it is criticised for making a centralised socialist planning model by west, it is of huge significance for developing world to bring welfare and health to nations.

Que.5(c)

The concept of 'Over Developed State'. (10 Marks)

According to Garner, political science revolves around the study of state.

The post colonial scholar, Hamza Alvi, gives the concept of overdeveloped state while analyzing the nature of third world countries.

According to Alvi, the post colonial states are overdeveloped due to mismatch in political and economic structure of state.

The concept of nation state is an 'imported invention' in the colonial states. This led to strengthening of political structure with strong bureaucratic model, known as an executive state. This was evident in policies of India

after independence such as license raj regime while the economic structure of state remained feudal and conservative in nature. FW Riggs have called these societies as prismatic in nature where they are countries in transition.

Hence in an overdeveloped state, the state becomes powerful and can establish a Bonapartist state (Maxx). This presents an instrumental model of state where the executive or state acts as agent of executive.

Hence, the concept of overdeveloped state is significant to understand the governability and legitimation crisis in post colonial states.

Que.5(d)

India's role in UN Peace Keeping. (10 Marks)

United Nations was created not to make heaven on earth but to prevent it from becoming a hell. One of the chief functions of UN was to maintain peace and stability using collective security.

UN peace-keeping (UNPK) was created as a resolution under UNGA. It has no mention in UN Charter. The blue helmet workers under UNPK acts as a force in areas of conflict and humanitarian distress.

India, upholding values of Vasudev Kutumbakam — world as one family, has been at forefront in UNPK. It has provided around largest

number of troops for the peacekeeping forces. The forces also included women troops in regions of Congo and Abyei in Sudan - South Sudan.

Further, India has been advocating protection of the peacekeeping forces in the declaration - "Peace begins with me".

India has been instrumental in making annual contributions to the peacekeeping.

India's role in peacekeeping reviews the demand to gain the permanent membership at UNSC.

Whether permanent or non permanent member, India as a founder member of UN is helping UN to work via multilateralism.

Que.5(e)

International Court of Justice. (10 Marks)

United Nations was formed as a collective body to undertake steps to maintain peace and security. It works through its specialised organs and permanent bodies to ensure human security.

International Court of Justice (ICJ) is one of the permanent bodies under UN, to advance global justice and peace. It consists of 15 non partisan judges to ~~over~~ deliver justice on international arena.

ICJ rulings are seen as instruments of international law. It deals with resolution of disputes.

among the government and states.
It is instrumental in bringing
peace and justice for all.

However,
the body is criticised on several
grounds. It becomes a game of
power politics when P5 can veto
its decisions. It does not deal
with private bodies and enterprises.
It does not take the rulings of
International Criminal Court (ICC).
It is criticised for ^{lack of} separation of
powers and compulsory
jurisdiction under UNSC.

However,
ICJ as a principal body of UN
deals with maintaining a just
international political order.

Que.6(a)

Elaborate the concept of 'Deterrence'. Discuss the potential of nuclear deterrence in South Asia. (20 Marks)

Deterrence is the key concept in theory of international politics. It evolved with writings of game theorists such as Thomas Schelling, Bernard Brodie.

Deterrence is the alternative to balance of power that deals with management of power to maintain peace and stability in the world order.

It relies on the concept that starting a war against one state can bring destruction, if not equal, to both nations. It has been a formal theory devised by US foreign policy makers during cold war.

The neorealists, Kenneth Waltz and Mearsheimer, in their polarity power thesis showed that nuclear deterrence and presence of bipolar world order made the cold war a cold peace.

After the bombings on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the concept of deterrence evolved to become nuclear deterrence. During cold war, the Mutually Assured Destruction doctrine (MAD) is credited to ensure deterrence among the super powers against any nuclear war.

Nuclear deterrence believes that pre-emptive first strike by any nuclear state on another nuclear state can bring mutual destruction to both states.



The concept of nuclear deterrence is often linked to security dilemma where increasing the capabilities of power even for defensive purposes can lead to offensive attacks by the state.

