

Question No.
प्रश्न संख्या

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PSIR Test-01

NAME - SANJEEV KUMAR

Roll No - OAC 24 PITND30

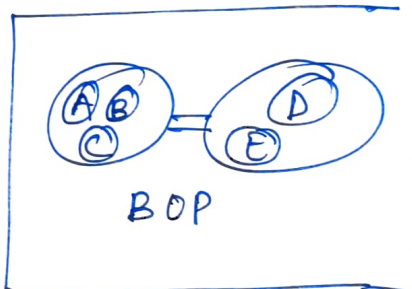
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1. (a) Balance of power is an attempt by nations to secure its survival against adversities through internal as well as external balancing.

It is a maxim in IR based on realist paradigm. It was a hegemon concept during pre-world war era.



Morganthau argues that in the quest of survival in the state of anarchy - BOP is the only option.

However, its relevance was questioned in the post-cold war era. The rise of collective security via liberal institutionalism (Widrow-Wilson) and security community (van Duizend) challenged BOP.

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The formation of EU and UN provides alternative to BOP. It creates peace and stability through liberal paradigm and claims that there is no anarchy.

As BOP is applicable only in regional setting when no one has nuclear bomb. But, in the post-cold war era, all major P-5 nations have nuclear deterrence. World has become a global village (McLuhan) due to globalization.

However, BOP is still relevant in regional setting such as Asia-Pacific against China.

Thus, David

Hume calls BOP is like common sense, it will exist till common sense will exist.

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1. (b). Alberto Malucci coined the term "new social movement". It denotes the collective behavior by people to socially transform the society.

This new social movement has emerged due to legitimation crisis (Habermas). As political institutions failed to fulfill their demands, they rose to protest.

In new social movements, they demand betterment of quality of life based on post-materialistic demands.

eg: environment protection,
feminism, LGBTQ+ etc

They use non-coercive methods such as

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art, theatre to mobilize people.

Their major role to educate citizens and raise consciousness of the masses.

eg: recent Hijab protest.

In developing countries, the distinction between old social movement and new social movement is blurred. The demands for bread and butter and quality of life co-exists.

eg: chipko-movements aims was both environment protection and fuel-woods.

Thus, (PC hukh) terms new social movement especially environmental movements as "empty stomach".

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1.(c).

Democracy is the mobilisation of social, economic, political resources for the common good (Chandhi).

Democracy is a western concept emerged in 19th century that is associated with liberal values. However, this was adopted across the globe after 2nd world war.

In second wave of democracy, SP Huntington noted the establishment of democracy in post-colonial nations. But it was not easy because these nations lacked democratic culture.

JS Mill had already reluctant to introduce in these nations because they lacked the culture.

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This led to quite struggles and tribulations in third world. South-Africa got its independence just after world war-II, but its apartheid policy made it un-democratic in nature.

Nelson Mandela fought for democracy in South-Africa is an prime example of this struggle.

That was not the case only, even after getting democracy, it faced a reversed wave when democratic countries changed into autocratic. (2nd reverse wave).

eg: Pak, Myanmar, etc

Thus, democracy remain only as an island in the third world (PB Mehta).

eg: India.

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1.(d)

Dependency theory also known as instrumentalist theory. It regards the unequal distribution of wealth between core - periphery that leads to poverty.

They have criticised the political modernization theory



given by FW Riggs - Auriar Pye.

This is because modernization theory have termed developing stage as a "primitive stage" of developed country.

But, dependency theorists argues that it led to development of under-development (Ah Frantz).

It had created poverty, inequality in the periphery nations. This is

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because of dependency of periphery
on the bourgeoisie of the core.

It had led
to unequal change of raw material,
cheap labour and manufactured goods
which has led to exploitation of
periphery. Even, it gave rise to
neo-colonialism and data-colonialism.

Therefore, E. Wallerstein
provided solution to go to "autonomous
national development" by cutting
all the ties with western world

Thus, dependency
theory provides an economic
explanation of territorial division
of labour.

