

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Time Allowed: 3 Hrs.

Max. Marks: 250

Instructions to Candidate

- There are FIVE questions. All Questions are compulsory.
- Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the Admission certificate 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.

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1. Invigilator's Signature _____

2. Invigilator's Signature _____

Name Sreekumar Ravindrakumar

Mobile No. _____

Date 05/12/2021Signature 

Dear student.

You have worked well on the presentation and contents.

Your answers are enriching with relevant examples and multidimensional theories and scholars.

You have written apt and relevant content on the demand of the question. Keep it up.

All the Best!

1. (a) Liberal States do go for war. Examine this statement in light of Democratic Peace Thesis? (200 Words) (15)

International politics is described as a debate between Realist school of thought and its critiques. In this context Democratic Peace Thesis presents a major viewpoint of liberal school of thought and how it criticises the realist assumptions which are pessimistic.

According to Realist scholars like Hans Morgenthau, Kenneth Waltz & John Mearsheimer international society is characterized by anarchy and is always marked by mistrust, security dilemma and constant struggle for self preservation.

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While they suggest

Balance of power through ~~arms, race~~, military alliances, theorists of liberal school like Michael Doyle suggests the democratic peace theory. According to them the only way to overcome the ~~anarchy and insecurity~~ in global politics is through ~~the~~ ^{establishment} of democracy.

Two democracies are

characterized by cooperation, ~~harmony~~ and dialogue between populations. Such states will find it difficult to

engage in constant state of ~~warfare~~ and crisis. The

theory is based on

idea of Zones of peace that's

created when countries become ~~democratic~~ democratic one by one.

The culture of deliberation, value attached to the opinion of citizens, and presence of system of checks & balances will ensure states do not take an arbitrary decision to go for war or invade other nations.

The Theory has however been criticized ~~by~~ based on the hegemonic assumption that only democracies are conducive to peace. The US invasion of Iraq which was arbitrary was based on a ~~decision~~ ^{mission} of spreading democratic values.

~~Nevertheless~~ in spite of the criticism one cannot help but agree that - democratic nations are relatively peaceful and there is a culture of cooperation leading to harmony.

1. (b) Realist tradition of International relations revolves around debated concept of power, examine? (200 Words) (15)

Realist tradition in International

relations is the school of thought that holds a hegemonic position in the realm of international political theory.

Realists portray international relations as an arena marked by Anarchy and insecurity leading the states to go for constant power struggle.

As a solution Realist

scholars like Hans Morganthau belonging to the Classical realist tradition suggests power maximization

This can be achieved through increased arms purchases, military alliances and diplomatic manoeuvres. However

the scholars within realist tradition is divided on the

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extent of ~~power~~ to be pursued.

Structural realists like

~~Kenneth Waltz~~ do not agree to the Morgenthau's view that

"Whatever might be the ~~ultimate~~ end, power is always

the immediate end". Instead Waltz suggests the approach

of ~~Beauty maximization~~. Realist scholars ~~are~~ also

debate the type of power to be used.

While majority of realist

scholars suggest the use of ~~hardpower~~, scholars like

~~Bernard Brodie~~ suggests a shift away from conventional

tools of hardpower ~~instead~~ suggests nations^{to} go for

nuclear deterrence.

~~However~~ realist scholars have

Cautioned against the use of 'sharp power' rising in many countries in form of authoritarianism and propaganda spreading. Certain other realist scholars such as Chipman have suggested to go for Fast power denoting the requirement of acting quickly to gain strategic advantage in international relations.

However the realist notion of power has been criticized by liberal scholars for their ^{over} reliance on Hard power. Scholars like J-Nye suggest mix of hard & soft power translating into SMART Power which is a judicious mix of diplomacy, defence and development. In spite of criticism realist thoughts with respect to power dominated international relations theory.

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1. (c) Conceptualize Security communities or integrated socio-political systems in communication theory. (250 Words) (20)

Security Communities envisaged by liberal scholar Karl Deutsch presents a shift from State Centric to Society Centric view of international relations. It forms a major part of the Sociological liberal discourse in International politics.

Sociological liberal approach to International relations presents a Critique of Realist assumptions of scholars like Morgenthau, Waltz & Mehrabian opines Cooperations between nations are not practical and everyone is in a struggle to gain power at the expense of other.

