

NEXT IAS**CSE (MAINS) TEST SERIES - 2024**

(To be filled by candidate)

Name of Candidate : Raj Kumar MahatoRoll No. : MT24PSIL1009

Mobile Number : Date of Examination :

Exam Centre : Old Rajinder Nagar ☐ Online ☒**Test-01****POLITICAL SCIENCE &
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

Dated : 30-06-2024

Time Allowed : Three Hours

Maximum Marks: 250

QUESTION PAPER SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS*(Please read each of the following instructions carefully before attempting questions)*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. Among these **THREE** questions, one should be from each section.

Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the Admission certification 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.

Observations:

SECTION-A

Write the following question in about 150 words.

(10 × 5)

Q.1(a) Examine the relevance of the BOP in the post-cold war era.

Balance of Power (BOP) is the realist conception of security in the international politics.

According to Realist like Kenneth Waltz BOP is an automatic phenomenon in international politics which is anarchical in structure (Billiard Ball model).

Similarly, Daniel J. Finkle said that BOP will remain relevant till common sense will remain relevant in international politics.

In the post cold war era, there was immediate rise of unipolar structure under the hegemony of USA (Pax Americana). Pax Americana was there from 1991 to 2001. Till then BOP was not relevant, because BOP is not effective against a single superpower.

But, challenge to this American hegemony started after 9/11 attack.

(9/11 attack) - This has initiated the process of ending of unipolarity. After multiple challenges like 2008 global financial crisis and 2019 COVID-19, to American hegemony, currently the world order is on a cusp of change and there has been rise of multipolarity.

This rising multipolarity has regained the relevance of BOP politics - we can see rising conflict in Europe, in South China Sea, in middle East.

however, still BOP politics cannot be fully revived because of the nuclear deterrence - since BOP works only in conventional warfare.

but as more and more nuclear weapons states are emerging this has given rise to "international problem" leading to stability - instability paradox (proxy warfare) eg: Hamas attacking Israel.

This BOP is still relevant only the nature has transformed with coming of nuclear weapons.

Q.1(b)

Write a short note on: Role of New Social Movements in developing countries.Candidates
must not write
on this margin

Social movements is a form of collective behaviour with least degree of institutionalization when compared to pressure groups and political parties.

Social movements can be categorized into new and old social movements. New social movements are movements which focuses on quality of life issues and not bread and butter issue.

Herbert Marcuse is the father of new social movements. Traditionally, new social movements are concentrated on western countries or developed countries. example - human right movement, feminist movement etc.

But with globalization and growth of transnational actors and activism they are also becoming relevant in developing countries.

example - metoo movement.

However, the new social movements are not purely new. Since the post colonial states are characterised as primitivistic societies, the social movements also have the characteristics of both new and old.

Example - the Chipko movement was not just a quality of life issue rather it was dependent on traditional livelihood. The livelihood was dependent on forest.

Similarly, the Narmada Bachao Andolan was both a new social movement and old social movement (led to displacement of local tribes)

Thus, the New social movements in developing countries have taken a unique characteristics of both old (bread and butter issue of the traditional people) and the new social movement (quality of life issue like forest conservation etc)

Q.1(c)

The quest for democracy in third world countries has been marked by bitter struggles and tribulations. Examine the statement.

Candidates must not write on this margin

Post the end of world war II, there has been growth of decolonisation and adoption of democracy by the third world countries (waves of democracy - Samuel Huntington)

However the adoption of democracy has not been peaceful. There has been a lot of struggles and tribulations.

Initially there were many thinkers who were reluctant to give democracy to post colonial states (eg. J.S. Mill). But with the establishment of liberal world order democracy was spread to all the third world countries as 2nd wave of democracy.

But soon, there has been rise of civil wars and military coup from the third world which gave rise to second reverse wave.

Again after the end of communism and end of cold war, democracy was spread to 3rd world countries as shock therapy.

Similarly, we have seen ARAB SPRING in 2010s in Tunisia, Libya and the middle East where people fought for democracy. While some were successful militarily but some entered into constant condition of civil war eg:- Syrian Civil war, Yemen civil war.

The Quest of democracies in the third world countries has been marked by struggles and tribulations as evident from waves and reverse waves (Soviet Revolution) and Arab Spring (coup and civil war).

