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## **IAS TOPPER'S**

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**AIR - 398  
(CSE 2022)**

## **GENERAL STUDIES**



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Attempt all questions:

1. Answer the following questions in about 150 words each:

- (a) Criticisms of Liberal tradition in IR theory
- (b) Promoting Factors in National Interests
- (c) Complex interdependence
- (d) Security Dilemma
- (e) Cosmopolitan Democracy.

(10 × 5 = 50)

(a) Liberalism is first school of International politics having roots in Woodrow Wilson's 'Four point formula' urging nations for cooperation to attain peace

Liberal tradition is manifested in form of liberal institutionalism, functionalism, and democratic peace among others.

Realist critique of liberal idealism

as utopian, and proclaims that nations can't rise above selfish national interest.

Institutionalism is criticised by

Stanley Hoffmann as 'creatures of their

marks

~~↳ Internationalisation~~ "members" and collective common interest can now emerge. Joseph Nye calls these negotiations Quasi-negotiations in order not to look as spoilt. The claim of liberal scholars of complex interdependence leading to peace is also affirmed as not able to explain near despite dependence. Ex: US-China trade war. Robert Keagan asserts that liberal world order is crumbling under systemic economic crisis, growing tribalism, nationalism, localised powers and democratic deficit in International Institutions. However, liberal theories like Functionalism remain strongest alternative to Realist approach.

- (b)
- there is one guiding star, one standard for thought, one rule of action, that is national interest - Morgenthau

National interest remain a prime mover in IP factors promoting national interest.  
 are concern for power and security  
national interest being a realist-concept  
 categorized it into two - core and variable  
national interest. maintaining BOP, Deterrence,  
security, Human as well as economic and  
national security. remain main types of  
national interest. Liberal scholars believe national  
interest to not be antagonist; rather a common good  
that can emerge in institutionalism. Thus factors promoting national interest remain contested.

(c) 'complex interdependence' → Joseph Nye

and Robert Keohane in their book 'Power  
and Interdependence' proponed the concept

of complex inter dependence

This 'phenomenon' is achieved when nations cooperate despite conflict

as these interdependence has led to 'lone' the nations they bond to half'  
Has a descriptive theory for contempor.  
~~any world order (post cold war)~~ trying to explain increased  
tension under forces of  
globalisation and integration of markets.  
However, this dependence does not even less  
their conflicts complex interdependence suggest  
that there is no hierarchy among issues  
between nations and security has become  
multidimensional. This forces states to  
think beyond military expansion and to  
see decline of hard power  
Complex interdependence is regarded as  
realist strand in liberalism considering they  
argue nation states to be sole actors and  
IP to be anarchical in nature. For them,

World's interdependence is a complicated one.

### (1) Security dilemma

Security Dilemma as a concept in International Politics emerged in Westphalian world order<sup>(WWO)</sup>. WWO marked by Balance of power among five to six regional powers go for balancing when security dilemma is experienced. When one of the state acquires greater power it starts disturbing the balance and balancing (as world politics is anarchical in nature) arms race, deterrence, wars and putting war reparations on powerful nation.

This theory explains arms race seen during cold war era and technology race in 50s, evident now.

However, it is harshly criticised by other schools as violent and leading to war.

Liberals argue that collective security is a method to avoid security dilemma and achieve common good.

Social constructivists hold view that this world is our making (Nicholas Onuf) and it is up to us how we understand security dilemma. Alexander Wendt propose that anarchy is what we make of it' and it depends on how we construe it. Security dilemma emerge because Anarchy is interpreted in a specific way.

## Cosmopolitan Democracy

Cosmopolitan democracy can be understood as impact of globalisation on institution of

### Democracy

Most prominent scholar of cosmopolitan democracy, David Held, believes globalisation has weakened nation state. The highest

form of democratically elected institution, ie nation state's ability to take decisions has been diluted. On the other hand, institutions of global governance have democratic deficit (Joseph Stiglitz) and are keenly elected.