In such a setup Nations are

their sovereignty forms the centre stage of decision making and society holds little or no relevance. However, scholars like Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye challenge these ideas.

According to them world of today is characterized by Complex Interdependence and therefore society has a huge role in maintaining communications between nations and resolving the trust deficit between states. Karl Deutsch in this context states the harmony between nations can be enhanced by increased communications, exchanges and people to people contacts:

This increased level of interaction forms the foundational pillar of communications thereby and

Security Community

Security Community is an inter-grouping of nations who are like minded and shares high level of interactions with a common threat perception. They can be bound together through an institutional set up and the high level of cooperations among them helps to resolve the internal conflicts amicably without the necessity of a war.

However Security Communities like EU have been under stress lately with the economic crisis, exit of UK, and the deepening COVID-19 crisis putting doubts over its efficacy. Nevertheless the idea of security community is conducive to peace and gives on a socio-political angle to International Relations.

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2. (a) What are the different meanings of system in international relations, Explain the Mortan Kaplan model? (200 Words) (15)

~~Systems approach~~ in International relations is an attempt to scientifically and structurally define the relationships between actors and institutions and derive conclusions or theories based on that. David Easton and Morton Kaplan are two major proponents of Systems approach in IR.

The term System generally refers to the patterned interactions between the elements of International politics and how they formulate their policies based on these interactions. States, Citizens, Civil society, Supranational actors all play a crucial role in determining

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the nature of this behaviour.

In Mortan Kaplan's

Systems model, 'System' is seen as a structure where the states are the major players and there is regular participation of all the actors. ~~and~~ The actors conduct their interactions in a way to preserve their national interests.

In Kaplan's models, the

way the international system is structured falls into the following categories;

→ Balance of power method : In this system, there are a few powerful players who are in constant interaction with each other. Each of them resorts to multiple strategies such as arms race, military coalitions etc in order to restrict the other from violating the sovereignty of other. Even the powers losing the power is brought back into the system.

→ Bipolar Model → In this method ~~too~~, there are two nations who are primarily controlling the interaction between Nations and it is marked by a period of stability as the nations are divided into two groups.

→ Unipolar Model → The overarching presence of one actor in the system where it is the only nation having a dominant role.

→ Multipolar Model → In this system there are multiple actors controlling the states and paves way way for instances of instability in the political system.

Stanley Hoffman however criticizes Kaplan's model for ignoring the subnational factors and regional issues. It is also criticized for inability to derive empirical data based on the systems classification by Kaplan. In spite of the criticism the systems model is a valuable

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approach at bringing in a scientific outlook to the International relations paradigm.



opt.

2. (b) Collective security is a "relative utopia" one that tries to be realistic but retains elements of fantasy". Discuss. (200 words) (15)

Collective Security as a Concept

In International relations owes its origin to the 14 point speech delivered by Woodrow Wilson. The idea was presented as an alternative to Balance of power thesis upheld by realist scholars.

While Realist scholar suggests states to go for power maximization and resort to measures like arms races, military alliances and fend for oneself. Scholars of liberal tradition suggests collective security as a viable alternative.

According to their opinion

Collective Security is an inter-associational networking of

nations coming together to look out for each other and in the process preserve the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each other. The philosophy of collective security is based on the idea of 'one for all, all for one'

The idea of United Nations, European Union, ASEAN are all based on the above mentioned principles. However though the idea seems very ideal, altruistic at a practical level it's implementation has been difficult. The major reason for the same is the lack of equality among nations at global platforms.

The United Nations peacekeeping force is the one of the greatest examples of collective

Security and yet its actions are questionable over its deployment. It has been utilized only when powerful nations take a lead or the issue falls within their interest. The failure of UN to deploy forces during the Rwandan Genocide is an example.

The lack of representation of developing & underdeveloping countries at institutions of collective security have raised questions over its impartiality and inclusiveness. The divergence of National Interest, military capability also make it a challenging proposition.

However in spite of the issues faced collective security can be a solution for promoting global peace and security with right set of multilateral reforms and global inclusivity in forums such as UNSC etc.