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1. (e).

National power refers to the central concept in political science. It is said that what money is to economies, same is power to politics.

This national power has now advanced into comprehensive national power where much broader view is taken.

It is not just a tool to secure the survival of a nation but enhancing their supremacy through diplomacy, soft power, dialogue.

The elements of power includes :- first, geography - where it is located, its size and population.

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secondly, military - its defensive capabilities to deter the threats.
thirdly, political and social elements where homogenous supports lead to faster decision making.

Fourthly, spy agencies such as massad, CIA, RAW, NIA helps to maintain the power in the long run.

Thus, Kenneth Waltz said international relations is all about power-politics to ensure survival.

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3.(a)

Realism is a hegemonic school of international relations. It looks at world "as it is" rather than "what should be".

It is developed in response to ideal school that denied the importance of national interest. EH Carr ("20 years war") argues that national interest is still relevant.

Realism school divided into 2 major approaches such as traditional realism or Neo-realism. classical realism inspired from Hobbes' state of nature and human behaviour.

Traditional realists like Morgenthau is considered as its father who gave 6 principles of realism. He referred "war" as a recurring phenomenon to protect itself in the state of anarchy.

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They considered, there is no international institution in the world to implement rules and regulations that can establish "peace".

so, they argue for Balance of power is the only viable option available to secure the territory through internal balancing and external balancing.

However, neo-realists provide different notions. Kenneth Waltz argues that state still go for power but they defined power in terms of capability of states. Waltz argues for security maximization to protect in the state of anarchy because overpower can lead to counter alliances.

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For example - rise of china lead
to creation of QUAD and AUKUS.

Another neo-realist-
Merkheimer provides concept of
"power maximization" to secure its
survival in anarchy. He calls no
amount of power is enough, it
is better to be hegemon to
protect itself. He famously quoted "It
is better to be a hobzill rather
than Bambi in animal kingdom".

However, Richard
Ashley criticises realists for taking
narrow view of anarchy & calls "Anarchy
is what state makes of it".

Yet, Realism is
a timeless wisdom in IR that
provides a holistic world-view.

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3. b). Joseph Nye given the concept of soft power in opposition to Hard power. He defines soft power as the capability of state to influence others without use of any coercive tactics such as military or warfare.

Unlike Hard power,

Soft power is used by even small countries through use of its cultural, economic or even societal values. For example - Soft power is being used by India in terms of its diaspora, cuisine, bollywood music/movies, buddhism, yoga, ayurveda and so on.

It is the skillful use of its civilizational values to gain supremacy on the

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global stage such as international yoga day is celebrated on 21st June every year - a win for india's soft power.

This situation came due to several structural and characteristic changes. Firstly, the hard power became hard to obtain by many countries and it also led to arms-race.

secondly, Joseph Nye argued that it is not the country which military is strong but also whose ideology is strong. Countries such as South-Korea is building a huge presence on global arena due to its culture. Korean-drama is getting popular

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across globe.

Thirdly, win of globalization after WTO's establishment led to more-cooperation than conflict.

Fourthly, End of ideology and history promoted a new wave of liberalism that binded whole world into a new thread.

However, the rise of authoritarian state gave rise to sharp-power which is to establish autocratic regimes.

Thus, Joseph Nye updated his soft power to smart power which can be achieved through diplomacy, defence and dialogue.

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3(c). Globalisation refers to the interconnectedness among nations that has led to compression of time and space (Anthony Giddens) and End of History (Fukuyama).

Globalisation is a new concept that became famous after cold war era - though it was present before too. Liberalisation and Bretton-woods institutions created an inter-connectedness that led to inter-dependence (Rosenance) and complex-inter-dependence (Korhane-Nye).

It is argued that globalization has rendered the nation-state obsolete. It is a debatable to say so. Liberals like McLuhan noted that globalization has converted state into a

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global village. Similarly, Kenichi Ohmae termed it a borderless-village. Globalists like Thomas Friedman argue that state has become just the manager. In his "Golden Arches theory", Friedman talked about McDonald chain that states are connected through business.