He calls for establishment of popularly elected regional governments in line of ED,

In short run, he suggests reforms in

global institutions and in short sum, he suggests formation of World government.

Similar views are held by scholars of Frankfurt school like Andrew Linklater, who is concerned about Emancipation of masses. He talks about gross lost democracy and making territorial boundaries irrelevant. He suggests to strengthen moral boundaries across nations i.e. trans national civil society networks. Cosmopolitan democracy flunkers aims to machine democracy at global level yet want to strengthen the same at grassroot level.

2. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Discuss the nature of idealistic approach to the study of International Relation. Also explain the controversy between idealism and Realism. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Highlight the Assumptions of the liberal approach to the study of international politics. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) In this transformed international system, soft and smart power will be crucial elements in enhancing influence over international outcomes. Examine. (250 Words) (20)

(a) Idealist approach is one of the earliest approach in IR aimed at establishing permanent peace among nations. Early liberals were often called idealists who challenged the structure of westphalian world order and tried to reform it to end war as recurrent feature in IR. It assumed nations to be inherently peace loving who want to avoid wars, suppression and violence from IR. A world full of happiness is not

beyond human power to achieve"

- Bertrand Russell.

It advocates morality and role of ethics in achieving the objective of ideal world. During interwar period, Woodrow Wilson became chief propagator of idealism -

### Some features of Idealism

- ① Human nature is essentially good and capable of good deeds in IR.
- ② Bad human (state) behavior is product of bad environment and bad institutions
- ③ War represents worst features of relations between environment and institutions, war can be eliminated and everlasting peace can be established.
- ④ By reforming environment and institutions, war
- ⑤ Role of power should be eliminated.

This was not received well by Realists who declared it to be utopian. EH Carr in his 'Twenty year crisis' challenged Idealism major arguments of debate were:-

- ① Power :- Realist assume International politics to be power struggle which drives actors whereas for idealists struggle for power is not natural instinct but fatalistic orientation.
- ② Human Nature :- For realist Human nature is animus dominandi (power seeking) which pitches each against all, but idealist claim that morality and ethics can drive actions.
- ③ International Environment :- Idealist believe that reforming international society can lead to internal peace, however realist claim that national interest is bound to remain incompatible and anarchic nature of IR.
- Idealists claim that Nations will not go for war, hence sale and lease BOP to rely of collective security were refuted by realist as impractical and failure of inter-war peace in WW II proved League of nations' collective security

realist correct

(b) Liberal Approach to study IR

Liberalism is thought to be the first school of IP, emerged after world war I for the purpose of peace and alternative to power politics

some basic assumptions of liberal school are:-

- ① states are major actors in international area and their sovereignty is supreme.
- ② they accept anarchical interpretations of realists and aim to remove this anarchy.
- ③ international relations have conflict and cooperation but they put greater emphasis on cooperation.
- ④ states are rational actors, and there is a need of institutions to contain anarchy

marks

The initial inspiration of liberal theory of IR comes from works of Locke who gave enlightened view of human nature (unlike Hobbes) and Immanuel Kant's perpetual peace (a conflict for European nations is also an inspiration). In works of Woodrow Wilson and his '14 point speech', the idea of selective security took shape and League of Nations formed later through commissions they placed efforts all over the world and functionalism in domain of long politics by stretching people's contact and creating communities. Liberal approach sees world in John Brown's 'cobweb model' and aims

to promote economic interdependence to contain lack of trust among nations

If realist are children of darkness, they are 'children of light' Through liberalization provides optimistic view of world, yet realism remains hegemonic theory with nation states falling back on military power.

### (c) soft and smart power)

In words of Morgenthau, "whatever be the immediate end, power is always the ultimate end'

Power, in International relations is important in IR not as end in itself but because it allows nations to shape and control the environment rather than being shaped by it. A nation may not be interested in power but that doesn't mean, question of power will leave nation alone

In this background, the role

of smart and soft power comes in shaping the international outcomes.