Q.1(d)

Discuss the main arguments of Dependency Theory as a critique of Liberal Modernization Theory.

Liberal modernization theory is one of the approaches of comparative politics given by Edward Shils and Kenneth Young.

Liberal modernization theory focuses on modernization, that is, increasing industrialization, urbanization which will lead to development of democracy.

Dependency theory of Marxim has highlighted ~~criticism~~ the development of underdevelopment (Ah Frank) because of the liberal modernization.

They have criticized the way in which the countries are linked where the development of the core are taking place at the cost of the periphery.

There has been increasing development at the core and there is drain of wealth from the peripheries.

Dependency school said that new colonialism is still taking place. Peripheries are not free from the core.

Peripheries are reduced to the status of satellites of the Core (Noam Chomsky). This has led to increased poverty, environment degradation at the peripheries.

Liberal modernization theory has been criticised for Eurocentric, immanent bias. They have not incorporated other models of development.

Dependency school criticism is relevant because it has helped in understanding the ~~extent~~ reason behind existence of global poverty and the huge gap between the developed and the developing countries.

Q.1(e)

How is Comprehensive National Power an advanced concept?Candidates
must not write
on this margin

Power is the capacity to get things done either willingly or unwillingly - Robert Dahl.

National power or Comprehensive National power focuses on military power, economic power and cultural power.

It helps the development of nations both in terms of hard power and soft power. It helps in enabling maximum influence over other country.

Candidates
must not write
on this margin



Q.2(a)

Discussing political phenomena through cross-global investigation has become the core function of Comparative Politics. Discuss the statement. (15 marks, 200 words)

Candidates must not write on this margin

Comparative politics is one of the core discipline of political science. It is as old as political theory. Aristotle is considered as father of comparative politics as he has compared more than 150 constitutions.

Comparison lies at the heart of comparative politics. In sciences they have the privilege of laboratory, but in political science, comparison replaces laboratory conditions. In comparison, meaning is searched.

In comparative politics, we compare the political phenomena through cross-global investigation. By comparing, it increases objectivity, understanding about the political phenomena. Example, comparing the function of parliament in India with that of UK. We not only understand better the political system but also political phenomena. We can incorporate best practices from UK like the notion of "give a speaker always a speaker" or the concept of "shadow cabinet".

Thus, discussing the political phenomena through cross global investigation has become the core function of comparative politics.

But this was not the earlier. Before world war I and the behavioural revolution, it was just limited in the areas of west. Earlier it was called comparative government and not comparative politics. It was narrow in scope and only basis of comparison was constitution. It was called traditional comparative politics which was criticised as provincial, narrow in scope.

But after behavioural revolution, and the end of world war I, there rise the phenomena of 'wave of democracy' (described by Samuel P Huntington). It increases democracy in the third world. This gave rise to the necessity of comparing the political phenomena and systems of these ~~pro~~ third world countries also. This paved towards the development of modern comparative politics.

Modern comparative politics influenced from the phenomena of behaviouralist (David Easton) and have developed scientific study of global comparison.

There are different approaches that got developed like System theory (David Easton), Structural functional approach (Almond & Powell), Political development and political modernisation approach.

In all such approaches, political phenomena of ~~the~~ ^{across} the world are investigated. example, in political development approach, the political phenomena of the developing countries are investigated on the 3 parameters of equality, Capacity and differentiation (given by Levstam Pye)

Similarly, in Political culture approach the political culture is the basis for comparison as given by Sidney Verba and Gabriel Almond.

Then Comparative politics has evolved and now Cross global investigation become core part of comparative politics.

Q.2(b)

Evaluate the Marxist assertion that international politics is driven by the interests of the capitalist class rather than the interests of states. How does this view challenge the fundamental assumptions of Realist and Liberal theories? (15 marks, 200 words)

Candidates must not write on this margin

Marxist approach to international politics has tried to give an alternative approach to both Realist and Liberal theories

The intellectual precursors of Marxism like Karl Marx has said that profit is the engine of capitalism. The profit has forced bourgeoisie to settle everywhere and settle everywhere.

Similarly, Lenin has given theory of Imperialism. He said that Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism.

According to the Marxist, the current international politics suits best the interest of the Capitalist class and not the interest of the states.

