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By: R.S. Chaurasia



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THEORY AND PROBLEMS**

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QUESTION PAPER

June – 2023

(Solved)

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: THEORY AND PROBLEMS

M.P.S.-2

Time: 3 Hours]

[Maximum Marks: 100

Note: Attempt any **five** questions in all, selecting at least **two** questions from each Section. All questions carry **equal** marks

SECTION – I

Q. 1. Describe the key themes of post-Modernism.

Ans. Postmodernism has widely come to be recognised as an influential theoretical development throughout all the social sciences in the last two decades or so. The post-modernism approach to international relations is not so simple to define, even though one comes across a large number of theorists who claim to be postmodernists. According to Richard Devetak, “Summary of postmodernism is related to part of the problem of defining precisely what postmodernism is”.

Two most important themes of post-modernism are related to the power-knowledge relationship and the textual strategies used by postmodernists. The theme of power-knowledge relationship in postmodern scholarship is highly influenced by the works of Michel Foucault. This is because Foucault power-knowledge relationship constitutes a core concern of his work. In contrast to the rationalist theorists, Foucault believes that there is a close relationship between power and knowledge. Unlike the positivists, he does not believe that knowledge is immune from the workings of power. Instead, his main argument is that power in fact produces knowledge. For him, “all power requires knowledge and all knowledge relies on and reinforces existing power relations”. According to postmodernists, truth is not something external to social settings, but is instead part of them. As a result, postmodernists are primarily interested in knowing which types of truths and knowledge practices support what kinds of power relations. In the context of international relations, post-modern international theorists have used this insight to examine the truths of international relations theory to see how the concepts and knowledge claims that dominate the discipline in fact are highly contingent on specific power relations.

The second important theme of postmodernism, as discussed by Richard relates to the use of textual

strategies. From the point of view of postmodernism, the construction of the social world is equated with that of a text.

Derrida’s central argument is that the world is like a text in the sense that “it cannot simply be grasped, but has to be interpreted”. Such interpretations of the world, for Derrida, reflect the concepts and structures of language. Derrida called it “the textual interplay at work”. He proposes two main tools that enable us to see how arbitrary are the seemingly “natural” oppositions of language. These are deconstruction and double reading. According to Smith, Deconstruction is based on the idea that seemingly stable and natural concepts and relations within language are in fact artificial constructs, arranged hierarchically in that in the case of opposites in language one term is always privileged over the other. Therefore, deconstruction is a way of showing how all theories and discourses rely on artificial stabilities produced by seemingly objective and natural oppositions in language. The post-modernism theory is also criticized by the dominant mainstream international theory on grounds of being “too theoretical” and for being “far removed” from the “real” world.

Q. 2. Analyse the Asian and African approaches for regional cooperation. How do they differ from each other?

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-8, Page No. 32, ‘Pan-Asianism’ and Page No. 33, ‘Pan Africanism’.

Q. 3. Explain ‘relocation’ of the idea of middle power and emerging power.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-11, Page No. 89, Q. No. 1 and Q. No. 2, Page No. 87, ‘Introduction’, ‘The Issues of Middle Powers and Emerging Powers’, ‘Basic Concept of Middle and Emerging Powers’, ‘The Concluding Observation of Middle Powers and Its General Attributes’, ‘Idea Relocation of Middle and Emerging Powers’.

Q. 4. What are the implications of the New World Order for India? Assess the options available in the given situation.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-17, Page No. 117, 'New Concept of World Order', Page No. 118, 'The Third World', 'Categorisation of the New and Old Global Order' and Page No. 119, 'Implication on India'.

Q. 5. What is the difference between Foreign Direct Investment and Portfolio Investment?

Ans. In order to understand trade theories, we should understand the difference between two types of international movements of capital, which are foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and Foreign Portfolio investment (FPI). FDI refers to a movement of capital that involves ownership and control. In case of FDI the investor retains control over the invested capital and FDI and management go together. The building of a plant in India by a Japanese company is also FDI, because obviously there is ownership and control of the new facility—a branch plant by the Japanese company. FDI is usually discussed in the context of the Multinational Corporation (MNC) also known as the Multinational Enterprises (MNE), the Transnational corporation (TNC), or the Transnational Enterprises (TNE). All these terms refer to the same phenomenon i.e. production is taking place in plants located in two or more countries but under the supervision and general direction of the headquarters located in one country.