2. (c) Analyse how National Interest and National security are deeply interlinked concepts where national security has expanded into new dimensions. Also comment on how 'Security Dilemma' actually results in an atmosphere of 'insecurity' in the long run. (250 Words) (20)

National Interest & National Security are central concepts in the realms of International relations theory. National Security is considered as the ~~sub~~ objective to be accomplished through the furthering of National Security. With evolving notions of both, the interlinkages have become more evident.

National Security is no longer restricted to the concept of sovereignty or territorial integrity. With the onset of Globalization and growth of a neo-liberal world order, National Security have expanded to cover the wellbeing of all necessary stakeholders.

While realist scholars like

~~Waltz & Neustheimer~~ restrict the national security to preserving the sovereignty, liberal scholars like Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane talk about ideas such as Economic Security and Social Security. With the emergence of a Complex Interdependent world, the ^{all} ~~best~~ round wellbeing of citizens is of prime importance.

~~Feminist scholars~~ such as Ann T. Tickener speaks about Human Security and ethics of care where rather than focusing on wars and conflicts which puts human life at risk, one needs to be concerned about human wellbeing & Gender equality.

Social Constructivists such as Alexander Wendt talks about Security where

States are starting to interpret it in the way that suits them. ~~Copenhagen School~~ theorists ^{like Brany Buzan} in this context says 'Security is a speech act'

~~Realist~~ notions of security dilemma which is the ~~external doubt~~ of what amount of power will suffice to ensure self preservation is matter of debate. Liberal scholars says this will only lead to further conflict between ~~nations~~. Jawaharlal Nehru says the situation is a previous state of peace. Says it creates a solution ~~for measles~~ but creates conditions for plague.

Liberal scholars like John Burton ~~Richard Coates~~ suggests ~~collective security~~ as an antidote to security dilemma. ~~In spite of the debates~~ the concept continues to shape international relations discourse for the times to come.

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3. (a) Comment on the Role of Robert Cox and Andrew Linklater to the Post-Marxist tradition of International Relations? (200 Words) (15)

Neo-Gramscian Robert Cox and Social Constructivist Andrew Linklater have played a major role in giving an unconventional view of International relations. These ideas have presented a shift from the hegemonic notions of realist school.

Robert Cox tries to bring in the Gramscian notion of importance of Superstructures into the realm of International relations. Cox opines one should investigate into the ideological & cultural factors that pave way for the domination of a nation in International politics.

In his view the real

reason behind the ~~US domination~~ in world affairs is ~~not~~ not be only because of their military superiority but the American culture & values that is spread across the world. This allows the people to accept their Cultural hegemony in the world.

Social Constructivist Andrew
~~Linklater~~ explores the reasons ~~views the reason for~~ for idea of security, anarchy to be seen the way it is seen. Andrew Linklater opines the ignorance of norms, values, & ideas from the public forum has led the state to interpret the concepts in the way it wants ~~the people~~ to interpret it.

Accordingly Anarchy is interpreted
 as a negative state of society marked by ~~violence~~ and

insecurity: The moment people shifts their focus on Ideational Structures and start understanding things differently the global situation will change.

The ideas of Robert Cox and Andrew Hurrell also comes close to the post modernist view which interprets every situation from a different dimension and is incredulous towards metanarrative. Though both their ideas are criticized for lack of pragmatism and relevance, the ideas have indeed helped to give an alternate view of international relations.

(7)

3. (b) Comment on the emergence and evolution of Dependency theory and areas of difference with classical Marxist IR view? (200 Words) (15)

International relations has been traditionally dominated by ~~Realist~~ and liberal school of thoughts. However ~~Marxist~~ view of IR has always helped to obtain a fresh perspective of the same.

Though ~~Karl Marx~~ has never given a ~~systematic~~ IR theory, ~~He~~ he had remarked on the importance of creating a proletarian internationalism. However later Marxists like Lenin gave a holistic view of IR.

In Lenin's seminal work, Capitalism: The highest form of imperialism, Lenin talks about the instrumentalist view of IR. According to him, capitalist nations act as a tool of Bourgeoisie

pro-capitalist. Here ~~Wallerstein~~ adds a new dimension of semi-periphery nations who have obtained some benefits of the capitalist system but yet countries ^{to} face high inequality.