According to the dependency school scholars Ar Frank there is development of underdevelopment. There is growing impoverishment in the peripheries and the developing countries and still chain

of wealth is being placed in context of neo-colonialism

Similarly, Immanuel Wallerstein in his world system theory has tried to give the structure of the world. He has classified the states in the world into core, peripheries and semi-peripheries. He said that the current international politics is arranged in such a way that peripheries ~~are~~ have become the satellites of the core. There is development of the core at the cost of the peripheries.

Similarly, the Gramscian school has given emphasis on the role of cultural factors (soft power) like democracy to have dominance ~~over~~ of the developing countries.

This challenges the fundamental assumption of Realist in a way ~~that~~ that, Realist has assumed that world order is anarchical and all the states are same (they only differ in power). But not only in power, but actually states also differ in terms of level of development.

Similarly, it challenges the liberal assumption that all states are rational and collective security can take place because of cooperation.

Marxist has criticized both Realist and liberals on their view over the role of MNCs, NGOs and terrorist organisation. Realist has never ~~and~~ attributed any role to MNCs and NGOs. Marxist believe that they are diverting the attention by not focusing on MNCs and NGOs.

Similarly, liberals have attributed the positive role played by the MNCs and NGOs. Marxists have criticised them for propagating the false consciousness.

Marxist criticism to liberal and Realist is relevant today, because it made capitalism humane and encouraged the states to understand the role of non-state actors in international politics.

Q.2 (c)

Discuss the contribution of comparative methods in understanding the political systems. Also briefly mention the challenges of comparative politics in the context of globalisation. (20 marks, 250 words)

Candidates
must not write
on this margin

A system is a set of elements in a state of patterned interaction. According to David Easton there are many systems, but political system can be distinguished from others on the basis of its function. The main function of political system is "authoritative allocation of values".

Comparative methods help in understanding the political systems of different countries. Comparison is at the heart of comparative politics. Comparison not only increases objectivity but it also helps to understand political phenomena in other country better.

There are different approaches or comparative methods to understand the political system. East method or approach has contributed in understanding the political system differently.

The System theory (David Easton) focuses on structure and function of the system. There are two inputs of the system in the form of demand and support and

the output is decision (single) and policy (many)
The system theory has contributed to the understanding of system maintenance through the concept of Feedback.

In structural-functional approaches of Almond-Powell, there are different political systems at different level of development. But each political system perform the same functions but structure may vary. This model is also called Seven input-output model.

Almond and Powell theory helped to understand the functions of interest articulation (done by pressure groups) and interest aggregation (done by political parties). It helped in functioning of pressure groups and political parties in different countries.

There are other modern approaches to comparative politics like political development, political modernisation, political culture approaches that have contributed in understanding the political system in

their own way.

However, there are multiple challenges & comparative politics in context of globalisation.

Since majority of the countries are adopting the same economic model of development and following same political models the basis of comparison is now becoming less. As highlighted by Francis Fukuyama 'End of History' and Daniel Bell, 'end of ideology' the world is becoming more homogeneous.

Also at the same time, we are witnessing backlash to globalisation in terms of reverse wave of democracy (Samuel P Huntington), because of which there is rising authoritarianism. Example - strengthening of the Chinese Communist party. This reduces data collection and transparency because of which effectiveness of the comparative method can be reduced.

The approaches like political modernisation approach (Kenneth Rogowski & Edward Shils) and political development approach (Lester K. Brown) are criticised for being Eurocentric and suffer from biases.

There are many practices in developing countries which may be completely alien to a foreign mind. This can reduce objectivity. Example - communalism critics of human rights in South East Asian countries.

There are increasing role of Non state actors like MNCs and NGOs whose role need to be focused. without acknowledging their role, it renders comparative political method useless or less effective.

Thus, all approaches need to be understood together to holistically understand political phenomena in a globalised interconnected world.

Q.3 (a)

In what ways does the Neorealist emphasis on the structure of the international system alter the traditional Realist understanding of war and peace?

(15 marks, 200 words)

Candidates must not write on this margin

Realism is the hegemonic discourse in international politics. It is also a meta theory, since it also has different schools under it.

Hans Morgenthau is considered as the father of classical Realism / traditional Realism.