They even argue that rise of trans-national actors have put nation-state on a back-seat. In "Cob-web model", Burton noted that now globe has moved from state centric to society centric. For eg. - major decisions are getting influenced by social movements. (Ammini Hijab protest - Iran).

Kofi Annan describes globalization like gravity

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which is natural and speaking against it like speaking against gravity. It has been argued that state is losing its control over sovereignty due to MNCs, NGOs. For example - Facebook Analytica case.

However, Anti-globalists like Robert Hilbin argues that state is in the control of globalisation and they can't replace nation. Even, Realists noted that these trans-national actors are just puppet of states.

Md Aysoob noted that state has just adopted globalization,

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and not given the trigger to it.
Happyman Jacob in the context of
could wrote that state is still
the best place in the time
of crisis.

However, both the views
seemed biased because it's neither
a zero-sum game nor winner-loser.

David Held, a transformantionalist
talked about a mixture of both
globalization and sovereignty.
eg: China is economically globalized
but politically de-globalized.

Thus, globalization
has impact nation-state but it
has not made obsolete yet. It can
be called as a positive sum game.

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4. (a) Neo-liberalism is a outcome of modern-liberalism. It focus on minimal state that emerged after failure of welfare state in west because it had led to high fiscal deficit.

Neoliberals criticised nanny-state that took care of people from cradle to grave. so, they proposed an alternative which is "roll back of state".

Ronald Reagan and Mina Tammewald proposed neo-liberal policies in USA and UK respectively. They wanted to create just a police-man state which has no inter-vention in market. These neoliberal

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The following
questions are
to be answered
in Hindi

policies directed the process of economic globalization through creation of global institution like WTO that promoted free-trade.

structural adjustment programmes of IMF was based on neo-liberal ideas that forced 3rd world countries to open their economy for eg India adopted LPG during 1990s was result of this SAP.

This globalisation helped developed country to establish their hegemony. In the beginning, they became the torch-bearer of globalization from 1990s-2008.

But, in the second phase, when Lehman crisis

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If 2008 happened, they became skeptical about globalization.

In this current and third phase, western developed countries are promoting protectionist policies like "Make America great".

This has been termed as "de-globalization", and "slowbalisation".

However, in 2020s after the pandemic globalization on the back seat again because countries closed their borders, adopted strict measures.

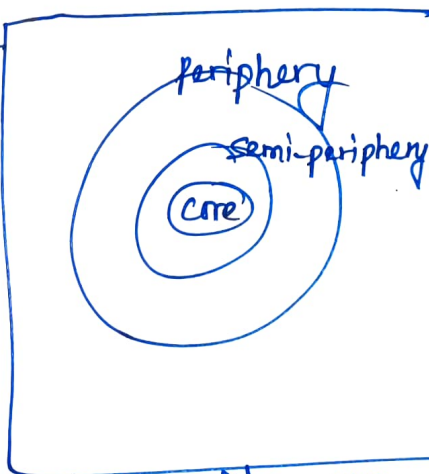
Thus, PM Modi called to start a new globalization based on humanity, equality and fraternity.

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4.(b) World system theory is given by Immanuel Wallerstein who calls it as "grand sociological theory".

As a marxist, he focused on economic policies of developed and developing countries that were based on inequal territorial division of labour.

In his core-periphery concept, he denotes core countries as developed



nations. periphery are those who are post-colonial such as Africa, Pakistan, Bangladesh.

Semi-periphery are in between core and periphery. They have just like middle-powers - such as

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India, South-Africa, Brazil

The basic differences between three is that core gets raw-material, cheap labour from periphery at very low price. In return, periphery gets finished goods at high prices.

Whereas, semi-periphery provides raw-material and even finished goods too. But they are also getting exploited.

Samir Amin and Al Frank termed this as "development of underdevelopment".