New-Gramscian like

Robert Cox has stressed on the importance of understanding the ideological & cultural factors that shape global domination of powerful nations. ~~He~~ Therefore the dependency school was an improvement over the classist marxist theory in terms of approach. While the former was multidimensional, the latter was uni-dimensional. It is seen as a more ideological approach looking at various socio-political factors while classist marxist theory faces the issue of pure economic determinism.

Remarks

class and exploit the ~~developing countries~~. However the dependency school theorists attempts a reform of this plain instrumental theory and presents a more sociological perspective.

Scholars such as Alfrank, Samir Amin, gives the opinion that developed nations are always at the core nations and developing world forms the periphery. In this core-periphery model, there is development of underdevelopment, unequal exchange and exploitation of periphery nations.

Later scholars such as Immanuel Wallerstein developed this further in his World System Theory and present the global system as

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3. (c) How do critical, feminist and post-Structuralist approaches view the concept of 'security'? How do the transnational companies create a problem of extra-territoriality for different governments? (250 Words) (20)

Security forms the central concept in the International political paradigm. However it is also one of the most debated concept too. In this content the critical, feminist, & post structuralist views of security presents an unconventional view of the same.

Realist traditionalists

historically focus on the concept of territorial security and preserving the sovereignty of the nation while the critical, feminist & post-structuralist focuses on human security and emancipation. They also point at the hegemonic interpretation of security in the way that suits their ends.

Remarks

Andrew Linklater of the
 Critical/Emancipatory school of thought focuses on the
 human security paradigms and want the people to
 focus increasingly on the norms, values and the
 ideational structures that understands security.

Feminist School of thought
 presents the masculinist interpretation of security and
 ignorance of human life & security in the process. This
 intention leads to exploitation of women and politicians
 ignoring their concerns on global platforms.

Post-Structuralist view of security
 also move away from such institutionalized meta
 narratives of security and urges to have a multidimensional
 perspective on the same.

Transnational Companies are major part of Non State actors that has grown upto influence global International relations. Though realist scholars are indifferent to their opinion, marxist scholars view them as tools of exploitations and instruments of state.

Many MNCs are extremely huge in size and they lead the process of resource exploitations in many nations and even orchestrate the Sabotage of elected governments as seen in Latin America, Africa etc. They also influence policy making in many nations & finance the initiatives making many governments a puppet in their hands.

However liberal scholars do not see MNCs as threat to sovereignty but a partner in development and a agent for furthering peace & stability.

4. (a) What are new understandings/insights/ideas suggested by post-colonial theorist to International Relations? (200 Words) (15)

Post Colonial Theorist are known for adding a new dimension to the International Relations which have been historically dominated by Western ideas & hegemony. Scholars like Mohammed Ayob tries to break these ethnocentric assumptions.

Realist Scholars like Waltz and Mearsheimer talks about the Security dilemma that the nations faces in the anarchical set up of global politics. They resort to military deals, arms races to overcome this Security dilemma and ensure self preservation.

However post colonial theorists such as Ayob has urged the scholars to shift the

Remarks

focus to instability dilemma affecting this part of the world. In the opinion of Agrob several of these post colonial nations suffer from Internal Conflicts, Civil wars and political instability that impacts their external relations as well.

Marxist Scholars like Samir Amin

and Alf Frank in their dependency theory talks about how post colonial nations largely form a part of periphery where there is unequal exchange, development of underdevelopment and exploitation of resources. In the wake of globalization Oxfam report 9% of world's richest holds more than 70% of world income showing how post colonial countries' views are ignored and concerns going unaddressed.

Scholars analysing the role of Non state actors such as ~~transnational~~ MNCs & NGOs also study their impact on post colonial nations. Many theorists are of the opinion MNCs play a role of saboteur in many nations and orchestrate coups as seen in Latin America, Africa etc.

Post colonial feminists

Scholars like Gayatri Spivak also remarks about the ignorance of women's concerns globally in post colonial nations. They face discrimination on two fronts, one domestically & one internationally. Yet their issues fail to be a part of international discourses. Thus in summation post colonial scholars demand a fresh examination of such renewed situation and making the realm of

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IR more inclusive.