He has given six principles of international politics on the basis of his understanding.

According to Hans Morgenthau, the nature of international politics is derivative of human nature. Since human nature is defined as selfish, in search for security and in constant struggle for power, similarly the states are in constant struggle for power.

Morgenthau says, international politics is nothing but constant struggle for power. Since the world system is anarchical in nature, so power is the means and power is the end. He derived his notion of human nature from Hobbes' Human Nature.

But New Realist or Structural Realist (Kenneth Waltz) has criticised his theory. He said that Morgenthau's theory is not scientific because he based his theory on human nature.

As an alternative, Kenneth Waltz has given his Structural theory which is scientific theory because he based his theory on the structural analysis of the world. According to Kenneth Waltz, the structure of the world constrains ^{state's} human action. Thus he reflects the actor level analysis of Morgenthau.

According to Kenneth Waltz, the anarchical nature of the world forces the states to take the matter of security on their own hand. If one country increases power it leads to security dilemma which forces the other country to increase their power to maintain "Balance of power" thus leading to constant struggle for power.

The New Realist understanding of the international system is best described from the "Billiard Ball Model" of Arnold Wolfers. Where each state collides with each other like ten free standing balls in the game of billiards.

Thus the traditional Realist has based their notions on the role of actors, derived from human nature and the Neo-Realist has based their notions on the structure of the world which is anarchical which is shaping behaviour of states.

However, both of them have been criticised by social constructivist, because according to them, they have interpreted the international system ~~which~~ in such a way which is "Anarchy problematique", both interpretations give rise to constant struggle and war and there is limited scope of peace.

Thus we need to interpret the world differently to bring peace (social constructivism)

Q.3 (b)

Discuss the concept of soft power given by Joseph Nye. What are the structural and characteristic changes in the contemporary world order that have increased its relevance. (15 marks, 200 words)

Candidates must not write on this margin

Power is the ability to get things done by others whether willingly or unwillingly
- Robert Dahl.

There are different kinds of power like hard power (Realist), Joseph Nye (liberal) has given the concept of Soft power.

According to Joseph Nye, soft power is a power of attraction and it's different from hard power which is power of coercion.

Power of attraction means, it is getting exercised upon others by means of consent and not by means of coercion. Its intellectual origin can be traced back to concept of hegemony given by Gramsci.

Soft power unlike hard power is not resource intensive, it is not concentrated in the hands of the state but is widely diffused among the people. example -

Soft power includes democracy, human rights, culture, movies, freedom of speech etc.

Joseph Nye has advised states not only to focus on hard power but also to soft power. excessive focus on hard power will ~~increase~~ increase the burden on resources and which will lead to failure of states. example - disintegration of USSR, USA estranged with Afghanistan.

The contemporary world is witnessing increased warfare and conflicts. examples - Russia-Ukraine conflict, Israel-Hamas war, tensions in South China Sea. This has put tensions in the material resources of the countries, specially the developing and the post colonial countries.

Thus, this has decreased the relevance of soft power. Because of these conflicts there is increase in arms race, refugee crisis, decrease in food and fuel security by disrupting the global supply chains.

Increased focus on soft power will reduce the role of hard power. Soft power will help in increasing cooperation and coordination, it will increase p2p contact, thus giving rise to "security community" (Karl Deutsch). This will reduce the conflicts and promote peace.

Diplomacy is an effective tool to promote soft power. Today India is promoting its soft power through foreign policy while it is increasingly the global stature of India. Just focusing on hard power is not effective today, where the international politics is increasingly dependent in a complex interdependence Model (Joseph Nye, Robert Keohane).

However, ~~for~~ Nye has later given the concept of Smart power where he said that soft power is not enough, both soft power and hard power should be pursued together. (Smart power)

Q.3 (c)

"Globalization has rendered the nation-state obsolete." Do you agree or disagree?

(20 marks, 250 words)

Candidates
must not write
on this margin

Globalization is the phenomenon of growing interconnectedness. It is best described by the "Complex interdependence model" of Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane.

Globalization has affected the nation state in a multiple ~~perspect~~ ways. There are multiple perspectives on whether globalization has rendered nation state obsolete or not.

There are globalist scholars who believe that globalization has rendered the nation state obsolete.