The inter-relationship between these countries are such that periphery countries are

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totally dependent on bourgeoisie of
core countries. (Dependency theory).
It leads to unequal exchange between
all the 3 groups.

Wallerstein cites
examples of "war in Balkans" or
"poverty in Africa" is due to
core because they want it.

This inter-relationship

has made periphery to be a
poor nation. An Frank argued that
poor nations should not blame themselves
for inequality, poverty but it is
due to developed countries.

Thus, Wallerstein
opposes political modernisation theory
and calls for "autonomous, national
development" by cutting all the
ties with core nations.

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4.(c) Interest groups, pressure groups are termed as invisible empire by Finer. They do the task of interest articulation by collective action as per Almond-Jarba-Powell.

Both the terms are sometimes used interchangeably but there is slight difference between both.

Firstly, interest groups are the broader term which denotes a collective group based on a particular interest. It can be both formal or informal.

whereas, pressure groups are based on mainly pressure tactics. It

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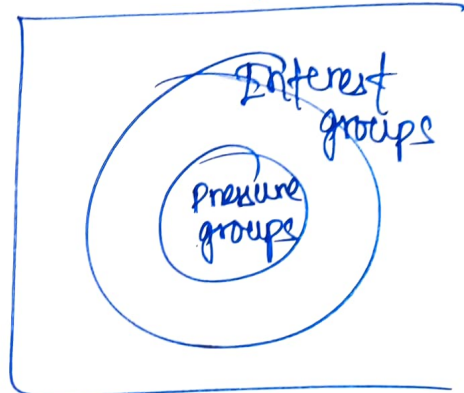
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is not generally based on interest, but based on identity factors such as caste, class, race etc.

secondly, interest groups can be both political and non-political in nature whereas pressure groups are mainly political in nature.

eg: Football club is an interest group whereas as AVBP

is a pressure groups.



Thirdly, interest groups subsume pressure groups in itself. Both uses the techniques like electioneering, lobbying and propagandizing.

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It has been argued that pressure groups are emerging as an alternative political parties in India.

Karnes noted the new phenomenon of "post-representation" in various nations where people are losing interest in politics.

eg: lower voting turnout in recent 18th Lok-Sabha election proves his point.

Voters are even losing their faith in political leaders because of un-promised ideas. Huntington calls this as "democratic decay" when political leaders can't fulfill the wishes of its citizens.

This decline of political parties gave rise to

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pressure groups, because they are providing a platform to resist or reform through collective action. It is leading to social transformation too.

for eg: when LBGTQ+ movements were ignored by political parties, it was pressure groups and social movements that gave rise to this demand, that was ultimately fulfilled by judiciary in "Naveen Singh Johar" case - 2018.

Thus, H-Blumer calls this as a new-emerging order. Even Hannah Arendt supports "public participation" in "public sphere".

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5.(a). Structural functional framework is given by Gabriel - Powell. Both analyzed in the context of failure of system approach.

Both argued that structures in the country may vary but it performs same functions.

eg: CIA in USA
NIA in India] Both do the task of spy.

Therefore the institutions may have different level of progress as per the level of development but the inherent functions they perform remain same.

They have analysed with input output functions which is shown below. There are 4 inputs and 3 outputs.
The task of family, media,

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interest groups, political parties are to provide inputs to the political system which can be converted into decisions and policies.

On the other side of political system, there are three institutions

Input	Functions	Output	Functions
Family	Ideas	Rule making	Legislature
media	communication	Rule Implementation	Executive
Interest groups	Interest articulation	Rule adjudication	Judiciary
Political parties	Interest aggregation		

which have delegated powers to make rules, implement its rules and adjudicate the rules.

Thus, this approach is micro, dynamic and applicable to ~~rest~~. Though criticised by marxists as motivated.

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5(b).

Security refers to attempt by nations to protect its survival and safety in the state of anarchy.

The notion of security is changing as it includes various domain now such as environmental security and national security.