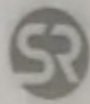
The concept of deterrence relies on idea of rational actor (state). Due to the fact that South Asia is the least integrated region with presence of mutual strifes and disdain, the potential of nuclear deterrence in South Asia is questioned.

South Asia is home to world's three nuclear powers - India, China, Pakistan, with one being member of P5 of UNSC (China). According to Ashley J Tellis, the nuclear dyad between India and

China is based on power dynamics in subcontinent while between India - Pakistan is based on verbal division, differences of past in ideology as well as power dynamics. Organski in power transition theory shows that states go to war when power transition takes place.

With conventional weapons outpacing nuclear weapons, there is a threat of nuclear war in South Asia. However, past experiences have shown that all three have remained national actors. China pursues a no first use policy while India has neglected on pre-emptive attacks.

Hence, nuclear deterrence finds salience. But we need to build taboos against nuclear weapons for a safer world.



Que.6(b)

What are the transnational actors? Discuss the socio-cultural consequences of the rise of transnational actors in the context of globalisation. (15 Marks)

Transnational actors are the non-state actors that have surfaced around the global world. The change of state centric geopolitics to society centric world order led to multiple increase in number of transnational actors.

Globalisation

came in backdrop of neoliberal policies in 1990s that showed interconnectedness among people, ideas and goods. The world is now a multiplex.

Transnational

actors are of different kinds with peculiar characteristics. such as MNCs, terrorist groups, civil society groups.

While the realists do not value the presence of MNCs, liberals have had huge faith in MNCs in turning the socio-cultural aspects. MNCs have provided better choices, increased jobs, new products. They have crossed the border of state sovereignty leading to influence the policies of state. There has been rise in globalisation of culture in host countries.

The transnational actors have led to creation of trading states that depend on complex interdependence among nations.

But some actors such as terror groups have been criticised for negatively impacting the host countries. They can lead to creation of failed states where



the state fails to protect its citizens, provide jobs and can lead to governability crisis.

Marxists have criticised that the transnational actors ~~can~~ lead to development of underdevelopment in the peripheries with increased inequality, poverty.

Feminists have argued that transnational actors have led to feminisation of poverty around the world. The women are easily trafficked and exploited.

Transnational actors have also led to clash of civilizations raising tensions between state.

However, globalisation is today a global common. The transnational actors are evolving with changes in globalisation to transform the socio-cultural conditions.

Que.6(c)

Critically examine the relevance of multicultural perspective of human rights in contemporary times. (15 Marks)

Rights are those conditions without which no man in general can seek to be at its best. Human rights are a subject of liberal discourse of natural rights that seeks to provide rights on worth of being human to all.

Human rights are considered to be universal, permanent and inalienable in nature. Universal declaration of human rights (UDHR) was the foremost declaration upholding human rights for all. Human rights are considered as end in itself for it encompasses, civil-political, economic-social and solidarity rights (Three generation of rights)

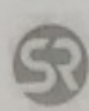


The multicultural perspective of human rights seeks to present a critique to universal implementation of the similar human rights. It guides the human rights to be based on cultural relativism, that seeks to provide equal right importance to all society's culture.

Will Kymlicka presented the liberal theory of multicultural perspective of human rights calling for polyethnic and group differentiated rights for the national minorities.

Bhiku Parekh

further elaborated the post colonial perspective of multicultural rights to all minorities. Lord Acton believed that the progress of



rights can be judged according to rights provided to minorities.

Hence,

multicultural perspective seeks to provide rights to minorities based on cultural differences among various societies.

Feminists have

criticised the multicultural perspective on premise that women are subjugated in every society such as France or Iran. Hence, It is also criticised that it can lead to ghettoisation of minorities and prevents cosmopolitan culture.

Multicultural perspective of rights present a hard choice. Asian scholars criticise it as "cultural imperialism" of west. Hence, rights need to be re-examined in context of every society to develop overlapping consensus.