

Ques 1. Discuss the relevance of realism in the contemporary globalised world.

1/6/21

Ans

Realism is the hegemonic school of international politics & is based on the Westphalian world order ie state centric. It is also called as the power view of International Politics as it focusses on survival, self interest & a struggle for power.

The centrepiece of this perspective is "statism" as state is the pre-eminent actor & all other actors are of lesser significance as per Dunne & Schmidt.

However, the surge of globalisation has created a blur among in sovereignty.

As per Martin Wight, we cannot ignore

the existence of international organisations and laws. Hedley Bull goes on to call it an "anarchical society" as it is neither a complete society nor an absolute anarchy.

Can  
substantiate  
by  
saying  
a functional  
UN  
(however  
imperfect)

is a  
challenge  
to Realist  
prescriptions

Yet, it is states which form the bodies of these international forums & influence their actions. For eg: Russia and China vetoed the UNSC resolutions sanctioning the Syrian regime. This



demonstrates Morganthau's realist conception of "animus dominanti" as humans & implicitly states have a drive for power.

39.5

Iran's nuclear policy is another contemporary issue that can be understood with realism. It is in conformity with Machiavellian principles of prudence & warding off threats from neighbours. It may also aim for regional hegemony in Middle East. As per EH Carr, just the recognition of strength can achieve one's aims without having to use it.

The transnational migration has caused a refugee crisis in Europe. According to Karl Mannheim it is perceived as a security threat as a result of political agency. This drove the Brexit discourse even though the number of asylum seekers in Britain were far less than Germany.

The rise of China is considered peaceful by Kenneth Waltz, a detente realist. He advises USA to not indulge in an arms race as nations are



Security maximisers. However, post cold war realist Mearsheimer does not subscribe to the view that rise of China is peaceful as nations are power maximisers. No amount of power is sufficient & there must be an unbridgeable gap. According to him <sup>USA</sup> nations should balance the rise of regional powers. QUAD alliance can be an ex. example of ~~so~~ strategic balancing. → good.

Proponents of liberal institutionalism like Woodrow Wilson believe it is better to fight at the high table of diplomacy than borders. There is hence a need to strengthen international institutions to overcome the crisis of legitimacy that they suffer from by making them more representative and more transparent.

Mention that though realism continues to govern conduct of nation states but it

is imp. to revive int'l institutions like UN to prevent a nervous state of peace.

8.0



Ques 2

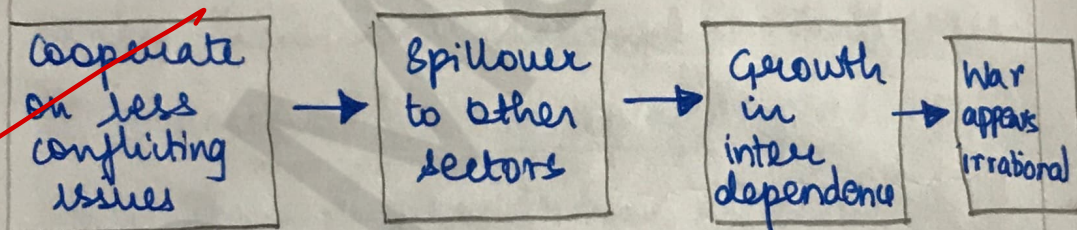
Critically examine the functional and system approaches to the study of IR.

Ans

Functional theory belongs to the liberal school of International Politics whereas the System Approach was a product of the behavioural movement.

The key to a functionalist road to integration was expressed in David Mitrany's "form follows functions". It is a gradual and piecemeal approach towards "peace by pieces", <sup>seen in the</sup> A EU experiment.

According to Richard Cobden, we must keep the politicians out of ~~resolving~~ problems with the role of scientists, economists, businesspersons etc.



This approach was used in case of India - Pakistan as part of Composite Dialogue Process. However it was suspended after the Mumbai terror attacks. Hence it is an extremely slow & sensitive process which can be eventuated without political will.