The relationship between both is that the security of ecology, environment can lead to a spill-over effect over national security.

eg: if a country is environmentally fragile such as somalia or Pakistan (floods), then it can lead to rise to the the

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adversarial groups such as pirates in somalia, and terrorists in Pakistan.

Copenhagen school, is inspired by post-modernism, argued that security is multi-dimensional and it can't be compartmentalized.

eg: national security from regional security.

However, securitization of everything is leading to bad impact on others. Rise of islamophobia has impacted muslims.

Thus, Buzan calls security as a speech act.

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5(c). Deterrence refers to frighten others from attacking by showing your military strength in advance.

It was developed by game-theorists like Thomas Schelling who provided deterrence to prevent conflicts.

currently, there is rise of Nuclear Deterrence which is used to prevent war. Kenneth Waltz and Meirshemer noted the relevance of it. Both pointed that cold war remained cold just because of nuclear-bombs.

K. Subramanian calls that nuclear deterrence is more about ~~posture~~ perception than posture.

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It provides a better deterrence than traditional deterrence. Bernard Brodie suggests countries to go for nuclear deterrence because even super-power can't ~~attack~~ you.

~~It's~~ North-Korea against USA.

However, Henry Kissinger argued that it is only applicable in case of rational actors. Nina Tannenwald called nuclear taboo. Ramesh Thakoor argued that nuclear bomb is not for use.

Thus, nuclear deterrence is still relevant to deter the adversaries from attacking.

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5(d). Cobweb Model is developed by John Burton. He provides the improvement over Billiard Ball model (Arnold Wolfers).

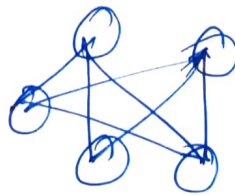
In Billiard Ball model, countries were like hard shells colliding with each other to protect themselves. Their only aim was power and survival.



Billiard Ball Model

However, in Cobweb Model were

more interconnected with each other. This has happened due to globalization and inter-connectedness among nations through internet, phone-calls, tourisms, etc.



Cobweb Model

The society is moving

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from state centric model to society centric model. It gives a shape like spider web where there is huge interdependence (Friedman) and complex-interdependence (Kochane & Nye).

In this model, societies are connected through security communities where they trust each other (Karl Deutsch).

Thus, Cobweb model represents the present era of liberalisation and globalization.

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5(e).

Cold war started after world war-II that ended in 1990s with the fall of Soviet Union.

The world were divided into two blocs during cold war. one was socialist bloc and other was capitalist bloc.

when socialist bloc fell, it led to rise of other bloc which was termed as "End of History" by Fukuyama. He even called that socialism is in the dustbin now. Liberalism has won the ideological battle.

This led to rise of capitalist system across the

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world. Even former Soviet bloc countries adopted capitalist economy and democratic regime.

China and Russia promoted perestroika that led to opening of economy based on capitalism. Further, the structural adjustment programmes of IMF forced the third world nations also to open their economy.

eg. India - Lib era (1990s).

Moreover, the establishment of WTO provided the major boost to capitalist system.

Thus, Cold war ended but it started a new liberal era.

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7(a). Post-Colonial refers to the incident or events that happened after Colonial regime. This is applicable to those nations who were under colonialism like India, South-Africa.

Post-colonial nations are the third-world countries who got independence after 2nd world-war.

Post-colonial scholars criticised other IR theories as eurocentric and have no use for the study of developing countries. "Gayatri Spivak"

in his "Can subaltern speak" provides that the realism or liberalism theories are biased towards west. It is eurocentric theories.

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Edward Said in "orientalism" argues that west considers east (orient) as barbarians. He writes that the history is written in certain way to prove that asians have no reason, so to impose "blacking in disguise theory". He even provided critics for white-man's burden.

Homi Bhabha noted 2 aspects such as ~~modernity~~ Hybridity and mimicry. In hybridity, westerners mixed the culture of west and east to prove their culture as supreme. eg: Christian missionaries role in 19th century.