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rather than going for a ~~blind search~~ for power
maximization, ~~insecurity~~ is resolved through cooperation,
 exchanges and diplomatic manoeuvres. Associational
 collectives like United Nations, European Union are all
examples of the same. The idea of collective security
 owes its origin to the 114 point speech delivered by
Woodrow Wilson.

Collective defense on the
 other hand is a grouping of like minded nations with
 a common threat perception agreeing to come together
 to face the threats collectively rather than leaving a nation alone
 in the conflict. Here the mutual understanding of the
 threat and knowledge that facing the threat together
 acts as a driving force for nations to come forward.

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4. (b) Collective Security and collective Defense

(200 Words) (15)

The realist school of thought has been characteristically defined by its assumptions of global anarchy and countries finding for its itself to ensure its self preservation. As a result the solution for the same suggested is balance of power.

However Collective Security & Collective defense are both techniques suggested as an alternate to balance of power and overcome Security dilemma. Collective Security is an arrangement for International association among nations to come together under an institutional setup.

In here, the nations follow the philosophy of one for all, all for one. Thus

Remarks

Groupings like NATO ~~are~~ is an example of collective defence. The Article 5 of the NATO Charter takes an attack on a NATO ally to be as an attack on the entire set of members. However the same has been invoked only once since the wake of 9/11 attacks.

However Realist scholars criticize collective security ~~and~~ for its utopian idealism and marxist scholars presents a critique on the inequality witnessed in platforms of collective security & collective defence. More often than powerful nations or dominant nations exert an influence disproportionately. The case of UNPKF failing to authorize actions during the Rwandan genocide is an example. Nevertheless both the systems have helped to maintain global peace at many instances such as 1950 Korean war, Suez Canal crisis etc.

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4. (c) There exist multiple approaches for conceptualizing National Interest. Comment. (250 Words) (20)

National Interest forms the foundational pillar for all ~~actions~~ of states in international relations. It is the primary motive behind every action and also a ~~widely debated~~ concept too.

The debates surrounding what constitutes National Interest and what forms a part of it is interpreted in multiple ways. In the opinion of Kenneth Waltz national interest can be of various types like primary, secondary, specific, general etc.

Primary National Interest is that essential tenet on what the national interest is not centred around and bound to no any changes. However

Secondary National Interest is what ~~could be~~ changed

according to the exigencies of the time and circumstances.

While specific National Interest are flowed pillars of national objectives and goals which are often central to all its actions & subjected to limited changes, General Interests are those skeletal framework that are subject to some amendments.

However certain scholars are

Very vocal critics of the concept of National Interest.

In this context Raymond Aron terms national interest as a pseudo theory as it is subjected to multiple interpretations at multiple instances.

Various other scholars like

Charles Beard conceptualizes national interest as a vague

Concept used for justifying exploitative practices of many nations and reasoning it under the name of National Interest. The actions of East India Company to colonize, ^{exploit} Indian subcontinent and trade mercantilism policy could be seen ~~that~~ in a justified way from National Interest perspective.

Marxist Scholars perceive National Interest as a tool for spreading Bourgeoisie values and a basis for justifying inhuman treatment of workers. Feminist Scholars like Ann T. Tickener and Cynthia Enloe view National Interest as a masculinist concept often blind to women's concerns.

Though National Interest therefore is interpreted in multiple it still remains the primary motive behind every state action in arena of Global politics.

5. (a) How do liberal, realist and constructivist approaches perceive the role played by Nuclear weapons in international politics? (200 Words) (15)

Role of Nuclear weapons

In maintaining global peace ~~has~~ always been a matter of great debate. The sheer destruction it can bring on to the population and the concerns regarding its safe storage ~~has~~ raised doubts over its necessity.

Realist scholars view

Nuclear weapons as an effective deterrent and a technique for ~~pro~~ creating global peace. Bernard Brodie talks about Nuclear deterrence as an effective technique over conventional balance of power ~~talks~~.