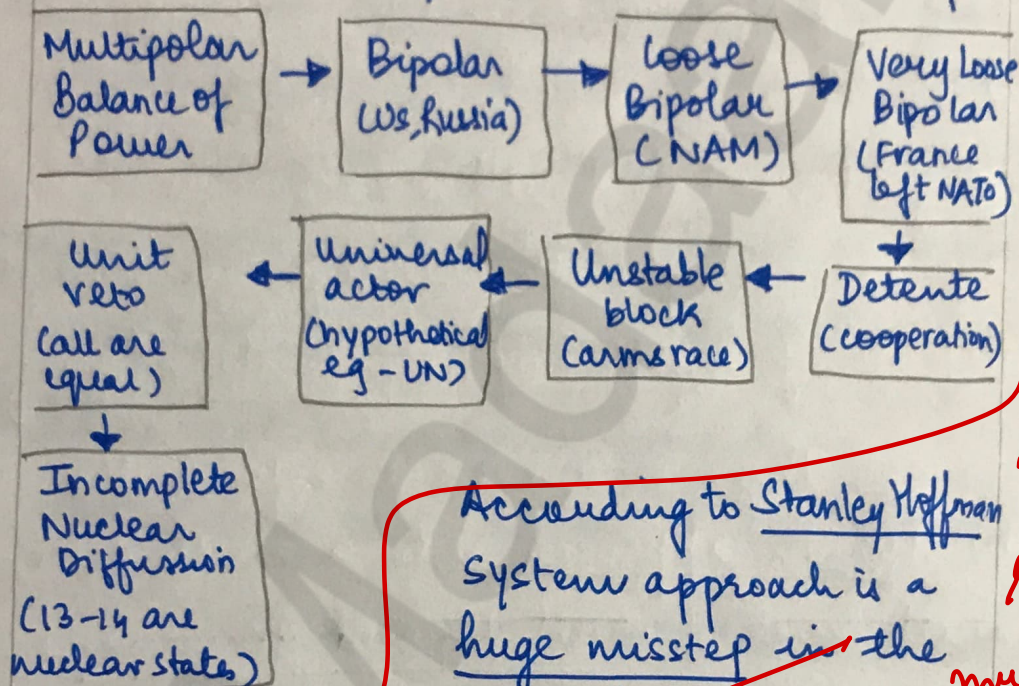
Karl Haas have recommended its use in the regional integration process.

Shorten this simply say -  
1) I-R approach  
2) functional but approach failed due to idealistic assumptions



Morton Kaplan's system approach aims to create a grand theory explaining the past, present & future of IR. It analyses the interaction among actors who are neither fully cooperative nor fully conflictual. According to David Mclelland, a nation's behaviour is a two way activity where it acts & reacts.

As Kaplan's 10 models move from



According to Stanley Hoffman system approach is a huge misstep in the right direction.

However it does not capture input or output and ignores normative elements of how peace can be achieved. It overlooks personality factor & other domestic variables. Traditionalists consider it unnecessarily complex while Marxists believe it depends the western way of life.

5-1 = 4

Breached word limit

No need for this

Simply mention it ranges from multipolar to detente to universal actor model amongst others



Ques 3

comment on the changing nature of collective security in post Covid times

Ans

Roberts and Kingsbury define collective security as an arrangement where security of one member is a concern for all, and agree to collectively respond. It is part of the liberal approach and gives theoretical certainty.

The COVID-19 pandemic is fast becoming a protection crisis as shared well being of the world is under assault from many directions. Trust in public institutions is eroding as authorities have not been transparent in addressing the health crisis effectively.

In the past, NATO, Warsaw Pact were leading examples but in Collective Security 2.0, vaccine alliances like GAVI and COVAX come to the fore. Carlos Alvarado, President of Costa Rica proposed the Patent Pooling of said technological developments will be futile if they are not accessible.

The global fight against a common enemy can be understood

→ good  
Captured  
the  
demand  
of  
qns.  
well



✓ Thomas Kuhn's "paradigm shift", as the existing paradigm fails to manage a virus that has disrupted the world.

✓ The world is facing a paradox. While the pandemic has confirmed the transnational and common nature of challenges like infectious diseases, climate change, security, financial stability etc, the main response has been national or local. There is an urgent need to build a "new multilateralism" by addressing with courage the current deficits of legitimacy, representation & efficiency.

v. good

There is a need to reform the Westphalian approach into a multi actor, multilevel & multilayered governance.

✓ This will address not just the ongoing pandemic but also shadow pandemics like domestic violence (as highlighted by MOWCD) and the raging infodemic (coined by WHO Chief Scientist Sonya Swaminathan).

Here we already have multilayered governance

What is needed is genuine reforms (as in WHO)

60 D.S  
= 5.5



Ques 4. Write an essay on Multipolar world order.

Ans

The post Cold War world order has broken the shackles of rigid bipolarity & oscillated from unipolar world into a multipolar world where regional power centres have emerged. The power stratification is multi-layered & has given more manoeuvring space to pursue national interests.

The 2008 Global Financial Crisis led to the formalization of BRICS, a term coined by economist Jim O'Neil. Fareed Zakaria describes this rise of BRICS as a "Post American" world, with decline of West & rise of rest. 21<sup>st</sup> century is sometimes emphasised as the Asian Century as we see a shift in geopolitics from Atlantic to Indo-Pacific.

In the Indian context, Shyam Saran supports the multipolar world order, whereas Harsh V. Pant



does not support India's gestures in  
rise of China. Hence India must  
emerge as a strong pole. C. Rajamohan

says that for long India has wanted  
the multipolar world order which  
has arrived now & hence we must

display our ability for Deft handling

and Nimble Diplomacy

(India is part of both  
RIC and JAI.)

At Shangri-la  
dialogue, Indian

PM highlighted QUAD means rise of multi  
polarity.

According to the Polarity

of Power thesis by Kenneth Waltz

a ~~best~~ multipolar world is most  
unstable due to confusion.