Mimicry denotes new sanitization concept where

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moderates tried to replicate or
imitate themselves like britishers.

eg, clothes, speaking language etc

By this, English
wanted to prove their supremacy
over east

Therefore, post-colonial
scholars want to re-write theories
from east-perspective, so that
it can be used for study of
developing countries.

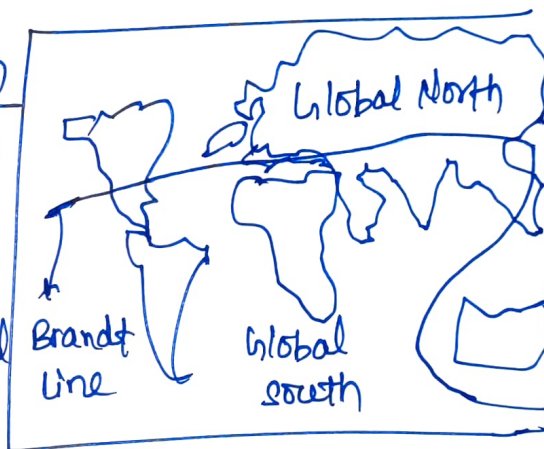
Thus, post-colonialism
in IR provides a meta-narrative
towards international politics.

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7. (b) Advanced industrial countries are those had witnessed the first wave of industrial revolution, such as England, Germany, France, USA. They are mostly termed as global north as per Brandt line.

These western nations collectively adopted a liberal nation that promoted free trade.



As per liberalism, they are capitalist country which provides minimal and laissez-faire state (Robert Nozick).

However, they are said to be driven by industrialization and modernization than by ideologies.

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It is evident from "End of Ideology" thesis which argued that now only development matters and ideology has no role. WW Foerster who inspired Daniel Bell to propound this thesis. It refers that every country passes through same level of process where ideology has no role.

In this scenario, all the advanced industrial nation had adopted the path of development and modernisation which includes rationalism, secularism and industrial growth.

They even focused on 3 things to develop as

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per political modernisation approach
such as functional specialization,
civic equality, capacity to deliver.

However, it is
wrong to say that they ignored
ideology. still, USA and west
promotes liberal values such as
human rights, free-trade and
democratic values. All three
examples are ideologically driven.

Thus, it can
be claimed that advanced
countries promoted both equally
in ideology and development.

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7.(C).

Political economy approach is a result of behaviouralism. This approach studies the interplay between politics and economy. It finds the impact of economic policies on the politics.

~~eg~~ Impact of LPH reforms on politics in India.

Adam Smith

is considered as the father of this political-economy approach. He had provided "laissez-faire" state in his "theory of wealth". Later on it was continued by Malthus, Ricardo, Nozick.

It is argued that every economic policies have some impact on politics. Milan vaishnav cited

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that good economy leads to good politics. Both are inter-connected with each other.

James Robinson in his "Why nation fail" writes that generally nation crumbles because of bad economic decisions that ruin its legacy.

This has been explained by Kautilya ("Arthashastra") too, when he gave a concept of Yogshema. It means kings have to fulfil all the material wellbeings of their citizens.

In the current era, it is evident how economic decisions impact the political situations. Modern-welfare state

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changed into neo-liberal states.
But when inequality increased,
it again changed into social-
Liberalism. It all about economies
that prompted its evolution.
eg: fiscal deficit $\rightarrow$ Neoliberal

However, Marxists
like Karl Marx argued that state
in the capitalist society is just
a instrument. In his "base-model",
he claimed who-ever control the
means of production (ie economy)
will control the superstructure
(ie state).

Instrumental marxists like
Ralph Miliband calls welfare state
is a myth because welfare is

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still concentrated in the hands of few elites.

structural marxists claimed that superstructure is also a structure (Ingram). They argued that ideology and false-consciousness provides the basis to rule.

Thus, Marxists provide a critical evaluation of liberal state who gave rise to inequality and exploitation.

Thus, political economy approach provides an explanation but we need to study with other approaches such as system approach too.