Foreign portfolio investment does not involve ownership or control but the flow of "financial capital" rather than the "real capital". In case of portfolio investment the investor does not retain control over the invested capital—only he lends his capital in order to get a return on it but he has no control over the use of that capital. Examples of foreign portfolio investment are the deposits of funds in an Indian bank by a Japanese company or the purchase of a bond (a certificate of indebtedness) of an Indian company or the Indian government by a citizen or company based in Japan. These flows of financial capital have their immediate impact on balances of payments or exchange rates rather than on production or income generation. There is a large variety of instruments through which portfolio flows are channeled. The principal instruments are venture capital funds, county funds, American depository receipts (ADRs) and global depository receipts (GDRs), convertible bonds and bonds with equity warrants. Countries may prefer to channel portfolio inflows through specific instruments in order to protect their markets from externally induced

turbulence. Flows of portfolio investment normally take place through transactions involving shares of companies quoted in stock markets, although some portfolio flows also take place in unquoted companies.

Portfolio investment has a shorter investment horizon than FDI. The type of investor is also different for Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and Foreign Portfolio Investment (FPI). While FDI investors are firms engaged in the production of goods and services, portfolio investors are more often either financial institutions, institutional investors (FIIs), or individuals, and are interested only in the financial returns of their investments.

SECTION-II

Q. 6. Critically examine the concept of self-determination in its applicability to multi-ethnic societies.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-18, Page No. 122, 'Step Towards Nationalism and Self-Determination' and Page No. 123, 'Factors Affecting Internal Self-Determination in Multi-ethnic Societies'.

Q. 7. Write an essay on Transnational Corporations Accountability of Human Rights.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-25, Page No. 146, 'Introduction', 'Human Rights Accountability of T.N.C.', Page No. 147, 'Indigenous People's Rights' and 'Code of Conduct and Regulation for MNCs/TNCs'.

Q. 8. What is the condition of national minorities in Central Asia since the disintegration of the Soviet Union (USSR)? Elaborate.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-8, Page No. 28, Page No. 195, 'Forward', Page No. 207, 'Emergence of Central Asian Republics', Page No. 208 'State Formation in Central Asia', 'Sub-National Identities', 'Post-Soviet State Formation in Central Asia', 'Language Issue' and 'Economic Performance and Social Ability'.

Q. 9. What role does the Diaspora play in the promotion of transnational movements? Assess.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-12, Page No. 222, 'Introduction', 'Meaning of Transnational Movement' and 'Evolution of Society and Religious Movement'.

Q. 10. What kind of International system is envisioned by the human security agenda?

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-35, Page No. 244, 'What is Human Security?', 'Meaning and Dimensions of Human Security' and Page No. 245, 'International Systems and Human Security'.

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Sample Preview of The Chapter

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: THEORY AND PROBLEMS

Realist and Neo-Realist Approaches

1

INTRODUCTION

International Relations of states depend on self-interest. Lord Palmerstone said in foreign relations, “*There are no permanent foes or friends but permanent interests, so relations of states depend on their interests.*”

With the establishment of League of Nations and U.N.O, International Relations depend on new ideas and new basis and even a powerful state had to depend on co-operation of other states and had to keep in mind world opinion. With market economy and globalization, more states have become interdependent.

There are many theories, but Realist Theory is considered very important.

CONCEPT OF REALISM

Realist Theory is very old. It can be traced back to Greek writers, Thucydides who wrote about Peloponnesian war which took place about 431 B.C. and Chinese writer Sun-Izu, who wrote *The Art of War*.

According to realist human beings crave for powers. It places emphasis on power politics and the pursuit of national interests.