The concept of soft power given by Joseph Nye and Kohane talks of ability to influence other nations without exercising the military power (Hard power). In words of Sun Tze, "to subdue the enemy without fighting is supreme excellence".

Soft power is gaining prominence over hard power in influencing outcomes as it is cheap, relies on consent and does not lead to sympathy for weaker party.  
 Nye believes that hegemony of US is declining due to overdependence of Hard power, Rise of China and its increased stakes also lies in its economic power and technological expertise.

Smart power is thought to be right mix of hard and soft power. It is skillful use of economic, military, cultural and diplomatic powers (Hillary Clinton)

As an example, Obama administration can be quoted which relies on Defence, diplomacy and development. This belies that smart power underscores the necessity of strong military power but reliant heavily in institutions, partnership and alliances. It is done so that decisions, actions and not just imposed (Hard) but well received by international community. However, realist like Kenneth Waltz deny that soft power can achieve any concrete results as soft power is also intangible as taking long time to build.

3. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Discuss the role of NGOs and INGOs in International relations (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Discuss the Post-Colonialism. Also examine its approach of IR. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Human security is an emerging concept for understanding international security  
Comment.  
(250 Words) (20)

### (1) Human security

According to Hobbes, security is the foundational value of state. In International politics also, security forms the core concept.

In recent times, the concept security has evolved from domain of national security concerning state's interest in international theatre to human security which incorporates concern of individual in both internal and external realm.

Security in IP evolved in form of National security which deals with sovereignty and territorial integrity. It presupposes that as long as they are secured, security of nation is intact.

However, marxist and feminist thinkers didn't ~~concur~~ to this line of realist thought. They brought Human Security to the core of national security. Human security ensures that individuals are secure by providing health, education, decent standard of living, reducing inequalities etc. This idea was carefully linked to national security by presuming that secured human in country will discourage any rebellion, revolt, protest. If human security is compromised

the ability of transnational actors to create security threat is also high. Poor human security can lead to security dilemma.

Barry Buzan from Copenhagen school has given comprehensive security concept, by incorporating individual and social domain also. He lists five pillars of security, namely, military, political, economic, social & ecological. This makes clean environment, employment opportunities, social cohesion, along with military capability integral to ensure human security. The importance of human security could be realised by ~~the~~ war among nations to security vaccines for their nationals, during COVID-19. In India, even armed forces were used to arrange COVID-beds for patients.

### (b) Post colonialism

Post colonialism examines how societies, governments and people in formerly colonised regions of world experience politics.

The use of 'post' by post colonial scholars by no means suggest that effects and impact of colonial rule is long gone. Rather, it highlights that colonial and imperial histories still shapes way of thinking about world, and western forms of knowledge and power marginalise non-western world.

Edward Said's "orientalism" points out how western narratives helped west in colonising and maintaining hegemony. Gayatri Spivak in 'Can subaltern speak?' questions the ability of east of having

a narrative of its own.

In discipline of International relations, post colonial thought stresses on Western dominance in knowledge of functions and structure of IR. From this background, they attempt to decolonise IR.

According to post colonial scholars, the main stream theories are eurocentric which does not account for role of developing nations and neither their world view.

For example in concept of security dilemma, Amritsar acharya makes it clear that it is not for 3rd world and Mohammad Ayub opines that 3rd world suffers from

insecurity dilemma (internal security).

They also question the concerns of western scholars like Stanley Hoffmann, who calls international relations as American social science or Kenneth Waltz who concurs that it will be ridiculous if discipline of IR includes Foreign Policy of Costa Rica.

Thus it can be said that post colonialism in IR is an attempt to give third world its own theory specific to its peculiar culture and system of thought.

### Role of NGOs and INGO's in IR

NGO's and INGO's form an important group of transnational actors playing their role in International arena.

Remarks

they are organisations independent of government's involvement working to address a social or political issues. Their role varies in domain of health, education, environment, child & women empowerment etc.

Role of NGO in IR is debatable with different schools of thoughts assigning different roles.