According to Globalist, there is no role of nation state. According to McLuhan the world today is a global village. Kenneth Ohmae said that we are living in a borderless world. Similarly there is a concept of casino capitalism which suggests that the liberal financial system resembles a large

casino and there is no relevance of nation state.

At the same time, there are statists scholars who have criticised the globalists.

According to statists, nation state is still relevant and they are central in managing the globalisation.

Linda Weiss said that we are living in a 'governed interdependence' where globalisation is governed by the nation state. Similarly Robert Gilpin suggest that globalisation is based on the strong political foundation, and it is run by a hegemon who is dictating the liberal world order. (Hegemony & stability theory).

however, in the sense, globalisation has a transformative character on nation state, best described by the transformationalist.

According to them, state has neither lost relevance, nor it has remained same.

But the Nation State has transformed through the process of globalisation.

According to David Held, democracy in the Nation State is influenced by the democratic world order. Similarly

Boravison highlighted that all the states are not equally impacted by globalisation. Somewhere globalisation has soon and somewhere state has soon.

Then it is necessary to understand and acknowledge the differential impact of globalisation to different Nation State. It depends upon the individual Nation State, whether they want to make globalisation successful or failure.

Along with the Nation State, there has been increased in the role of other actors like MNCs, NGOs whose role need to be acknowledged and regulated.

The role of the state have gained relevance back after globalisation has suffered serious setbacks in terms of global financial crisis 2008, Covid-19 crisis 2019.

That is highlighted by the 'cornwall consensus' adopted by the G7 countries which focused on enhanced role of nation states in globalisation process.



SECTION-A

Q.5 (a) Analyze the input and output functions within the Structural Functional framework.

(10 marks, 150 words)

Structural-functional framework is given by Almond-Powell model to understand the comparative politics.

It is one of the modern-behavioural approaches of comparative politics.

According to Almond-Powell each political system is at a different stage of development but every stage has the same functions of input and output. Only the structures varies.

They have given the seven-input output model

<u>Input functions</u>	<u>Structure</u>
① political socialisation	family, school
② political communication	mass media
③ interest articulation	Interest group
④ interest aggregation	Political parties

<u>3 output function</u>	<u>Structure</u>
① law making	legislature
② law execution	executive
③ law adjudication	judiciary

Through the more dynamic nature ~~of~~ and ~~structural~~ more micro-view of the political system they have incorporated an understanding of different system at different level of development eg:- the developing countries.

However, it has been criticised by traditionalist for using unnecessary jargons and by marxist for being status quoist and eurocentric.

But their model is relevant in understanding the political systems of the developing countries.

Q.5 (b)

Analyse the relationship between Environmental security and national security. (10 marks, 150 words)

Candidates
must not write
on this margin

According to Gladys Bull, security means safety, order and predictability.

Security is a contested concept in international politics. Realist focused more on state security however, liberals focus more on human security.

Environmental security is main concern with protection and preservation the environment. It includes addressing climate change, addressing environmental degradation.

If environment security is not taken seriously, it will lead to disasters like drought, floods which has the potential chance of increasing food insecurity & water insecurity.

this will make a country more dependent on other states thus impacting or diluting the sovereignty to a certain extent, thus impacting ~~sovereignty~~ national security.

Thus to have better National security, we need to focus on environmental security.

The recent COVID-19 has highlighted the impact of zoonotic diseases and impact of National security. Thus National security cannot be just seen in silos. Environmental security need to be in the centre in any discussion of National security.



Q.5 (c) Critically examine the relevance of the theory of Nuclear Deterrence in preventing war in the international system. (10 marks, 150 words)

Candidates must not write on this margin

Deterrence is a realist concept of security. It means deterring the potential adversary to commit an act of aggression by increasing the cost of the game.

Nuclear Deterrence means deterrence using nuclear weapon. It gives maximum deterrence. But with multiple countries acquiring nuclear weapons it has led to nuclear balance and countries need to focus on new concepts called "2nd strike capability" or "mutually assured destruction".

However, the relevance of nuclear deterrence to prevent war has been questionable. It is based on many questionable assumptions.

It assumes that the adversary is rational. But after the end of cold war, there has been growth

of non state actors, terrorist organisations and civil war.