Types of Realism: As realism is very old so it has been divided into old or Classical Realism and Neo-realism or Contemporary Realism.

Old or Classical Realism: Classical Realism has been written and supported by Thucydides, Chanakya,

Machiavelli, E.H. Carr and by Hans J. Morgenthau etc. They say that International policies are driven by endless struggle for power which is inherent in human nature. Recently scholars such as Reinhold, Niebuhr, Nicholas Spykman and Hans Margenthau (1904-1980) hold that the struggle for power is inherent in human nature, therefore international politics is power politics. As such they rely more on conventional diplomacy and mechanisms such as balance of power, international morality, world public opinion, and international law etc. for regulating and restraining the inevitable clashes of interest between states, than on the human nature.

Balance of power doctrine is very old. It was constantly followed by England. It opposed France during the time of Louis XIV and Napoleon and later on against Germany during First World-War and against Hitler's Germany during Second World-War of 1939-45.

With the establishment of League of Nations and U.N.O., world opinion counts. Imperialist power had to grant independence due to many reasons but world opinion also was one of them. During Suez Canal crisis of 1956, Britain, France and Israel had to withdraw their forces from attacks as world opinion was against them.

U.S.A. failed in Vietnam as world opinion was against it. Now it is very difficult for any state to defy world opinion successfully.

NEO-REALISM OR CONTEMPORARY REALISM

With the emergence of League of Nations and U.N.O., according to Neo-realist, believed central importance of power but Neo-realists depend on structure of natural system rather than the goals and make up of individual states. The structure of the world such as U.N.O. is determinant of state behaviour. U.N.O. opposed attacks of Britain, France and Israel during Suez Canal crisis so they had to withdraw. U.N.O. opposed attack of China on India in 1962, as they had to withdraw. Similarly U.S.A. attacked on Vietnam and Soviet Russia attacked on Afghanistan failed as world opinion was against it. But U.S.A. succeeded against Taliban of Afghanistan and Saddam Hussain of Iraq as some powerful states supported it.

All this shows that there is no overreaching authority so much powerful that may enforce, norms and rules to protect the interests of the larger global community.

BASE OF THE REALIST APPROACH

National Interest: World is more divided among nation-states. Lord Palmerstone ex-Prime Minister of Britain and Hans Morgenthau believed diplomatic strategy or foreign policy of a country should be motivated by national interest. But ruling elite class generally cannot follow policies that would necessarily lead to inwhancement of national interest but their own class interest. Egypt, Syria and other Muslim Arab rulers attacked Israel due to their own interest or class interest. Col. Naseer of Egypt allied with others Arab states attacked Israel to become highest authority of Arab states and other Arab states supported him. India neither was supposed to gain by expelling all Jews living in India to support Yaser Arafat or by establishment of P.L.O. state, but ruling elite class of India supported Yaser Arafat and P.L.O. against Israael and is supporting P.L.O. war against Israel though war and conflict between P.L.O. and Israel is on religious grounds while India is a socialist secular republic. If P.L.O. accept Jew ruler or Jew Prime Minister or Jew President neither there was and nor there is need of war. Similarly, if Israel may declare itself as seular republic and may accept Muslim as ruler or President

or Prime Minister then there will be no war. As there was no war when ruler Khalifs, the head of Muslims, ruled over Israel. There would have been no glorious bloodless revolution in Britain if it would have accepted Roman Catholic King. But it was against the interests of ruling elite class of Britain to accept Roman Catholic King and it is against ruling elite class of Israel to give power to Muslim-Arabs and for Muslim-Arabs to Jews. So conflict is continuous violent as well as silent.

In India majority of Hindus live but power is in the hands of those who claim themselves socialists or communists or secular elite ruling class, they intervene and are desirous to wipe out Nepal as a Hindu state and are supporting extremists and terrorists through ruling elite class of India claims to be anti-terrorists with top of their voice all over India.

In case of China and Taiwan (Farmosa), U.S.A. people are neutral but ruling elite class of U.S.A. is determined to interfere in China and Taiwan conflict, though it is in the interest of American people that conflict between China and Taiwan may be resolved amicably as huge investment and trade is with China.