~~Realists on one hand deny their independent role from state's influence. For them, if ever they have a role, it is a substitute to state.~~

Liberals on other hand recognise them as positive agents working where reach of governments (nation states) is minimal. UN charter (Article 72) recognise as consultative

bodies attached to ECOSOC.

However, Marxist assigns them a negative role of building soft power

in favor of ~~bourgeoisie~~ ~~core nations~~

They believe that NGOs work in close collaboration with MNC's by channelizing

CSR fund to bring regime change in third world.

Off late, many nations have started questioning干涉 A NGO's government

in domestic politics

recognised some NGO's manufacturing which can threaten narratives against war use

energy security,

role of NGOs in International politics remains contested.

## SECTION-B

Attempt all questions:

5. Answer the following questions in about 150 words each:

(12.5 × 4 = 50)

- (a) Feminist Critique of Realism
- (b) Neo-Liberalism vs Neo-Realism Debate.
- (c) Instrumental Approach to the Study of Terrorism.
- (d) Core Assumptions of Neo-liberal Institutionalism

(a) realism being a hegemonic school of

international politics has suffered criticism

from all corners, feminist have been the

harshest critique

Feminist like Ana T Tickner has criticized  
classical Realist like Hans Morgenthau by calling  
Realism to be masculine approach to study

International Politics. In her, 'Gender in IR':

Feminist perspective on achieving global equality  
reformulates Morgenthau's six principles.

They mainly attacked morgenthau  
view of human nature, national interest,

Remarks

power etc. She proposed Human nature to be both feminist and masculinist. She added that national interest can be multidimensional -  
-onal with both conflict and cooperation.

A current theme of feminist critique is their stress on Ethics' and how realism is wrong in ignoring it.

J.B. Sartain in women and war blamed masculinist discourses which promoted distorted world view to be reason behind war.

The core objective of feminist remained that sexist worldview harms the cause of women as it leads to frequent conflicts where women are main sufferers.

## Neo-liberalism and Neo-realism Debate

Both neo-liberalism and neo-realism emerged by certain modification of classical theories which could not justify exist of those times.

Neo-liberals like Thomas Friedman calls for inexorable integration of markets for good across the world. Neo-liberal (liberal institutions) believe states to be rational actors with both conflict and cooperation. This cooperation happens via institutions built by these nations.

In contrast to this, neo-realists like Kenneth Waltz believe international system to be anarchic with no chances of cooperation. Unlike neo-liberals, they

scheme this anarchic structure to be cause of conflict which can't be settled as system is so.

criticising the idea of institutions, realist propose that institutions remain the cultures of their members (Hoffman). Joseph Noguer calls it 'quasi negotiation'. However there are certain similarities in both approaches as they both assume international is anarchic and states to be major actor negotiating for their self interest (national interest).

## (C) Instrumental approach to Study terrorism

The study of terrorism came to forefront of international politics by the end of cold war. Last decade of 20th century saw rise transnational actors, terrorist organisations were one such.

Instrumental approach suggest that act of terrorism is deliberate choice by a political actor. (Gershaw). violence acts as a means, is instrument to achieve political end.

It is suggested that terrorism achieves because organisation is able to achieve tactical aims such as publicity and recognition without achieving political ends.

Instrumental approach is thought to be easiest to learn terrorism.

However, later studies on terrorism, like organisational approach, political communication highlighted sole role of organisation and communication respectively to achieve political ends.

(a) core assumptions of neo-liberal institutionalism

The advent of neoliberalism can be traced in Woodrow Wilson's '14 point speech' during inter-war period to create institutions that can contain anarchy.

(b) International Order:

Some basic assumptions:-

- ① State remains the main actor of international politics
- ② International system is anarchic in nature with absence of world government.
- ③ Sovereignty is most important feature of nation states
- ④ Self help and Balance of power is modus vivendi.

Liberal institutionalism builds upon these basic features. To contain anarchy it proposes institutions of global governance, also suggests collective security as an institutionalised IGP system.

It presupposes that even an institution will lead to cooperation among nation states and conflict will be contained.