It ~~assumes~~ success like on the country to convince the other that they have achieved 2nd strike capability. This is a psychological concept which may not be successful:

The army are more prone to use nuclear weapons. example - Pakistan is developing tactical nuclear weapons against Indian armies.

Sometime, nuclear deterrence has lead to stability-instability paradox with rise in proxy wars thus increasing tensions and global conflicts.

Thus it is important to decrease the arms race through disarmament and non-proliferation treaties to prevent the threat of any use of nuclear weapons.

Q.5 (d) Discuss the cobweb model of international relations.

(10 marks, 150 words)

Candidates
must not write
on this margin

Cobweb model of international relations has been developed by John Bourston to ~~understand~~ explain the international relations post end of cold war.

It depicts the phenomena of globalisation where countries are interlinked in a complex web like relations. It replaces the earlier "Billiard Ball Model".

It says that countries are interlinked in a complex phenomenon. The relations are not linear rather complex.

This model is also complemented by Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane Complex Interdependence model.

However, the current international relations is best described by the "3D-chess model" of Joseph Nye.

Candidates
must not write
on this margin



Q.5 (e) How did the end of the Cold War lead to significant transformations in the world capitalist system? (10 marks, 150 words)

Candidates must not write on this margin

Cold war ended with the disintegration of USSR in 1991.

It has for the first time led to the establishment of Pax Americana and liberal world order which is described by expansion of capitalist system or globalisation.

It led to significant transformation in the world capitalist system. It led to third wave of democracy, countries started adopting democracy.

With shock therapy, the former communist states adopted the liberal model and opened their economy. Similarly the developing countries opened their economies through structural adjustment programmes.

This has led to spreading of global capitalism and establishing of US hegemony (Robert Gilpin).

But soon after 2001, it started facing multiple challenges like global financial crisis 2008, COVID-19. This has led to rise of far right and far left. example → coming of labour party in UK and right party in Italy

This has led to resurgence of focus on role of state. There is growing protectionism (America first, Brexit etc).

Now, global capitalism is facing challenges from BRICS, China and the uncertainty is in case of change which could either result into bipolarity or multipolarity.

Q.6 (a) What are the core assumptions of the liberal approach to international relations? Examine its approach to peace and security in the international system? (15 marks, 200 words)

Candidates must not write on this margin

Liberal approach or liberal school of international relations is the earliest school in international politics. Woodrow Wilson is known as the father of liberal school of international politics.

It draws its core assumptions from the tradition of liberalism. John Locke has focused on ability of human reason. Locke says; reason which motivates him not to harm others in life, liberty and property. Similarly the liberal school of international relations, believe that states are rational in character. Reason allows the states to cooperate with each other and thus there is a possibility of peace. This is the reason why they are also called "children of rights" against the Realist who did not believe in possibility of peace.

Drawn from this assumption, Woodrow Wilson has given the alternative view of "liberal world order" which will

replacement for "orthodox world order"
described by the Realist as Anarchical,
best described by Arnold Wolfers, "Billiard
Ball Model"

Liberals believe that the new
world order will be based on rules
which would ultimately increase cooperation
among nations thus increasing security.

Liberals has given the concept of
"collective security" which is their alternative
to realist concept of "Balance of Power"
policy. In Balance of power, it increases
world tensions and conflicts because
nation states constantly struggle for power
to secure "security dilemma". This give
rise to Nervous Peace (assured by A. Nehru)
and increases phenomena like Arms
race and eruptions of regional conflicts
turning into global conflicts.

Thus, liberal approach to peace and
security in the international system

is based on the concept of collective security.
According to this concept, the security of the
state is not a responsibility of individual
state, rather it is the concern of
all states. It is based on the principle
of "All for one and one for all."

If there is any act of aggression
by any state towards a country, then
according to collective security, all other
states will come together to punish the
aggressor states. This idea of collective
security concretised first in the institutions
like "League of Nations" during interwar
period and later as "United Nations"
after the end of world war II.

However, the notion of "collective
security" is based on many questionable
assumptions. It assumes that nations
will forget their national interest and
come together but in reality national interest
takes primary over peace. This is the reason
why League of Nations failed and also now
UN is facing severe crisis.