As such sometimes national interests are sacrificed by person in power for his or her interest or for class interest of ruling elite class.

Opinions about cases cited may differ and according to some scholars intervention of India in Nepal and of U.S.A in conflict of China and Taiwan may be considered national interest but these examples don't confirm, as these are very recent.

Elements of National Power: National power now depends on nuclear or atomic power, military force, population, econmic capacity of the states, geography, religious fanaticism, international support and propaganda etc. U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. were considered superpowers both possessed greatest nuclear power. Japan surrendered in Second World-War due to atomic power of U.S.A. Now U.S.A. is considered superpower due to her mightiest and greatest nuclear and atomic power. China and India possess largest and greatest military and para-military force, so these are considered greatest powers on the earth next to U.S.A. But military power requires capacity to consolidate Arabs possessed far greater military force than Israel but they were continuously defeated. In case of Vietnam, U.S.A. and

in case of Afghanistan, Soviet Russia possessed far greater power, but were unsuccessful.

Population counts as China and India are most populated countries, so these are considered greatest powers next to U.S.A. Kuwait was no match to Iraq as it has population of few lakhs in comparison to 3 crore population of Iraq.

Economic capacity counts much as in spite of failure in Vietnam war due to her economic capacity. U.S.A. is now sole superpower.

Now religious terrorism has become very important as religious terrorists through their suicide bomb tactics have created terror all over the world.

Requirement of National Security: According to Prof. Henry Kissinger, ex-Secretary of State of U.S.A. *“a nation’s survival is its first and ultimate responsibility. It cannot be compromised or put to risk.”* As national security is most important, so nations use all resources of the state to preserve it.

National security depends on the will of the people and fighting capacity of the people to preserve it. During Second World-War most of the states surrendered before mighty power of Hitler’s Germany. France, which was considered one of the greatest power on the earth surrendered before Germany within ten days. But Great Britain under the leadership of her Prime Minister Churchill stood firm. Churchill said we will fight on land, in sea, over air, but we will never surrender. This gave British people vision of victory and determination to stand firm against Hitler’s Germany. According to Churchill at the time of France’s defeat Britain possessed lesser fighting aeroplanes and force than German aeroplanes and fighting force and people had to face German bombing which created havoc and lot of destruction. At that time Britain was alone and meanwhile Hitler’s Germany possessed mightiest force of earth and Italy and Japan as their allies, but Hitler was unable to conquer Britain and by committing mistake of attacking Soviet Union lost the war and Britain won the war because he was determined to preserve her national security at any cost.

Recently Egypt, Syria, Jordan etc. lost the wars against Israel because he was determined to preserve her national security. Mighty super power U.S.A. failed in Vietnam because people of Vietnam were determined

to preserve her national security. India succeeded in Bangladesh as Pakistani forces were not willing to sacrifice their lives to preserve national security of Bangladesh, so they surrendered along with weapons along with their Commander-in-Chief General Niazi.

Similarly Afghanistan and Iraq surrendered as Taliban leaders and Saddam Hussain were unwilling to sacrifice their lives, so Mullah Omar ran away and Saddam Hussain was arrested. Thus, preservation of national security depends on will, determination and capacity of the people to preserve national security. To preserve national security is the most essential function of the state.

BASIC THEORY OF REALIST APPROACH

Theory of Conflict: As stated by examples cited above, power means material and psychological, military and economic capabilities. After establishment of U.N.O. conflict has become lesser because U.N.O. has succeeded in checking major wars. In case of attack of Britain, France and Israel on Egypt due to Suez Canal, U.N.O. checked major war. In case of U.S.A.’s war with Vietnam, Russia and China sympathised with Vietnam, so major war was checked. In Korea major war between U.S.A. and China was checked by U.N.O. and peace was preserved through India’s peace corps.