Although Stephen Hoffman claims that such institutions remain creatures of their members Joseph Stiglitz also cautions it due to democratic deficit.

Failure of League of Nations (LON) and UN exposes limits of liberal institutionalism.

Remarks

b. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Each decision maker acts in function of actions the other (or others) can take: Game theory of international relations. Discuss. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Discuss the role of Epistemic communities in international relations. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Marxists argues that any understanding of world politics must be based on a broader understanding of the processes that operate within global capitalism. Examine.   
 with Realist X (250 Words) (20)

With the behavioural revolution in political science, the study of International Politics has also got affected, game theory is a result of this.

Game theory is key approach in positivist school of International Politics. Thomas Schelling is key proponent of this approach. Game theory looks at International Politics (IP) as a game of strategy. The game includes two to 'n' number of players, however scholars are successful in

preparing 2-player, non-zero sum games.

In a typical game of strategies, like Prisoner's dilemma, the action of one party depends upon actions of others. It is because of lack of trust deficit and lack of communication. The effect is that despite being rational, they are not able to choose best choice and their choice is dictated by objective of avoiding worst possible outcome. Both the actors became no choices. of cause and effect of each other's actions.

(b) Epistemic communities in IR

Epistemic communities are regarded as intelligentsia in societies. They constitutes artists, thinkers, professors, scientists who work as a global community.

They play significant role in IP by acting as trans-national actor. They are found to influence decision making of international organisation by raising awareness of their research findings or even themselves collaborating in formation of global regimes.

Vinay Tannenwald, a prominent anti-nuclear campaigner has contributed lot in direction of abolition of nuclear weapons. ICAN, an international epistemic community has played an

instrumental role in Treaty on Prohibition  
of Nuclear Weapons (2017).

~~Epistemic community experts influence by creating norms, and taboos~~  
~~Ernest Harsch, in his article, 'Knowledge, power and international community', defines~~  
~~epistemological community as networks of~~  
~~professionals with expertise in particular~~  
~~domain. They form community as they~~  
~~share norms, and collectively exert pressure.~~  
~~Role of organisations like~~  
~~IPCC (Intergovernmental panel on climate change)~~  
~~on drawing attention to world on emergency of~~  
~~climate crisis through their reports is~~  
~~also an epistemic organisation~~

This report has said to impacted  
climate talks with nations committing  
towards net zero goals.

However, realist scholars tend to  
deny the independent role of epistemic  
community as they presume state (nation  
states) to be sole drivers of international relations

(c) Aimed at establishing egalitarian world  
order, marxists international politics  
scholars are critical of mainstream liberal  
and realist theories. They put emphasis  
not on patterns of conflict and cooperation  
but on structures of economic power. Hence,  
they shifted focus from international politics

to political economy.

In that regard, they virtue liberal and realist understanding as incomplete because it avoids discourse on economic system of capitalism.

In words of Robert Cox,

'Theory is always for someone and for some purpose'. In other words, both liberalism and realism aims at maintaining the hegemony of USA, which ultimately benefits capitalist class.

In contrast to this, marxist understanding aims to investigate working of state to maintain

bourgeoisie dominance, sometimes by using cultural and ideological factor (Gramscian)

In works of Marx and Lenin, we find critique of capitalism, as highest form of imperialism, where search for profit leads bourgeoisie to settle ~~everywhere~~ and nestle everywhere.

However, this approach was refined in Immanuel Wallerstein's World System Theory. He divides world, not into nation states rather group of states, core, semi-periphery and periphery performed in global economic system.

The bourgeoisie of core nations, (USA, EU) resource of peripheries with (African nations)

appropriation

support of their governments. Semi peripheries with marginally developed system also contributes in this misappropriation.

for marxists, this economic system made to serve global capitalism best explains - Stalin's international Politic Gramscian tradition adds to it by highlighting the role of ideological power behind material power. However, marxist school has suffered criticism chase down economic reductionism. It can also be criticised as based on experience of western countries (Eurocentrism).