However other realist

scholars such as John Mears ~~talks~~ about selective

proliferation as only responsible democratic countries
can manage ~~the weapons~~ effectively. However structural

realists such as Waltz ~~however~~ expresses doubt over

the guarantee of peace in background of nuclear proliferation
~~however~~ but it can be a deterrence to a limited extent

~~liberal~~ scholars such as

Joseph Nye ~~does not~~ agree with the realist school

that - Nuclear weapons are ~~effective~~ instead only leads to

more insecurity over its proliferation and a potential

nuclear arms race. ~~Other~~ scholars such as Scott D. Sagan

also disagrees with realist school and opines Nuclear

weapons in hands of non-state actors can have

Catastrophic impacts

Social Constructivists like

Nina Jannenwald talks about the Nuclear taboo created around the usage of Nuclear weapons. She stresses on emphasizing these norms & values which creates a ^{negative} image around nuclear weapons.

Scholars like Ernst Haas

argues to create epistemic communities to build awareness and dialogue surrounding usage of nuclear weapons and it will assist in shift away from promoting nuclear proliferation.

In spite of the misgivings, the latest foreign policy of USA, the action of developing nuclear triad ^{of India} still shows Nuclear weapons holds a relevant position in International politics.

Remarks

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5. (b) Comment on how 'Security Dilemma' actually results in an atmosphere of 'insecurity' in the long run. (200 Words) (15)

~~Security Dilemma~~ is a core assumption forming a part of realist discourse. According to scholars such as [Hans Morgenthau], the international politics is characterized by anarchy, leading to a struggle from nations for self preservation creating a Security dilemma.

The ~~doubt~~ over what amount of power is optimum to ~~ensure~~ security results in arms purchases and military ~~actions~~. ~~They~~ This forms the foundational pillar of the concept of Balance of power. Later structural realists such as Kenneth Waltz and John Mearsheimer also endorse this view.

However later liberal scholars

Such as proponents of liberal institutionalism like Woodrow Wilson talks about the how security dilemma is in fact a catalyst for more insecurity. Nehru comments on Balance of power which includes security dilemma as its founding pillar as a nervous state of peace.

Nations reacting to security dilemma can go for hasty armed actions, annexations, as seen in Crimea by Russia or weapon testing by North Korea. Leading global insecurity. Idea of nuclear deterrence from Bernard Brodie have further complicated the security architecture.

Feminist scholars view

Security dilemma as an attempt from realist scholars

further the masculinist agenda and go for wars which puts women around the globe under threat. In this context feminist scholars like

Ann J. Tickner all of the opinion men makes war makes men

Marxist scholars also

criticize the concept of Security dilemma as a tool of the state to arbitrarily exploit the other nations & further the bourgeois agenda. The US invasion of Iraq in 2003 can be seen as an example of the same.

In spite of the multidimensional view one cannot ignore the importance of Security dilemma which still continues in global politics especially in recent scenario of rising Chinese assertion in the Indo-pacific regions.

5. (c) Collective Security as an alternative to Balance of Power.

(250 Words) (20)

Collective Security presents a detailed critique to the realist notion of Balance of power. Scholars of Realist school like Hans Morgenthau, Kenneth Waltz and John Mearsheimer view Balance of power as a solution to Security dilemma. However liberal scholars disagree to this view.

Collective Security as an idea owes its origin to the 14 point speech ~~delivered~~ by Woodrow Wilson at US house of Congress. Woodrow Wilson post the world war 2 scenario held the view that it was the Balance of power notion that led to the world war and we need to resort collective institutionalisation of nations and stand together for global peace.

Remarks

~~Institutions~~ like United Nations were created on this principle and ~~we needed~~ ^{nations} coming together to ~~stand~~ for each other to help one to overcome threats will ~~avoid~~ the possibilities of an arms race, a world war etc. The 1950 Korean war, demise, resolution of Suez Canal Crisis are examples of its success.

~~Proponents of Security Community~~
 like Karl Deutsch talks about adding more embargoes and cooperations between nations/states / go as to help them turn into communities with a common threat perception and avoid internal conflicts.

~~However realist scholars~~

Criticize balance of power for its utopian ideas as it will never be possible for nations to overlook its national interests and stay together. Thus Balance of power is the only antidote to security dilemma.

Marxist scholars point out at the inequality at global level in institutions where only powerful nations control the narrative and determine the content of actions taken to preserve the security.

In spite of the Criticism institutions of collective security like UN has helped to maintain the jungle of international politics as a zoo and what we must aim for is a reformation of institutions of collective security to make it more inclusive and representative.

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