China had to withdraw in 1962 from India as U.N.O. and world opinion and arrival of British and American forces compelled her to do so and major war between India and China could be averted. But India-Pakistan wars took place in 1965 and in 1971 and resulted in division of Pakistan as Pakistan and Bangladesh. Arab-Israeli wars could not be checked as U.N.O. did not intervene but Israel was able to preserve her existence due to her own power. U.N.O. was unable to check Iran-Iraq war which continued for many years. Similarly U.N.O. was unable to check Soviet Union attack on Afghanistan. As such there is anarchy due to the absence of any recognizable supreme power in the international system over and above the states who claim themselves as sovereign power. But realists claim some semblance of order is maintained within the state through balance of power.

Power-Balance Theory: Balance of power principle is followed by minor or weaker powers to maintain their independence. Britain in order to preserve their independence followed it successfully. It allied

itself with other powers when France became greatest and mightiest power during the rule of Louis XIV and Napoleon Bonaparte. Same was followed during First World-War, France and Russia entered into alliance against Austria and Germany to maintain balance of power. Britain when found that Germany is more powerful and may endanger her national security, it entered into First World-War. Sometimes, balance of power forces attacking power to withdraw when it finds balance of power has gone in favour of the country to whom she has attacked. In 1962, China attacked India but when U.S.A. and Britain came to help India and Soviet Union refused to help China, it was realised by China that balance of power has gone in favour of India, so it withdrew her forces.

It means that states while pursuing their national interests and national security enter into alliances which when properly balanced against one another may guarantee prolonged periods of peace and stability.

Deterrence Theory: When states realise that war may result in large scale of destruction without gaining any success then they avoid war, it is called theory of deterrence. After Second World-War, U.S.A. and her allies were in confrontation with U.S.S.R. and her allies but both parties avoided war as they realised that this global nuclear war may bring destruction of whole mankind without any successful victory so cold war continued inspite of confrontation but actual war was avoided due to deterrence.

This theory means that in a nuclear age, possession of nuclear weapons by one state or one block of state would deter the enemy state or enemy camp from making first use of the nuclear option in the course of a likely war. Some scholars are of the opinion that only due to possession of nuclear weapons by both Pakistan and India has proved deterrence to one another. So Indo-Pak wars have been avoided. All nuclear weapon powers are avoiding wars with one another due to this deterrence theory.

SUMMARY

In International Relations there are various theories such as Realists, Neo-Realist theories as well as liberal and Neo-liberal approaches.

Realists believe in human beings there is inherent craving for power. Realism believes in power politics and the pursuit of national interests. Realist think that

international politics is driven by an endless struggle for power which has its roots in human nature's craving for power. Neo-realism believes that conflicts occur because there is no supreme mighty power to control the nationalist interests and to curb the national power and check conflicts on plea of National Security. Realist approach is based on theory of conflict, balance of power and on theory of deterrence.

EXERCISES

Q. 1. Account for the dominance of Realist approach in International Relations theory.

Ans. Realist theory is pragmatic and is based on inherent craving of power in human beings. It is based on history as wars took place due to power politics in the pursuit of national interests.

Q. 2. Bring out the underlying assumptions of Realism.

Ans. Underlying assumption of realism is that craving of power in human beings, so state which represents organized force on the basis of sovereignty also seeks power by conquering other states as by making itself militarily or economically more powerful.

Q. 3. Bring out the concepts frequently used in Realist framework. What purpose they serve?

Ans. Realists consider national interests, national power and national security as key concepts. They serve and tell usefulness and utility of nationalist approach.

Q. 4. To what extent do you think is the notion of "National Interest" representative of the genuine interest of a nation?

Ans. National interest is generally considered as genuine but Marxists think national interest serve and benefit ruling elite class but do not benefit common man or poor person. Critics say in India rule of white man has been replaced by Indian politicians and bureaucrats and capitalists etc. They have grasped power, posts, privileges and wealth of British rulers of India and of native Rajas or Nawabs and enjoy all amenities of life but common man lacks even water and electricity and poor people are committing suicides. Gandhiji desired independence as it may serve national interest of common man and poor people but it is serving national interest of ruling elite class.