Q.6 (b) Give an analysis of the international system according to the system theory of Morton Kaplan. (15 marks, 200 words)

Candidates must not write on this margin

The system theory of Morton Kaplan is a behavioural theory which tries to give a grand theory of international system. The aim of his theory is to give the past, present and the future of international system / politics.

Morton Kaplan has given six plus four model of international politics. According to the basis of power he has classified the world order into bipolar, multipolar, unipolar, universal state model etc.

He has also given circumstances when the bipolarity turns into loose bipolar, tight bipolar, diffused nuclear power model. For example, he says that when the two superpowers tightly control the states under their sphere of influence then it is tight bipolar and when states are coming out of the influence of the superpowers then it is loose bipolar.

Through the System theory, he tried to explain the contemporary world order using scientific means inspiring from the Behavioural movement of David Easton

But his theory was not much useful. It was not having any practical value or utility. It was just a preliminary conceptual framework. HEADLEY BULL has criticised his theory as a 'huge misstep in right direction'. He said that it is good to develop a scientific theory but it should also have some relevance.

Similarly, Lienert has criticised his theory as it has no practical utility to solve the current problems in international politics.

However, Kaplan's theory is relevant because of the depth in which he gave those six + four model. Those models helped in a way to

understand not just the present world order but also the past and the future world order.

His multipolar model gave the Realist perspective (Kenneth Waltz and Mearsheimer) at the same time his bipolar model (with different degree of control) helps to understand the cold war politics better. Kaplan's universal world government model also gave helped to provide the perspective of liberals who want to build a world government like UN. Similarly, the hierarchical model incorporated the hegemonic stability theory (Robert Gilpin and Charles Kindleberger) international political order.

Thus, in a way he was successful in giving a Grand theory. However as rightly criticised by Hadley Bull and Lieber it is no more of a conceptual framework.

Q.6 (c) Analyze the feminist critique of liberal theory in International Relations. What alternative feminist approaches have been proposed to address these criticisms? (20 marks, 250 words)

Candidates must not write on this margin

Liberal theory has been the earliest theory in international politics. Woodrow Wilson is considered to be the father of liberal perspective in international relations.

Liberal perspective has different schools which tries to explain the international politics. Example - liberal institutionalism (Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye), economic interdependence (Rosecrance).

Feminists have criticized the liberal perspective because of lack of focus on the women perspective in international relations.

Feminists try to understand why there is no women in decision making apparatus in international politics.

Cynthia Enloe in her book - "Bananas, beaches and bases" has asked the question where are the women. She highlighted that there are lack of women in ~~international~~ perspectives in international

relations.

Feminists have criticized the liberal perspective particularly on their views on 'capitalist globalization' and their analysis on the role of non-state actors like NGOs, MNCs.

The capitalist globalization which is based on liberal world order, which is guided by liberal rules of free trade (WTO), growth of MNCs has led to increase in exploitation of women worldwide.

The exploitative practices which is based on 'neo-liberal model' and 'Washington consensus' has increased the neglect of women.

The free trade practices has increased the agriculture crisis specially in the developing areas. This has led to the phenomena of "feminisation of agriculture". Similarly, the exploitative practices

in which the way world system is intertwined has led to "feminisation of poverty".

Thus, the issues that are coming are adversely impacting world wide because of the liberal model of globalisation.

Accordingly, feminists has given alternative perspective to address this criticism.

The state centric scholar Linda Werber has given the phenomena of "governed interdependence". She says even in globalisation, state play a central role and it is not completely stateless. This state need to focus on the concerns of women.

Similarly, Hillary Clinton said that "human rights are women rights". She highlighted to give more focus on women rights by protecting human rights worldwide.

In this context, J Ann Tickner has reformulated Morgenthau's six principles in the perspective of feminism. Though Morgenthau was a realist scholar,

but J Ann Tickner's reformulated principles and its implementation will lead to protection of women rights worldwide.

J Ann Tickner suggested to incorporate ethics in politics, she called for ~~more~~ holding the politicians accountable for on moral grounds.

Feminist also advocated for giving more voice to women in global platforms like UN and other multilateral institutions like IMF, World Bank. This would ensure and address the specific grievances of women like 'feminisation of poverty'.

These suggestion of feminist must necessarily be incorporated to make substance out of the quote of Cynthia Balor, "Personal is international and international is personal".