There are more fingers on the  
trigger button. There can be an

escalation of tensions between

ideologically different states & this

is extremely dangerous in the

nuclear world. There is also a risk

of accidental war.

Historically, the Concert of

Europe ensured 100 years of peace

and stability. But the 20th century

was with shifting alliances &

aspirations created unstable / unpredictability.

Hegemonic  
Stability  
Can quoted

→ (good)



For the first time in history, balance in future depends not only on great power rivalries but also on the middle & smaller powers who are armed with nuclear weapons. Stephen Walt calls it Balance of Threat.

The ongoing COVID-19 pandemic also alters the multipolar order as it brings diverse risks. Lockdowns & curfews have limited media, civic space & free expression. There is a possible roll back of human rights. The risks of bioterrorism have shed light on lack of preparedness. This is deepened by the economic vagaries of food supply, unemployment & inflation.

gives more  
might  
to  
China

Here  
a discussion  
on how  
relations b/w  
USA & China  
will  
unfold  
will  
determine  
how

Complex interdependence is now compelling the countries to cooperate. Ultimately where states can utilize multipolarity depends on the quality of leadership. From the social constructivist point of view, multipolarity is what the states make of it.

Ma'am  
take  
3.5 pages

10.5



Ques 5.

Comment on the dynamic nature of National Interest.

↳ Did not address this well

Ans

National interest is the prime motivation of foreign policy. It is a highly dynamic concept & can be achieved with power.

can improve here

First define NI

Morgenthau is considered to be the father of realism. He gave broadly classified national interest into core or vital like the physical, political & cultural identities of people, and variable like issues which can be dealt with both continuity & change.

Robinson classified national interest into general, specific, permanent, variable, primary & secondary. He also gave the instruments for achieving it like diplomacy, deterrence, balance of power, ideology etc.

Though national interest is a core concept, yet it is called a pseudo theory due to its subjectivity.



It is also criticised by Marxist scholars. Charles Beard believes national interest is the interest of the ruling class. Raymond Aron calls it vague, subjective and ambiguous as its meaning changes with context.

This can be explained with the example of USSR intervening in Afghanistan or USA developing dangerous weapons for its own national interest.

how  
this  
substantiates  
your  
argument?

According to Joseph Frankel any search for a universal definition is futile as there are variety of ways & purposes of national interest.

Burchill Scott believes that despite the wide use of the concept, it lacks any substance.

In the context of Pakistan Mohd Yunus believes national interest is a means to promote elites or the military junta.

Since the process of formulating and implementing foreign policy is complex and



ever evolving, there must be  
unanimity on the broad foreign  
policy objectives like safety, welfare,  
unity & integrity etc. The push &  
pull elements & their fine tuning  
can create a rough blueprint.

Lots of scope for  
improvement  
↓  
Content & structure

5



Ques 6

Discuss the relevance of Nuclear Deterrence in 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Ans

Deterrence is a <sup>psychological</sup> strategy of frightening the potential adversary from attacking.

It assumes that the actors are rational as they need to be convinced that the benefits of aggression is far outweighed by the losses.

This concept has gained significance in the nuclear age.

According to Bernard Brodie, a credible nuclear deterrent must always be ready yet never be used.

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, some view <sup>nuclear weapons</sup> it as the linchpin of a deterrent system, while others view it as the source of unending tension. According to Ramesh Thakur nuclear deterrence has raised the threshold of ~~low~~ tolerance of hostile states like North Korea, Pakistan.

Within the realist perspective, Kenneth Waltz believes that horizontal



expansion of nuclear weapon has helped in maintaining international peace. Mearsheimer on the other hand advocates selective proliferation among western democratic nations as the importance of public opinion there will prevent misuse.

As per realists, war remains ~~as~~ thinkable & possible hence it is best to keep at bay a punishing force.

Liberals on the other hand fear proliferation into the hands of non state actors. Social constructivists like Nina Tannenwald suggest that due to the existence of nuclear taboo USA was unable to use these weapons against Vietnam. Hence nations should proactively promote & strengthen this norm.

Henry Kissinger does not support reliance on nuclear deterrence as not all actors are rational eg - rogue states. Hence nuclear terrorism puts a question mark on deterrence.



Michael Quinlan stated that nuclear power is a thinking experiment of a war of thoughts unlike tanks or aircraft whose use has generated empirical data. Hence effectiveness is improvement.

Paul Nitze drew an analogy between nuclear world of chessboard where the queen may not be brought into play but still holds a decisive bearing.

In today's world there are additional nuclear powers (China, India) smaller ones (Pakistan, N. Korea) & non state actors. It is further complicated by addition of outerspace and cyberspace.

Hence nuclear deterrence can't alone answer the security issue in the complex scenario. There is a need to combine it with other strategies.

6.5

Instead say in long term nuclear disarmament will ensure peace.

Structure is problematic

Structure clearly above board's class not support

This one does

Then this one is a general fact